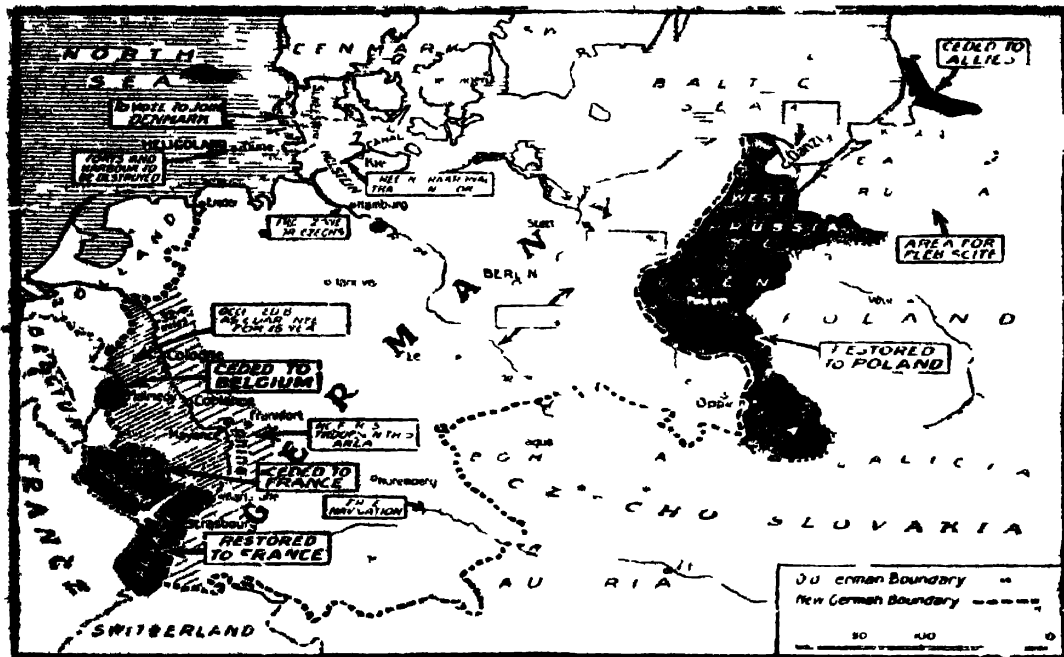


REFORM COMMITTEE DELHI, FEBRUARY 1919

Ground Mr J D A. Hodge Mr P C Tilden's *Chairs* Mian Sir Rahim Bakhsh Saibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan Mr R Leatham Lord Southborough Sir Frank Siv Hon Babu Surendran th Banerjee Hon. Mr M E Couchman *Standing* Capt M Reader Mr A C Clanson Mr G Rainy, Hon Mr M V Hogg, Sir Prabhashankar Pattani Mr J P Thompson Hon Mr Srinivasa Sastri *Back Row* Mr W M Hailey Mr H L Stephenson Hon Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru Sir Chimanlal H Setalvad



THE MAP OF CENTRAL EUROPE
As Redrawn by the Peace Conference

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

BY

MR. G. A. NATESAN

IN the absence of the accurate and authorised text of the Bill and of the rules to be made thereunder it is difficult to attempt anything like a criticism of the measure now before Parliament. The recommendations of both the Franchise and Functions Committees approved in the main by the Indian public are to be embodied in rules and schedules and are to be considered by the Joint Committee and then presented for final decision to Parliament. But not only this; even some of the most vital points have been reserved for the Joint Committee and the Bill before us is nothing but a skeleton, a bare frame work. It is a matter for great relief that many of the reactionary and retrograde proposals of the Government of India are not accepted by Mr. Montagu. The ring of sincerity which runs through every line of his speech on the occasion of the Second Reading of the Bill, the emphatic and forceful manner in which he presented the case for reform of the existing system of the Government of India, the imminent necessity for the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people and to give India 'an enduring constitution,' though by a 'transitional' form—a bridge between government by agents of Parliament and government by the representatives of the people—make India feel hopeful. India rejoices that Mr. Montagu in his great speech has recognised in no uncertain terms our claim for responsible Government on 'the only logical, possible, and acceptable meaning of empire and democracy, viz, an opportunity to all nations flying the imperial flag to control their own destinies.' We are glad too that he emphatically asserted that

'there could be no greater stimulus to education, no better way of promoting community of action, of overcoming the acerbities of caste, than by setting the population the common task of working out the prosperity of their country. There was no better


way of promoting democratic customs than by working them through democratic institutions despite all difficulties.'

There could be no better indictment of the false theories and misleading statements with which Lord Sydenham and other self-styled 'well wishers' of India have been trying to infect an un-informed and ignorant British public. Every friend of reform and progress will rejoice that the Indo-British Association's so-called scheme of reforms has been summarily rejected by the Secretary of State, and justly described as 'a scheme of bureaucrats, for the consumption of bureaucrats and intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy'. Such a state of things has already been found impossible; to attempt to perpetuate it would be to perpetuate what is intolerable. India can no longer tolerate 'future Sydenhams remaining upon the throne untrammelled by control from above and undisturbed by criticism from below.' Any step for reform must lead to the progressive realisation of responsible government and the country will be justified in opposing any reactionary attempts to make India go backwards. We take it that the passing of the Second Reading without division is an augury that Parliament is committed to the general principles of the Bill and that it is morally responsible for launching India on the road to complete self-government. All India will watch with keen interest the proceedings of the Joint-Committee. We sincerely hope that the Committee's endeavours will be directed to improve the Bill in every respect, to provide for the will of the representatives of the people to prevail to some extent at least on the Central Government, for some form of fiscal autonomy if full freedom in that direction were not possible, in short, to make such alterations and improvements as to enable the people of India to say that the steps to responsible government are 'at the outset substantial.'

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

BY

DR. FITZGERALD-LEE, M. A.

 HE German schools of thought were the first to devote particular attention to what they called the *Zeitgeist*, the Spirit of the Age.

The idea meant to be conveyed by this expression is that successive periods of the world's history have had peculiar features of their own, by which they are specially distinguished from former periods: and so the *Zeitgeist* is simply a combination of the prevalent influences and opinions of a particular period. Thus, during the greater part of the sixteenth century in Europe, the Spirit of the Age was one of discovery, of enquiry into established opinions, of struggling towards mental independence and new paths of thought. In the seventeenth century, it was that of an upheaval of thought transformed into action; in the eighteenth, scepticism and rationalism; in the nineteenth, a wave of materialism, an increase of practical knowledge, marked, however, by the want of a corresponding forward movement in the direction of the intellectual and the spiritual.

It is said that humanity moves on three parallel lines; namely, the material, the intellectual and the spiritual; and further, if the advance is too rapid along any one of these three lines without a corresponding advance on the other two, or at the expense of the other two, the result will prove to be so much the worse for Humanity. So the Spirit of the Age is marked—as on a barometer—by the rise and fall along these three lines.

The greatness of the truly great men of any particular nation, at any period, consists in their being able to focus this Spirit of the Age; and by their ability in this respect, in satisfying the hopes and desires of their people; such men build in strength. But they are few and rare: Pitt and Frederick of Prussia in the eighteenth century; Bismarck, Gladstone and Cavour, in the nineteenth, and Lincoln in America. If, at the Treaty of Frankfort (1871), Bismarck's proffered advice had been followed, Alsace and Lorraine would not have been taken from France; and "the legacy of hate and bitterness for fifty years" (as Bismarck truly forecast it) would never have cursed Europe. But, unfortunately for both France and Germany, the counsel of the *Soldier*

was in this case preferred to that of the *Statesman*. And the natural results followed.

We are face to face with a similar state of things to day; but we have no Bismarck, Gladstone nor Lincoln. In the storm through which we have struggled, our statesmen and diplomatists have not added to their reputations: our soldiers have. A successful war adds to the reputation of armies and the leaders of armies; and herein lies a danger as to the immediate future.

History gives many examples of the fact that successful soldiers have availed themselves of their popularity with the many, and of reputation gained on the battle-field, to pose as statesmen, and to attempt to direct the politics of their country. Wellington was made Minister because he had won Waterloo; and he naturally failed, because he tried to rule his Cabinet as he had ruled his Camp. Successful fighting-men have sometimes created and ruled States in India; but such States have rarely survived their founders. The Kingdom of Mysore did not survive Hyder Ali; the Kingdom of the Punjab fell to pieces shortly after the death of Ranjeet Singh.

When soldiers take to dabbling in politics they fail; and this will be particularly the case when they take up politics as a mere fad, after having laid down the sword. If they only failed, and no more, perhaps they would not cause so much positive harm; but sometimes they go so far as to dogmatise and lay down the law on points which can be decided only by deeply-thinking and far-seeing statesmen. For instance, the mere *dictum* of Lord Wolseley on the advisability of the Channel Tunnel was sufficient to put a stop to a work the timely accomplishment of which would have saved England millions of money and thousands of lives in the recent Great War. His Lordship stated most emphatically that the projected Channel Tunnel would constitute a grave danger to England; and, in a special interview which he granted to a newspaper correspondent next day, he said that the building of the Tunnel would be nothing short of "flying in the face of Providence, who evidently meant England to be protected by its insular position." And that settled it; because when a man who has been Commander-in-Chief in India begins to talk about the

designs and secret counsels of Providence, there is nothing more to be said.

It is a notorious fact, however, that soldiers are very slow of comprehension where political questions are concerned; and those of them who have attained to anything like respectable political success, after a military career, have been very few. Being accustomed to absolute command, and to expect prompt obedience, the soldier never sees any need for reason or persuasion; he knows little or nothing of logical argument; he is impatient and obstinate. And, to his last day he never sees a horizon farther than the boundary of his own narrow groove. The one exception to this in our time is Lord Roberts; he saw, in a certain direction, farther and clearer than any man of his day. But what he saw was what the *Soldier* in him saw; a military problem, not a political one.

Lord Roberts was right, because he was speaking on a subject of which he had more experience than any of his contemporaries, as well as sound theoretical knowledge; but Lord Wolseley, speaking on the Channel Tunnel question, was not dealing with a military subject at all; but with a question concerning the development of the natural resources of two great lands and of peoples who would have benefitted enormously from the project condemned by him. It was a broad question of international economics; a question on which a soldier was the very worst possible judge. And we have quite recently had another example of this, in a frothy effusion by General O'Moore Creagh: the only use of which is to show that an Englishman may spend many years in India without feeling a particle of sympathy for the aspirations of the Indian people, without evincing the smallest mite of toleration for those whose opinions differ from his own. Such stodgy-minded men are doing their utmost to hinder the natural development of a large part of their fellow-subjects under the Crown. And they forget—that is, if they ever knew it—one of the most striking lessons of all history, namely: If any man, or any nation, strive to impede the natural development of mankind: if the policy of any man or any nation be in direct opposition to the Spirit of the Age: the result will be not only failure, but absolute and total ruin.

And here we come across one of the most puzzling problems in connection with the downfall of the great German Empire. If there is one subject more than another upon the knowledge of which the statesmen and soldiers of Germany prided themselves, that subject

is History, in all its bearings and with all its lessons. How is it that they failed to read History correctly, and to profit by their knowledge? They should have learnt that supreme rule over the human race is never for any one man, nor for any one nation. The idea of such domination is not a new one; it was tried by the Romans, by Barbarossa, by Charles V. and Philip II. of Spain, by Louis XIV. and Napoleon; in every case with the same inevitable and well-known results. The objects and aims of Germany in the Great War have been more ambitious and far-reaching than those of the former failures; and, naturally, the German failure has been of all the most complete and catastrophic. The German idea was this: That all the States and Peoples of Europe should be under German leadership and rule; that the countries which had been formerly independent should sacrifice their independence, and be satisfied to beg respectfully for official permission to act, or speak, or think, or write, or breathe the free air. Prussia was to be the model for all other States: there was to be only one political system: the German. The word "independence" was to be expunged from the dictionaries of all non-German countries: religion was to be a State-guided belief in the sacred "doctrine of conquest;" colleges were to be mainly for the study and glorification of the "philosophy of Imperialism." Though these things are already known, still it is well that they should be repeated; lest men forget from what a horrible existence England has protected and saved humanity.

That peculiarly hateful brand of officialism which owes its origin to Prussia was to be the enforced rule of life for all the subject peoples; because the Prussian authorities well knew that there is nothing which can sap the independence of any people so quickly as a narrow and insidious officialism. And when once the independence of a people is undermined, the brutalising process, which is the next step, is rendered much easier. Germany has passed through the whole machine in less than half a century. In countries where the people have no sense of independence, such as some of the so-called Republics in South and Central America, there is little or no officialism of the Prussian brand. In Russia, before the liberation of the serfs, when the great majority of the real Russian people did not know the meaning of the word "independence", there was no officialism, properly so called. But in countries where the idea of independence, with all it connotes, is coming into existence, or taking

root, there officialism is of necessity most active. On the other hand, in a country like England, where the independence of the individual is not only assured, but looked upon as something sacred, the official is compelled to sink small, and officialism has to be very careful not to overstep the bounds of prudence and moderation. And in the civilised world generally, the words "official" and "autocratic" have become unsavoury in the nostrils of men; these words have to some extent become synonymous with "Prussianism," in which sense I wish them to be understood.

Now the advocates and supporters of officialism have always a stock reply ready for those who find fault with its abuses. They ask, Would you have a country ruled without officials and offices? To which we reply, By no means: but we would have officials who are merely officials, and nothing more. Then again they say, But surely the officials are only doing their duty. Now this Pecksniffian plea of Duty covers more sins than Charity; and we must be careful not to allow ourselves to be taken in by it. Let us ask any intelligent, unprejudiced man who has had knowledge of, say, one hundred official acts. How many of these have been due to a pure and undiluted sense of Duty, uninfluenced by any outside consideration? We can make a good guess at what the answer would be.

One of the commonest errors in certain parts of the British Empire is when disagreement with, or disobedience towards, an official is placed on the same footing as disloyalty to the Crown. It is an error which, up to the present, has caused much trouble; and, unless remedied, is likely to cause more in the future. The official is in no way a representative of the Crown; and, in many cases, it is a very good job for the dignity of the Crown that he is not. He is not a representative of the Crown even to the extent in which a commercial traveller is the representative of the firm that employs him. He administers the law for the King, and is well paid for doing so. There are cases where officials are endowed with personal character which entitles them to the highest respect; but it will be found that these are the very last to lay claim to that loyalty which every good subject feels only towards the ruler of his Country. Those who claim worship of this sort do not deserve it, while those who deserve it do not claim it.

Twenty years ago any Chinaman who even mentioned the name of the "Son of Heaven" was put to death. That was yesterday. To-day the world of yesterday has

passed away, never to return. Whether those in power have yet fully grasped this fact, or try to ignore it, does not alter the fact in the least. We see all round us that the pain of travail is not absent: that mankind is suffering from the birth pangs of a new life. And it will be the fault of man himself if the new life turns out to be worse than the old one. New thoughts and new ideas are springing up wherever there are thinking human beings. People are beginning to ask themselves and others questions they never asked before. They are no longer content to take everything for granted. They are asking, for instance, what are the grounds on which any Government demands the obedience and loyalty of its subjects? It would require another J. S. Mill to do full justice to this. Is a superiority of Force by itself sufficient to establish the claim? Ask "Count William of Hohenzollern," who is in a position to answer. Is the mere fact of conquest sufficient? It would seem that some people think so; and therefore, according to them, it would be our duty to be as loyal and submissive to a successful Bolshevik invader of India as we are now to His Imperial Majesty King George the Fifth. But if the ordinary "man in the street" be asked why he considers it right to be loyal and submissive to Government, he will say, "I am loyal and submissive to this Government because it is the best Government my country has ever had or is likely to have; because my life and property are secure; because the Government protects me from my enemies, and deals out pure justice to every man." If only officials would act in such a manner as to cause this sentiment to be generally expressed by the children of the people, then all political troubles would automatically cease; the agitator would find his occupation gone; peace would reign: plenty and prosperity would fill the land.

To those of us who have been carefully following the course of events in India for the past twenty or thirty years: who have not been merely looking on at them from a distance, and through the colored glasses of other men; who have observed and studied facts for ourselves on the spot; to those who have no axe of their own to grind, and who strive to keep themselves free from all the error that blind prejudice breeds in stubborn minds: to such the signs of the times are clearly visible: the faint murmurings of the distant storm are plainly heard. And what is happening in India just now is neither surprising nor unnatural. It is due to a variety of causes; and there are so many of them, the difficulty is to know where to

begin Let us take the important question of His Majesty's representative in India. For years, this great Indian Dominion has been made the football of an antiquated and corrupt system of party politics in a country thousands of miles away: in a country the majority of whose inhabitants are as hopelessly ignorant of India as they are of the conditions of life on the planet Mars. A "Liberal" Government comes in: India must have a "Liberal" Viceroy. A "Conservative" Government gets into power: India gets a "Conservative" Viceroy. No matter how strong, how successful, or how sympathetic a particular Viceroy may prove himself, still all this counts for nothing if the political party to which he professes to belong fails to secure a majority at the English polling booths. And, as for the opinion of India in the matter, it carries no more weight than the opinion of Timbuctoo. No matter how much we appreciated and esteemed our Viceroy, everything had to be set aside to satisfy the exigencies of the parish-pump parties in England. Within the last fifty years we have had some of the highest intellects and ablest statesmen of the Empire as Viceroys: *great* men in the best sense of the word. But just as they got the huge, unwieldy machine of Government to work successfully they had to clear out and make way for others who knew less than nothing about the task.

But this is not the worst, so far as progress is concerned. The bullock-cart—the *bhyle-garri*—cumbrous, antiquated and slow, blocks the road in every direction; so that not only the up-to-date motor-car, but even the ordinary traveller, walking at a fair pace, is held up. "Our grandfathers travelled in the bullock-cart, and it was good enough for them: what was good enough for them is good enough for us; and anybody who dares to suggest a quicker mode of progress is a secessionist, an anarchist and a Bolshevik." This is the sentiment of the bullock-cart official; and it has been kept up so long that it has developed from a poor joke into a public danger.

India stands to-day at the parting of the ways; one arm of the sign-post pointing towards Imperialism, the other towards Democracy. Now there are no two political ideas in the minds of men more absolutely opposed to each other, or more antagonistic, than these two. It is as impossible for them to exist together as for fire and water to be contained simultaneously in the same vessel. They are mutually destructive. Yet the rulers of India have now to settle which it is going to be: Imperialism or Democracy. And the first diffi-

culty they have to contend with is that the present Government of India is neither one nor the other: it being a hybrid: a mixture of Autocracy and Imperialism. But the peoples of the twentieth century have already shown, in a most unmistakable manner, that they have no longer any use or place for Autocratic Government. The beast has been slain in Flanders; though its carcass still taints the air all round like a dead camel. A twelve-year-old schoolboy of average general knowledge can say that in his short time the four greatest Autocracies in the world have been swept into limbo; namely, China, Russia, Germany and Austria. The sole object of the Great War has been the overthrow of Autocracy. But that object will not be fully attained until the last few poisonous mushrooms still growing on the dung-heap of Autocracy have been also swept away for ever.

The Russian historian, Segur, relates that the French Ambassador once talking to the Czar Paul, mentioned the name of a certain man as "a man of some importance," in Russia. But the Czar at once sharply interrupted him, and said, "There is no *important* man in my Empire except the man I honor with my conversation for the time being: and it is only so long as I happen to be talking with him that he is of any importance". How well and truly this Autocrat was laying the foundations for the pyramids of skulls raised in our time by Messrs. Lenin and Trotzky!

Among the many weak and objectionable points about Autocracy, the weakest is that an Autocrat must needs be also infallible. It would never do for him to acknowledge that he is liable to make mistakes like ordinary human beings. And each member of a band of Autocrats endeavours to uphold this legend of infallibility with a devotion and fanaticism unsurpassed by a College of Cardinals. And all this, notwithstanding the hard fact that the last of the Infallibles is now a fugitive and outcast in an obscure Dutch village.

The next thing to go is Imperialism. Now the word "Imperialism" here means what it has always meant since the epoch of Imperial Rome, whose Imperialism meant justice, but never meant freedom; followed by the parodies of Imperialism under Charlemagne, Spain and the Bourbons, which meant neither; by Ottoman Imperialism, which meant a gloomy and ferocious despotism; and so on, down to our own times, the Imperialism of the Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern.

There is no good in historians coquetting with the idea of Imperialism, as is the fashion with some of them : calling it " Philosophic Imperialism " as does M. Selliere, or " Democratic Imperialism," like the late Professor Cramb. Still there is a good deal in what M. Selliere has to say on the point. He is careful to state that British Imperialism differs materially from other forms of Imperialism ; and he goes on to say : " Imperialism for the English means concern for their Colonial Empire, now become so considerable in the world. Amongst English Imperialists some think only of maintaining the Unity of this Empire and of strengthening its cohesion ; others study questions of administration and economics, and simple problems of internal politics. But again, others meditate extending, when occasion offers, their domains overseas ; Kingsley, for instance, in 1855, Seely and Kipling, in history and literature."

This learned French author might have added something more, on the side of British Imperialism. Even the bitterest enemy of Great Britain cannot deny that she has done more than has any other State to open up and develop lands which were formerly inhabited by peoples too slothful or too ignorant to turn these lands to the best use. Englishmen, in which term is, of course, included men of the United Kingdom, have always been first in opening up and developing new tracts of the earth for the benefit of mankind. Enemies of England may and have put forward, in reply to this, that she has taken good care to profit by her explorations and to exploit them. Well, even suppose she has, who has a better right ? And still the fact remains and it is a fact to which every impartial student of modern History must subscribe England has devoted herself far less to the exploitation of subject races than has any other Imperial Government in the world's history. Just think of Germany in South-West Africa. Turn to India : Would any other Government, Imperial or otherwise, be satisfied with the very moderate profits which our Government takes from the irrigation Canals in India ? When those who wish to find fault with English rule and administration prate about " exploitation," they should at least be honest, and should not wfully close their eyes to what English rule has done and is doing every day.

Still, Imperialism must go. The recent glorious victory of the Allied Forces is the defeat of the Imperialist idea ; and from August 1914 the Allies have been anti-Imperialist. The Allies took the field to fight for the liberty of the weak

and oppressed : to protect the smaller nationalities from the claws and talons of Imperialism.

Imperialism has always meant what it still meant in August 1914 : repression, coercion, hostility to the idea of racial equality, and the absolute rule of a dominant race. This cannot be denied.

Now these four *stigmata* of Imperialism may, in some circumstances, be expedient, or even necessary. For instance, it is the duty of any State, Imperial or otherwise, to repress that which is evil in it ; so, in this case, repression becomes a necessary and laudable duty. To have recourse to coercion is always unpleasant, but is often unavoidable ; though a ruler who has only this weapon in his armoury is dangerously weak in defence. A hostility to the idea of racial equality is a feeling which is rampant even in the democratic United States of America. Whilst with regard to the question of the absolute rule of a dominant race, there are clear cases in History where it has proved a positive blessing : to France and Saxon England under the Normans ; to Spain under the Moors ; to India under the earlier Moghuls ; and to the Central Asian Khanates, Khiva, Merv, and Bokhara, under the Imperial Government of Russia. And it is more than probable that had absolute British rule been substituted for the rule of the East India Company, in 1858, the people of India to-day would have been the better for it. But a policy which might have been expedient in the fifties of the last century will scarcely suit the twentieth year of the twentieth century ; because in History the mill-wheel cannot be driven with the water which has gone by.

Now, having fairly put forward all that can be said in favour of Imperialism, let us turn to the other side. And, first of all, let us ask, is it wise or politic to expect that any normal people, or collection of peoples, will in these times tamely submit to repression, coercion, racial contempt and absolute rule ? Well, towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a German King ruling in England who believed in the heel of the jack-boot and the efficacy of the dog-whip ; and the result is deeply engraved on the iron pages of history. Then British Statesmen took that lesson to heart ; and, from that time till now, the British Empire-paradoxical as it may seem has been explicitly based upon anti-Imperial ideas. Would any British statesman of to-day dream for a moment of applying coercion to Canada or Australia ?

Again, when the pseudo-independence of the

South African Republics was wiped out, England had the sublime moral courage to carry out a new stroke of anti-Imperial policy hitherto unheard-of in the history of any other Empire. She gave a full measure of self-Government to the Boers. Of course we do not forget that there were some "Little Englanders"—among them the Imperialist Poet-Laureate—who foamed and raged and protested against this noble measure of high statesmanship. What can these persons say for themselves to-day? Like stupid and ignorant school-boys, they can only say they are "sorry they spoke." In granting Self Government to South Africa, England stood out for Justice and Freedom; and she has been justified in the results. It is well to state that by the word "Freedom" here I mean *political equality*; nothing more nor less. No former Empire ever granted political equality to its subjects; but, as the historical fact has been often conveniently forgotten, I wish to call particular and public attention to it here: the Mussalmans were the first of all peoples to proclaim the political equality of men; and this they did in their Sacred Book, fully twelve hundred years before Mirabeau spoke or the Bastille fell. This stands to the everlasting glory of the Great Prophet of Islam.

Now to deal with the delicate question of "Hostility to the idea of racial equality." When the Great War broke out, England called Indian troops to her assistance. And it must be remembered that she called upon India exactly as she called upon Australia and Canada; that is, as a great favour, from a friend and equal. The call was in no sense in the nature of a command. India responded: in what manner is well known and will be never forgotten. And the presence of Indian Troops on the European battle-fields is in itself a most dramatic recognition of racial equality: a complete overthrow of all the old theories of Imperialism: an innovation bound to produce the most far-reaching results. By so valorously discharging their military duties on the European battle-fields, Indians have established their claim to the rights of full citizenship, and they henceforth cease to be a subject race. Soldiers who can fight and die, side by side, for the glorious cause of human freedom, are equal in the eyes of God and man. A Government which deliberately employs Indian troops in a European War can no longer deny the ultimate equality of the Indian races. The Indian soldiers did not go to Europe as mercenaries or slaves; they were not employed as the Roman Empire employed the

services of the Franks and Goths; they were not in the position of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water; they came into Europe as the *fellow-subjects* of the English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, Canadian, Australian and South African.

When Jemadar Tej Singh, "somewhere in France," has his lower jaw shot away, he gets paper and pencil from a British Officer, and writes, "Have we won?" "Yes." And the eyes of the dying soldier fire up once more before he passes away to Valhalla, where he will be welcomed by his own warlike Guru Gobind, and by General Wolfe, who asked the same question as he lay dying at Quebec. The Sikh soldier did not ask, "Has the *Sirkar* won?" "Has the *Indian Army* won?" No; he says "WE;" and thus with his dying words he establishes the equality of the races.

This equality of race, established and cemented by blood, must be admitted in India itself, not only theoretically but practically. Yet, before this can be done, two very necessary qualities for peace, now generally conspicuous by their absence, must be taken up and cultivated by *all parties* in India. The first of these is Tolerance; the next, Sympathy. India will never be free from conflict and political trouble until *all classes* are actuated by a fuller sympathy with their fellow-men; until they are inspired with the true spirit of toleration. For it is well-known that intolerance of others, an obstinate refusal to see their point of view, is at the root of all strife, of all hatred and bad feeling, whether between individuals or between nations. A great deal is being said and written just now about "putting an end to War." It is a simple matter; but, as Von Moltke said of strategy, "its very difficulty lies in its simplicity." Put an end to the sentiment of intolerance and you have put an end to War. For it is in the sentiment of intolerance alone that the bed-rock cause of war has always been found. Perhaps the terrible calamities through which the world has just passed may do something to weaken or destroy this intolerance, and substitute for it a generous toleration, truly based upon Respect, and not upon Contempt. At present, the most formidable obstacles to the promotion and cultivation of tolerance and sympathy in India are the daily newspapers; but, far from being ashamed of this disease, some editors glory in it; and they make their livelihood by exhibiting their sores to the crowd, as leprous beggars do in the public streets.

The two main pillars of intolerance are class

prejudice and social prejudice. These will have to be thrown overboard before the ship of State can run on an even keel. And this will be one of the greatest of all difficulties; for there is no part of the British Empire, nay, there is no part of the whole civilized world, in which class prejudice and social prejudice are so rampant as in British India. And the pity of it is that those who should be the first to discountenance these prejudices are themselves the worst offenders in this respect. Yet it must be remembered that there is some excuse for them: they cannot help their nature; they are the children of British Fathers; full of the pride of race. The history of England has made them what they are; and the history of England since Waterloo is nothing more than the record of the efforts of a dominant clique to retain its domination.

A patent result of this is that for the past century intellectual progress in England has been more backward than in Germany, France, or America. For it is an undeniable historical fact that the most formidable enemy of intellectual progress has always been the domination of a particular ruling class. In the Middle Ages, the ruling Church authorities crushed all independence of thought, in fear of heresy: to get rid of the tares they destroyed the wheat as well; those who dared to exercise the right of private judgment were dealt with by the long and merciless arm of the Holy Inquisition. In more recent times the Censorship of the press has been one of the most powerful supports of despotism; and even in cases where liberty has been theoretically attained, a ruling class has still laboured to prevent its full development, silencing, as far as possible, the free expression of opinion, thus checking the growth of social and political education. So long as a particular dominating class or caste, not of the people, holds the reins in any country, culture in that country is bound to be hampered; and, as a rule, the influence of the dominating class will be directed to this end. Intellectual progress, learning and education will be prostituted to the political necessities of the governing class; and the fiction that "there are some matters which must not be publicly discussed" will be used as a muzzle, and zealously propagated. A grovelling and servile Press will be trained to conceal, or flatly deny notorious vices and acts of injustice and tyranny, and to credit the dominant class with all the virtues and graces. Journalists whose sole ambition is to get on in life will be able to do so only by meek Submission. The emancipation of the human intellect is the very

last thing a selfish ruling class will wish for, or permit if they can help it; because they naturally tremble at the idea of a free circulation of the Truth. Yet there is still a consolation for those who believe in and hope for the pre-ordained progress of Humanity; and it cannot be better expressed than in the words of the profoundly learned and philosophic American, Dr. J. W. Draper, at the conclusion of one of his most eloquent paragraphs in his "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe":—

"Over the events of life we may have control, but none whatever over the law of its progress. There is a geometry that applies to nations an equation of the curve of their advance. *That no mortal man can touch.*"

In the First Year of the Great War an article of mine appeared in the "Indian Review," having for its subject "Moral Forces in War." I pointed out that notwithstanding the tremendous numerical superiority which was then on the side of Germany, it would prove impossible for her to win, in the long run, since the Moral Forces were entirely on the side of England. I never for a moment wavered in my belief, even when things were at their worst; because I was certain that History never belies itself. Now quite recently a few kind and esteemed friends who had read my former article, on Moral Forces, wrote to me, asking whether I had anything to say on "Moral Forces in Peace." Well, Moral Forces have in Peace at least as much influence as in War, though the Forces may work differently. There are various kinds of Peace after any War: there is the Peace honourable to the victors only: there is the Peace honourable to both belligerents; and there is a sort of Peace dishonourable to everybody who takes part in it. And there is also a Peace, in times of peace, more destructive of the manhood of living man than War is destructive of his material body, as chains are more destructive than bayonets.


At the present moment, the fervent hope of millions of human beings is that England will still go on keeping "Moral Force" in the foremost place; and thus add a crowning success of Peace to the most glorious victory in her History.

The Treaty of Peace was signed on June 28, a date that will become historic. "This formal act" says His Majesty in a Message to the Empire, "manifests the victory of ideals of freedom and my people's joy and thanksgiving"; and we join in the earnest prayer "that the coming years of peace may bring to them ever increasing happiness and prosperity."—*Ed. I. R.*

BOLSHEVISM AND THE ALLIES

BY

Mr. E. W. GREEN

HEN President Wilson uttered his now familiar phrase that the world must be made safe for democracy, he had probably no conception of the far-reaching application of the phrase. He was impelled by fear of the success of German militarism, a limited localised danger. There was no thought that democracy stood in danger from any other quarter. Now it has become clear that an organisation has arisen which is as much a foe to democracy as German militarism was, and that organisation is Russian Bolshevism—a danger neither limited nor localised, but one which may raise its Hydra-head in any quarter of the world. To the man in the street Bolshevism is merely one of the side-issues of the war. It is put in the same category with industrial unrest and economic upheaval. He is shocked at the condition into which Russia has lapsed, but he feels that it is her own fault after all and in a vague way looks upon the consequences as some sort of a punishment for her desertion of the allied cause. The right course to his mind is to leave her to settle her own affairs. In any case it does not seem worth his while to sacrifice any more lives in a quarrel so remote and in a matter for which his country has no responsibility.

But this is the attitude of ignorance—an ignorance as dangerous as the public ignorance of the nature and purpose of German militarism five years ago. If the British and French public had known in 1914 all that German militarism stood for, its objects, machinery and the consequences of its success, the former would have been less contented with its superb little army and the latter would not have tolerated its corrupt politicians. As it was, the public did not understand the danger and was not prepared for the over-

whelming onslaught of the German armies. Have the established Governments of the world done anything to acquaint the public in their charge with the real meaning of Bolshevism, its objects, the methods by which it means to realise its purpose and the consequences of its success? For if the general public does not realise the danger, it will not support the measures which are necessary for the destruction of Bolshevism.

It must be brought home to the people of every country that Bolshevism is no longer a question of professors and books and social faddists. Bolshevism has been developed into as precise and unrelenting a system by Lenin and Trotsky as French Jacobinism was by Robespierre and Carnot. Its object is to establish a communistic system of society and to establish it by force. With this object Lenin has imposed a dictatorship on Russia as searching in its operations and as antagonistic to individual liberty as was the overthrown autocracy of the Czar.

There is nothing democratic in Bolshevist aims. Democracy is a form of government which gives political opportunities to all members of the community and employs the power of government for the benefit of all classes of the people for the preservation of law and order and the protection of life and property. Bolshevism is absolutely and ineradicably opposed to such a form of government or, in fact, to any form of government. The British Labourite and the French Socialist are equally anathema to the Russian Bolshevist. The writer of a recent article—in the *Round Table* quotes from the published works of Bolshevist leaders that "all government will be suppressed except perhaps a central statistical bureau" which will merely determine the quantities of each article to be produced each year by the members of

the community for food and clothing, education and recreation ; Russian Bolshevism stands for the abolition of all private property without compromise or compensation and the institution of a society in which everything is held in common—the Gospel of the German communist, Karl Marx.

If the object of Bolshevism is anti-democratic, still more so are its methods. The means by which Bolshevik doctrines have been established in Russia is naked despotism—a single ruler, Lenin, centralised institutions, a powerful police and a conscript army, the Red Guards. It is as powerful as the ancient Czardom, as ambitious as German militarism, as savage as the French Terror. The avowed object of the Leninists was from the first the establishment of a despotism to exist until communism had been firmly planted in Russia. It is not an end in itself, but the means to an end. It would cease when the need for it ceased, that is, when revolutionary force had crushed all opposition. As their evangelist, Bucharin, has succinctly expressed it—"To Communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The success of such a movement, anti-political in its aim and tyrannical in its method, must be fatal to the existence of democracy. The Bolshevik leaders definitely admit it. Their hostility to the cardinal principle of democratic government was sufficiently revealed when at the beginning of the revolution they overthrew by force the Constituent assembly because the majority was anti-Bolshevik, and set up in its stead the power of Soviets from which all but the working classes were excluded. Their goal is a communistic state "which will destroy all forms of government including democratic government."

But the success of Bolshevism means much more than the crushing of individual freedom and democratic principles in Russia. Its aspirations extend far beyond the successful establishment of

its system in the country of its adoption. Bucharin makes the point quite clear. "In his programme of the communists issued last year in Moscow, he wrote: "The programme of the communist party is the programme not only of the liberation of the proletariat of one country. It is the programme of the liberation of the proletariat of all countries, because it is the programme of international revolution." The success of Bolshevism is, in fact, inseparably bound up with revolution, social, economic and political throughout the world. A few months ago Lenin definitely enunciated that "our chief hope, our chief support is in the proletariat of Western Europe, in the proletariat of the more advanced countries" and admitted that a communist Russia cannot exist in isolation. All Europe must be communist or Bolshevism in Russia is doomed. Hence the hostilities in Poland and Hungary and the apprehension of a Bolshevik entente with Germany and Turkey. The discovery of bomb factories in Holland and Scandinavia set up, it is reported, by Bolshevik agents, indicates the wide range of their operations and their determination to attempt by any means to secure the successful realisation of their ideas. Nor has Asia been forgotten. The creation of a revolutionary atmosphere in India, China, and Persia is a specific part of their programme. Their object again in Asia is to rely on the illiterate working classes in the industrial centres, as they have done in Russia, to overthrow the propertied classes with whom there is no compromise. There is good reason to suppose that Bolshevik agents have been at work in this country.

The situation, in fine, is not unlike that which was created by the French revolutionaries in 1793. When their work had been relentlessly consummated at home by the execution of the King and the overthrow of the ancient social and political system, they turned their eyes towards Europe, offering their aid to any country which

desired to overthrow its government. Not content with the successful establishment of their ideas at home, they determined that every European country should adopt them also, and were prepared to force their views on Europe by arms. These were "the armed opinions" which Pitt armed England to resist and in the word 'security' enunciated the policy which was the eighteenth century equivalent of President Wilson's—"make the world safe for democracy." It is interesting to note too that India came within the scope of French revolutionary sympathies. To Tippoo was sent the red cap of liberty and trees were planted in his dominions in honour of the goddess. Tippoo Sultan became citizen Tippoo of the one and indivisible French Republic. So too at the present time. Europe is faced with the armed opinions of Bolshevik Russia—"the victory of socialism in all countries"—not the heretical Socialism of the French and English Labour Parties, but the true Gospel of Karl Marx, whose prophet is Lenin. The French minister for foreign affairs, M. Pichon, gave expression to this view last month in the course of a debate in the chamber of deputies on the Russian situation when he declared that Bolshevism was not only the plague of Russia, but also that of humanity in general.

The danger then lies not so much in the establishment of "unacquainted change" in one of the countries of Europe as in the intention of the Bolshevik leaders to establish similar conditions by force throughout the world. It is not a domestic Bolshevism, unpleasant and revolting as it may be, which is the danger to be guarded against, but Imperial Bolshevism. It desires, no less than Jacobinism and Kaiserism, the dominion of the world. From this point of view the futility of a policy of *Laissez faire* is obvious. Something might be said for allowing Bolshevism to stew in its own juice, provided it were content to conduct the process within the Russian fron-

tiers. But that is evidently not its intention. Not only, as we have seen, does it purpose the armed dissemination of its views but large areas of Europe are in a condition peculiarly responsive to the new doctrines owing to the economic and political upheaval created by the war. Thus a Bolshevik revolution has been effected in Hungary. The democratic government which was established on the downfall of the Austrian Empire has been overthrown and a Soviet Republic has been set up under the dictatorship of Herr Bela Kun. The machinery, methods and aims of the Hungarian Bolsheviks are identical with the Russian system and indicative of the condition which Bolshevism would impose on any converted country—a conscript army, ruthless destruction of opponents, pillage of private property, and propagation of international revolution. Bela Kun recently declared that even if the Soviet were temporarily overthrown, the coming international revolution would restore the Bolshevik power. In Germany there is at least one Soviet government—Bavaria—and the struggle for the establishment of similar republics elsewhere hangs in the balance, and, though the recent declaration of one of the soberest of London daily papers, that an alliance had been arranged between Russia and Germany, may be unfounded, such a union is not beyond the borders of probability and certainly harmonises with Bolshevik aspirations. In Turkey the situation is still indefinite, but there have been rumours of relations between the discredited and defeated Turkish Government and the Bolshevik leaders, and that the latter count among their agents many Turkish elements. Should Bolshevism establish itself in the Turkish dominions India and Egypt would come more directly within the range of Bolshevik influence.

With the ignominious exception of the attempt to negotiate with the Bolshevik government at Prinkipo, the allied governments have adopted a policy of resistance on the frontiers of Russia—

a system of bases and barriers. Under this system bases were established at Archangel and Odessa from which the flanks of Russia can be assailed in case of necessity and assistance given to anti-Bolshevik elements. Neither force appears to have been strongly established and in the South Odessa had to be evacuated and Sevastopol occupied as the new base. The occupation of these posts is obviously only a temporary measure, a more permanent barrier is to be found in the establishment of a number of nation-states along the frontiers of Russia which will form a barrier against the armed dissemination of Bolshevist opinions through western Europe and an obstruction to the spreading of Bolshevist propaganda. This will be the first political mission of the restored Roumania and of the states which have risen from the ruins of the overthrown Empires. Poland, Bohemia and the country of the Jugo-Slavs, very much as the mediæval Mark system was devised to protect a disorganised and decentralised Central Europe against the onslaught of Magyar and Slavonic tribes. All these states are imbued with a strong sense of nationalism which is the very antithesis of international Bolshevism, and with the will, if not the unaided power, to resist the intrusion of Bolshevism which would mean the destruction of their newly created hopes.

Both political and geographical conditions combine to demand the erection of a strong barrier between Russia and Central Europe. On the one side lies a state in aggressive revolution; on the other lie countries and peoples in a state of political distraction and economic disorganisation containing a discontented proletariat ready to accept the same revolutionary ideas. The problem, therefore, is to close the westward outlets against Bolshevism. There are two main approaches, the wide gap between the Carpathians and the Baltic and the narrow one between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. Poland lies in

the former gap; Roumania in the latter, and these two countries cover the passes of the Carpathians. Between the two gaps lie the Carpathian mountains which are an obstacle, but not an insuperable one, to a westward advance. The importance, then, of Hungary, the state within the Carpathians, is clear. A Bolshevist Hungary threatens both Poland and Roumania and outflanks the Northern and the Southern gaps. Hungary controls also the other gateways to Central Europe. Between the Western end of the Carpathians and the Bohemia mountains lie the Moravian gates, leading to Vienna and the Danube valley; Hungary commands too the Southern approaches to Vienna and the Eastern ones to Italy along the valley of the Save which leads to the plateau of Laibach and the historic gap between the Carnic and the Julian Alps. In these gaps at the Western extremities of Hungary lie the new Czechoslovak and Jugo-Slav states, the former, Bohemia, guarding the Moravian gates and the latter, Bosnia and Croatia, backed by Serbia, covering the southern approaches by the Danube and her two great tributaries, the Save and the Drave, the historic highways trodden from the earliest ages by Eastern invaders. In view, therefore, of its vast strategic importance it is not strange that Bolshevist leaders should have made an early effort to establish their power in Hungary. The establishment of a Soviet Government and its alliance with Russia led to the immediate invasion of the country by Roumanian, Czech and Slovene armies, the wardens of the South Eastern marches.

In the same way Poland has been called upon to check the approach of Bolshevist armies through the broad northern gap. The Polish divisions which had been serving in France were sent back after considerable delay for that purpose. Their commander, General Haller, clearly indicated their mission in a recent statement that they have to create with the Roumanians a barrier

which the Bolsheviks would never break. But it is clear from a glance at the map that if Poland is to fulfil her mission effectively she must regain all those provinces which were torn from her in the three partitions, from Danzig and Thorn in the north to Lemberg and Czernovitz in the South. Without West Prussia there will be an open corridor in the North leading into Germany and, if Galicia is withheld, Poland will not cover the Northern and North-Western passes into Hungary, nor will she link up with Roumania. The situation thus demands the restoration of the Medieval system which followed upon the break-up of Charlemagne's Empire—a barrier of small mark states and an extensive Poland. Such a political system the allies are about to recreate on the basis of nationality.

But Bolshevism is a double-headed eagle with its vision East as well as West. It desires to prepare in the East no less than the West the path to international revolution, and there are areas here also ready to receive the revolutionary propaganda. The extension of Russia into Central Asia facilitated the spread of Bolshevik doctrines in this continent and almost every district of Siberia had at one time its Soviet organisation. So serious was the situation that an allied expedition was sent to Siberia to check the progress of Bolshevism, and only after much heavy fighting have Bolshevik forces been seriously defeated in this region. Equally severe has been the struggle in the Southern outlets in the Caucasus-Caspian region where for a time part of the Mesopotamian army was engaged. In fact Bolshevism has had to be met in Asia as well as in Europe by armed force and, although temporarily defeated, it is not destroyed, and it is imperative that the allies, knowing its scope and purpose, should erect, as in the west, barriers against its approach.

One of the main objectives in the East is India. The proceedings of Bolshevik agents

recently brought to light in Finland makes it clear that India falls within the sphere of their machinations. There is reason to believe that they have already been at work in India, but this preliminary and tentative propagandism is not the subject of this article. The point for consideration is the measures which are necessary to check the armed approach of Bolshevism, in the event of the movement becoming aggressive again. In that case India, like Western Europe, will require her barrier—a political system which will stand between her and Bolshevism for the establishment of a Soviet Government on her borders would be intolerable.

The approaches to India lie through Persia and Afghanistan and both of these countries are areas of political instability, affording by reason of their corrupt governments open ground for the work of Bolshevik agents. Of these countries Persia is the more exposed to Bolshevism. Her powers of resistance are weaker and her corrupt and chaotic condition has already inclined her to coquet with Bolshevism as she did with Germanism. Situated on the flank of the North Western passes into India and controlling communication with the North-West frontier from the Caspian base, it is as important for India that Persia should be anti-Bolshevist as that Hungary should be closed to Bolshevism in Europe. For the same reason Persia, like Hungary, will be a primary objective of Bolshevik intrigue, as it was of French Jacobinism and its subsequent Imperialist phase, when Mirabeau in 1786 hoped for "a timely Russian invasion of India through Central Asia" and Napoleon in 1799 organised a combined attack with Russian forces with Astrabad as his base. Thus the determination of the Persian question and the nature of the Government to be established is a matter of vital importance for India; and British interests in Persia are entirely Indian interests.

But owing to the weakness of its government and its compromising relations with Germany and Bolshevik Russia, Persia can no more be relied upon than Hungary to be a sure defence against Bolshevism. The gateways of Persia require guarding as those of Hungary will be guarded by the new Polish, Czech and Jugo Slav states. Excluding the waterways which lead from the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, Persia communicates with the outside world through the passes of her encircling mountain ranges. On the West, mountains cut her off from the basin of the Tigris and Euphrates, on the North from Caucasus and Armenia. To guard the approaches through these ranges Indian interests require the establishment of stable political conditions in Mesopotamia and Armenia, the countries which cover the Persian passes as Poland and Roumania cover the Hungarian. There remains the North Eastern frontier of Persia which follows the River Atrek and near its source crosses the gap between the range to the South of the river and the mountains of Afghanistan, where the frontiers of Russia, Persia and Afghanistan meet at Zulfikar. On this frontier it would be difficult to construct a barrier state. The break-up of the Russian Empire might result in the development in this region of an independent Turkestan, but that quarter, remote from the support of the anti-Bolshevik governments of the West must remain the weak spot in the armour. For its protection it is necessary to rely upon what it has been British policy to ensure by every means available a strong and friendly Afghanistan.

It seems, then, that the work of the allies in the East should be the creation of stable conditions of government under their guarantee on the frontiers of Persia. It is a policy which requires the creation of new states—Armenia and Mesopotamia and the maintenance of an independent Afghanistan, a course paralled to the strengthening of Roumania and the creation of

the Polish and Slavonic states in Europe. To make Armenia an effective barrier her territory would have to be extended to the Caspian and must include the important towns of Kars and Erivan, through which runs the road from the Russian territory to Tabriz in Persia. Without this extension of Armenia to include the mountainous country which extends practically to the Caspian, a gap would be left through which Russia and Persia would have unimpeded communication.

The political destiny of the territory on the borders of Russia is then one of the most important questions which the Peace Conference has to decide. Of capital interest for Europe will be the settlement of the Polish question. Of more immediate interest to India will be the determination of the future of these territories in the middle East whose condition vitally concerns her own safety. But the whole question is one and indivisible, because it is all inextricably bound up with the future of Bolshevism. The outburst in Hungary is symptomatic of what might happen in any country in which inflammable material exists. It might occur at any moment in Germany, for instance, where the Government has not yet been able to put down the revolutionary party. It is true that Bolshevism shows signs of collapse and has met with serious defeat in Asia, but the evil has been scotched, not killed, and is still to be regarded as a universal peril. To quote the *London Observer* "the enemy to European stability and to general recovery from the war is no longer the Boche, but the Bolshevik."

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APPAYA—A KANARESE SAINT

BY

MR. G. A. CHANDAVARKAR, B.A.

IN the history of Mediæval India the chapter dealing with the lives and work of the saints and the prophets is as remarkable as it is edifying. These saints exercised in their own time a profound influence on social and political life in this country. When the lower classes were denied certain social privileges and liberties these saints stood up as the redoubtable champions of the cause of the down-trodden. When the 'high-born' classes above had any chance of drinking at the fountains of classical lore, they composed their songs in the language of the people and thus enriched the vernacular literature. When the sacerdotal class was proclaiming from the house-tops that the 'twice-born' only can attain God, they declared with all the force of conviction at their command that all can attain Him and enjoy the bliss of *mookti*. They were in more senses than one true nationbuilders. There have been Saints in Bengal, in the Panjab, in the Maharashtra and also in the Tamil Districts of Southern India, every one of whom had a distinct cultural mission in life. The Kanarese districts too had their own saints and in this paper we propose dealing briefly with the life of one such Kanarese Saint familiarly known as *Appaya*.

Saint Appaya was born in the year 1768 A. D. at Bhatkal, in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. This is an excellent little seaport town on the west coast of India. At the time of the birth of this Saint it formed a Village under the control of the Chief of Nagar in Mysore, which was in those days known as *Vidya-Nagar*. It is highly probable that one *Basava-Nripa* was then the chief of this state to whom there are many references in the poems of this poet saint. Ramachandra, the father of Appaya, was a Saraswat Brahmin and held the post of the village headman of Bhatkal, under the Chief of Nagar. Early in life this would-be Saint was known by the name of Lakshuman but was nick-named Appaya, a term which might be a corruption of *Atma* and *Arya*. The Saint in his poems acknowledges *Vimalananda* as his Guru who among other works, is known as the author of a Kanarese work by name "*Krishna-Arjuna Kalaga*," which was composed in the year 1684. There is of course no direct evidence either internal or external to fix the exact date of birth of this poet. Appaya was a healthy lad given

up to a sort of retired life and early in boyhood developed a keen interest in hearing the stories from *Pooranas* and other religious books. He had also shown signs of possessing a taste for playing on musical instruments and became a musician at the tender age of fifteen.

Just at this stage his study of religious books worked out a thorough change in his mental attitude. He was confronted with the eternal problems of life and death. What is life and death? How has this universe come into existence? What do the idols of Shiva and Ganpati denote? Is not God one? What is man and how should his relations be adjusted with his fellow creatures? Why is there misery in the world? Such were the problems at the solution of which this boy of fifteen strove. He now determined to solve them but was fully conscious of the need of a worthy *Guru*. The search after this *Guru* now became the dominant feeling. His fond parents, however, began to feel great anxiety for the future worldly welfare of the boy. Their suspicions grew worse day by day and their next thought was how to wean the boy away from such wild speculations and his insatiable desire to seek after a spiritual *Guru*, with an utter indifference to affairs of this world was too strong for the father and the mother to sit quiet. Every attempt was made to divest the child's mind of all eccentricities. When every plan proved futile they thought of marrying him. With that mill-stone round his neck they thought all angularities would be rubbed over. One charming little girl *Bhagirathi* by name accordingly became a partner of his life. The boy was, however, not of a rebellious disposition and the life's current ran smooth, till the cruel hand of death snatched away the innocent *Bhagirathi*.

But matrimony could not satisfy his hankering after truth. Who could quench his spiritual thirst? Without a diligent search after a *Guru* he could never hope to get solace. With this end in view he was visiting daily a temple of *Maruti* at Bhatkal which was a rendezvous for ascetics and Saints from different parts of India. One fine morning Appaya was circumambulating in this temple dedicated to *Hamuman*, the faithful ally of Rama and lo, a gigantic figure of an ascetic stood before him. The commanding appearance, the symmetrical shape and the glittering eyes of that remarkable *Sanyasin* sank deep

into his heart and the diligent truth-seeker stood before him in all reverence and humility. It appeared to him as though oil was poured over the troubled waters of his mind. The *Sanyasin*, however, first told him that he was being sorely distressed by the pangs of hunger and food alone at that juncture would save him. No more formalities were gone through and at once both of them returned to the house of Ramarao, to partake of what food was available at his house. As fate would have it, that happened to be a day on which grand preparations were being made to receive the Bally-God, Ganesh. People in the house were too busy to attend to any ascetic. Appaya was on the horns of a dilemma. No food was there to be served to any one unless and until it was first offered to God Ganesh. Appaya who was now to play the role of a host began to feel that any further delay on his part would rouse the wrath of the *Sanyasin* and that would for ever deprive him of the benefits of *Guru-Upadesha*. Now or never. Forthwith he proceeded to his wife and sought her advice. *Bhagirathi*, the type of an Indian *Grahinee*—(house-wife)—in all spirit of obedience to her husband agreed to serve the honoured guest, come what may. She knew fully well that the wrath of her mother-in-law and other relatives would descend upon her in all its hideousness. But to her it mattered very little. Husband's word was her law. Quietly she went and served the *Sanyasin*. The troubles did not end there. The guest proved to be voracious beyond her expectations. Anything that she served disappeared speedily. It was doubtful whether he could be satisfied at all and more frightful still it was to empty the contents of the kitchen. The story goes that the vessels that were emptied to feed him were once again filled up as before. Whatever that might be the wonderstruck disciple just then came out to see the honoured guest. But to his utter disappointment and dismay he found he had gone away. Though he was out of sight he was not out of his mind. He was determined to search for him with all the diligence he could possibly command. Forthwith Appaya set out on the search. He passed through dense forests and marshy places but nowhere could he trace him. In these fruitless endeavours one full day and one tedious night passed. Without food or water he continued his journey. Next morning, however, a sonorous voice not quite unfamiliar was heard and he was right glad to note that it was the voice of the self-same ascetic. He came nearer and nearer and accepting him as his disciple delivered unto

him the message of messages. He was asked to go over to a village, not far away from Bhatkal, Bailoor by name and meet him at his *Ashrama*—place of residence.—Here it was that he sat at the feet of this *Vimalananda* and studied *Vedanta* and in fact seemed to have been initiated into the mysteries of occult sciences. In every poem of his the grateful disciple honours the name of this *Vimalananda*.

The details of the incidents in the life of Appaya are not forth-coming. His poems, folklore and tradition testify to distant travels undertaken by him. He seems to have gone as far as Tanjore in the South. Wherever he went he used to compose songs in Kanarese and sing them to people. When he went to the chief of Nagar he composed several songs dealing with the plot of Ramayana and the chief being pleased with them conferred on him the title of "*Vara-Kavi*"—a great poet.—He knew Sanskrit, Marathi and Hindustanee and besides was well-versed in Kanarese. Only 48 poems of his have been published till now by Mr. A. S. Mudbhalkal of Kanara. These 48 poems are priceless gems. In them the philosophy of *Vedanta* and *Dharma* is beautifully delineated. His similes are uniformly sublime and the themes are always inspiring. These songs even to this day are sung with devotion by many people in Kanarese districts and mothers while rocking the cradles too sing them and honour the memory of Appaya. There can be no denying the fact that they are highly popular wherever the Kanarese language is spoken. One or two songs have been composed in Hindustanee and Marathi. There is also a halo of sanctity round the life of a Saint. Appaya too is reported to have worked out several miracles. He is said to have restored eyesight to the blind, crossed the rivers without boats or any external aid or perhaps saved many from the jaws of death. In a highly rationalistic age like the present people may not be prepared to accept them but in any case the mind of the simple peasant or an innocent devotee is always captivated by some such miracles and saints have found a place in the galaxy of *Avatars* or divine incarnations. Their real work as we have stated above is of a more permanent character. Appaya-Kavi must have become a *Sanyasin* in the evening of his life and spent his whole life in preaching and enlightening public conscience. The exact date of his death also cannot be ascertained with precision. There is his grave at Bhatkal to this day and in the temple erected over it many a devotee of his come and revere his memory.

OUR ANGLO-INDIAN CRITICS*

BY
THE HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

IY principal object to day, is to deal with certain critics of ours. I have in mind chiefly the Anglo-Indian critics. It is the fashion amongst a certain school of Indian politicians to treat Anglo-Indian critics as if they do not matter much in current politics. Sometimes no doubt one is driven to that state of feeling, one is free to confess, but as things are at present ordered they do count for a very great deal indeed. Twice during the last few months I have felt called upon in the discharge of public duties to refer to the enormous influence that these critics of ours wield in regulating the affairs of Indian administration. They are an element which it is not wise to ignore. To have them on your side if you can, would be a great strength. To have them against you is to fight against great odds. It is our duty, if we can manage it, to divide this solid wall of opposition, to draw some of it if not entirely, to our side, at any rate, half way in that direction. Attempts in that behalf should be made provided they are done with self-respect on our side and without loss of any of our most essential points in the controversy. I venture to think this task is not an impossibility, and there are amongst us—and I speak for the moment for all schools of Indian politicians—there are amongst us persons possessed of the qualities necessary to draw to our side a great deal of what otherwise under neglect might prove a daily increasing opposition. Now, our critics, the Anglo-Indians are, first of all, safely entrenched. Their position is particularly strong as I shall presently relate. It may seem to some of you that in dealing with these people, if I am at all going to be frank and candid, I shall run very close to the border of section 153 A. of the Penal Code which is one of the sections that they have included in the Rowlatt law, recently enacted. I am afraid of incurring some risk of this, but it is necessary and I do not mind it. Then let me premise that in my conception of the India of the future, as I believe in the future India of most people, the European is not eliminated. He is there, as much as the Indian. Certainly you all realise that the European wishes to be there. To that extent we are agreed; but there are some conditions which for our part we should lay down

as essential if his continuance in the political sphere of India were to be perfectly agreeable to us, if the patriotism of the future India, enlarged and ennobled as it will be, should be altogether reconciled to the presence of the European. Some of these conditions are obvious. We would say the European ought to occupy no position of power or privilege in this country denied to other sections of the population. We would demand that his continuance here was perfectly compatible with the equality with him of all other peoples in India, that it was compatible with the maintenance on the highest level of the national self-respect of the Indian people, that we got rid of all the humiliations which during every hour of the present day existence we feel owing to the domination of the British race. These conditions being satisfied, we shall be reconciled to his continuance in Indian politics. It is in order to bring about the existence of these conditions that part of our energies are now directed. I lay some emphasis on this obvious feature of the situation because I realise that while no body in an enunciation of the situation is likely to admit it, there are moments in our lives when we sit all by ourselves and mix up wish with reality and indulge in day-dreams from which perhaps the European may be absent. To such I would recommend a careful perusal of the article recently written by a remarkable person—Hardayal—I was much interested in the article part of which has been reproduced in *New India*. It is a very instructive document. Obviously it is written from the heart. Hardayal has dipped his pen in the freshest experience of a well-travelled person—a person who has seen not only the strength and the weakness of India but the strength and the weakness of the enemies of the British Empire—a man who has been in league with Germany, who has been actuated by ideals somewhat akin to the Germans. We read of a man whose experience has been under the operation of those ideals, no doubt sought by himself, who has had experience of Germany and of certain other persons with whom he has lived. In a passage glowing with pathetic eloquence, Hardayal writes—I make no apology for reading it, as some of you I am sure have not read it. These long things we some times reserve for leisure and the leisure seldom comes.

He was a very distinguished student, a man who carried away the brightest honours of the Punjab University. He is described by all as a gen-

* Full text of a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Madras Liberal League on the 20th April 1919, and specially transcribed for *The Indian Review*.

ius of the very first order and amongst his Professors were Europeans of distinction. This is what he says :—

Imperialism is always an evil, but British and French Imperialism in its worst forms is a thousand times preferable to German or Japanese Imperialism. The English and the French are at least gentlemen in personal intercourse, and they have free institutions at home, which exercise a liberalising influence on their colonial policy in spite of themselves. The meanest English or French Jingo cannot abolish the Magna Charta or blot out the words, "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," but the Germans, have no tradition of freedom. The Prussian rules over all the Germans, and the Prussian is perhaps the most detestable biped on earth. He is selfish, avaricious, heartless, arrogant, unscrupulous and servile. A slave and a bully, he is cruel to the weak and obsequious to the strong. He understands only the law of Force, and worships Power and Rank. He is an upstart, and has all the vices of the parvenu. He suffers from incurable megalomania, to which political kleptomania and other serious disorders have been added during the last thirty years. He may be a patriot, a poet or a pedant, but he is never a gentleman. He wishes to exploit every one he meets, and his word cannot be trusted. All who know him despise and hate him. There is a good reason for this universal verdict against him. We should rejoice with exceeding joy that he has been humbled and thrown down from his high pedestal. I have lived in Prussia for two years during the war, and know what I am talking about.

And as the world is infested with imperialists of every nationality, it is the part of wisdom for us not to tempt Fate, but to stay under the protection of the British fleet and army in our quiet, sunny home of Hindustan, and to make the best of our position in the Empire. We are not equipped for the deadly rivalries and fierce struggles of this age of iron Imperialism. Others will not leave us alone, if we once lose the shelter of the name and ægis of Great Britain. Exposed to the buffetings of chance and force, we shall have to suffer worse evils than those that now afflict us. Partition, forced conversion to other creeds, and similar calamities have befallen weak peoples in Asia and Europe even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Let us not jump out of the frying-pan of British Imperialism into the fire of who knows what?

Now we all know that every nation that establishes itself over another speaks generally of its civilising mission, of the high aims and objects which alone it seeks to achieve in its conquest of brother man. Really, however, this claim is not always well-founded. We know that it marches side by side with self-aggrandisement, with the subjection, I think, at every turn of the other party, with exploitation of every kind—and in the case of the Power with whom Hardyal had dealings, misdeeds of a far worse type. They say that it is unwise to inquire into the origin of rivers and Rishis. We are likely to come upon some ugly and ignoble things. We have to confine ourselves to the grand things that they do without

making any attempts at knowing the source from which they arise. It is so with Empires. The man who seeks for righteousness in the origin of Empires seeks for things which do not exist. This is not, however, let me confess to you, an evil pertaining to Western Empires alone. We had an Empire of ours in the Past. We conquered Java, Borneo and other countries round about and history says that we came in also by conquest from the north, sometimes by peaceful exclusion of other people, but I dare say also very often by stern measures. Our books also speak of the ways in which the Empire must have extended itself. Let us not be oblivious to the spot in our eyes while we accuse others of infamy. We also gave very good names in our books to some things that those who lived there would not have called by those sweet names. We know how in modern times, when our Empire was extended it was usually through the missionary or the trader. The missionary comes and by his aggressive preachings of religion, by insults heaped upon the religions of the heathens, gets beaten, sometimes killed and the Empire at his back steps forward and demands reparation, possibly a cession of territory. I do not think this would be a bad way of describing some of the ways in which our own Empire seems to have been extended in the remote past. We have read of the primary duties of a king being often described as the protection that he is bound to offer to the Rishis and the Munis, who seek to perform *tapas* in the confines of his territories. In contact with other civilisations, probably of the Dravidian tribes, when they would come and disturb them, and then these people go and tell the king, "We are your men, and yet we are disturbed by these enemies of ours; come and afford us protection"; and the king would go forth and do battle; and while the Sants and Munis were protected, the King's Empire had also been added to. The thing is not altogether unknown to us and I mention this only to show that it is the same with all humankind. There is no use judging other people by standards above which we have not ourselves risen. The test by which we judge an Empire is "Is it on the whole beneficial; is the overlordship of the inhabitants, taking good and evil together, on the whole, for the benefit and improvement of the subject people?" If your answer taking the rough and the smooth together, for there is plenty of rough and smooth in all human transactions, if your answer on the whole is 'yes' we have to be content with the statement that the Empire is a civilising agency. There is no other

sense in which historically we can justify these things. - Now I think if we apply this comparative test, this very human test, we should say upon the whole that the English have done well in India. I know you will urge against this several disabilities under which we still labour. I know them, I will enumerate them by and by.

Take the domain of law which above all is no respecter of prestige of persons or of the race to which they belong. Now, in this very domain of law there is a special immunity afforded to the European which is denied to the Indian. He has the right to claim that he shall be tried by a European Judge or if not by a European Magistrate by a Jury of his countrymen. We have no such right. On the contrary, in our big trials, for sedition for example, we have known our people being tried by juries on which the majority were Europeans. Now I mention this to show how in this very matter of law there is a glaring disability still maintained in this country. But, apart from that, I am constrained to remark on what every lawyer who practices in the High Court knows—I am taking the High Court and not the Lower Courts because that is supposed to be a place where the even-handed character of justice may be perceived. Now here it is more apparent than in the disposal of patronage by the Government. I am informed a good many of the legal appointments go to inferior Europeans, while the Indians with far superior qualifications and in the enjoyment of much better practice are denied preference. I am not aware that there is a statutory rule in this exercise of patronage. But I suppose it is necessary to keep the hungry European Barrister somehow or other alive. But you can see this sort of thing in other spheres as well.

I take next the sphere of religion where again we ought not *prima facie* to be face to face with any disability; even there however, we find that missionaries, in various walks of life, enjoy certain facilities not open to us. When they open schools and are in rivalry with schools managed by indigenous agencies, the latter go to the wall. But above all that, there is at the present moment a serious privilege which they enjoy, to which I have for some years been drawing attention and which I consider to be illegitimate. The Protestant Christian Mission have in their schools enforced the teachings of their religion on children who seek secular instruction. I do not dwell upon it further, except to show that even in this case when we want a conscience

clause it is upon the footing that that is the only condition on which we can reconcile the existence of these missionary institutions in the future system of education. It is for the purpose of giving them a stable and welcome permanence that we desire this measure.

I take next the Press. The European editors transcend the ordinary laws. It is, I think, axiomatic that they are not dealt with in the same way in which Indian editors are. I mention the fact in no spirit of cavil. I know Mrs. Besant frequently saying and writing: "I write in this fashion, and I know I am not touched because I have a white skin." That however represents a fact which is borne in on the experience of all who take part in any way in journalism in this country. They get above all a certain advantage in the matter of news, they enjoy precedence in this respect over others, and the fact that you cannot say that this proceeds from this particular rule or that particular rule makes the evil of this preference all the greater and the more subtle because you cannot attack it. Sometimes these advantages come to them by the mere fact that they are Europeans, not because any special rules are made on their behalf. Rules are made for big things—and certain small things happen without the operation of any special rule.

In the economic sphere our disadvantages are varied and those who have had any experience of commercial transactions, those who have had any experience of banking, will need no facts to justify the broad proposition that in the sphere of economic interests the European by virtue of his race and political supremacy enjoys a very, very great advantage over the Indian competitor.

I need not expatiate on the services with regard to which it is an open sore that we have had during the last 85 or 100 years. Big commissions that stir up political and racial feelings come and go and very little has been done to ameliorate the situation. Now, above all there is another matter to which although it is a little more recondite, attention must be drawn. There is the question of the personal 'prestige' which it is required should be maintained in the case of the European. John Stuart Mill called attention, from his experience of the way in which Indian officers are administering the country, to this very great evil in India—adventurers and two or three classes of men, generally of no great repute, coming from the west and surrounded naturally with certain

facilities attaching to the European dominant race and by reason of those facilities conducting themselves in a very objectionable manner, behaving insultingly and aggressively to the great material prejudice of Indians and often admonishing their own master. He said that their duty must be to put down this sort of European adventurer. Another great writer, Sir James Bryce (now Viscount Bryce) in one of his earlier essays mentions a curious experience of his. He went from one of the capitals of this country on a long expedition into the remote country partly, I suppose, drawn from love of sport but partly also because of his desire to see the races inhabiting the country. It was a wonder to him how he was treated wherever he went and he regarded it as proceeding from a certain knowledge that European authorities had taught frequently these half civilised races that if one of them molested a European the punishment will be prompt and condign. An ordinary Indian who travelled in that way would have been exposed to grave risks. The European was a charmed person. Let him come and go but no one would molest him or deal with him as they would have dealt with a man belonging to the brother races of India. He mentions this as one of the ways in which the Britisher always maintains his supremacy stopping short a very little indeed from the unconscious delusion of personal prestige and strength of his race and visiting any one daring to question this with all the punishment that his great power can bring to bear. Now we know how in daily life this thing has happened. Outrages by Europeans used, some years ago before the enactment of Sec. 153 A, to be the *pabulum* of our newspapers. Now after the enactment of this section we only mention this and pass on leaving every body to make his own comments. Whoever heard of a European who committed an outrage of that kind receiving his due from the process of law?

But there are two or three things which in ways somewhat more obscure have come to my knowledge, in which with a little effort you will discover this same preternatural anxiety to maintain racial prestige, and as it is not always coming out you will see the greater force of it. It came out in a recent discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council when I attacked the predominance of the European in the Indian Medical Service. Amongst other objections that they raised to the introduction of perfect equality they mentioned this thing, and they mentioned it without the slightest blush on their cheek although they knew

it was not always as they put it. They said European ladies would object to be treated by Indian doctors as if every European lady in India has this racial consideration. They further said that European gentlemen also feel some such repugnance to Indian Doctors. That was by no means always the case. They went further even and said, the recruitment for the other services, Civil, Educational and Police, will also become difficult if the members of those services were not assured that the services of a European Doctor would be at their disposal. Well, the thing has only to be mentioned for you to realise the extent to which racial prestige is likely to be carried when Indian opinion is still weak in the affairs of the nation.

Then the members of the Indian Civil Service who recently raised such a cloud over the Reform Scheme said in their Memorandum various things to which you would object. One of the things was that it would be derogatory to the members of the European race to serve under Indian Ministers. They themselves are never tired of saying that a third of the area of this Empire is under the rule of Indian Rajahs and a fourth of the population lives under such rule; and a great many Europeans are in the service of these Indian Rajahs and not only are there but seek such service. Now it is most extraordinary that when they wish to oppose reforms the Europeans say: "We are dead opposed to these reforms because we know that when India is administered purely according to Indian ideas the old world notions will come to prevail once more. We are opposed to 'caste' and to all 'privilege'." At the same time, however, they ask that their own special community, the 'white caste' of the European, should be maintained at an unapproachable level far above the rest of the community, should be preserved by guarantee of law and administration in the enjoyment of these privileges. Then they say, "you are a community torn and rent into divisions" and yet they are the most enthusiastic advocates of communal representation in the Legislative Councils. It is they that stir up the other communities: "You go and ask for Communal representation and we will back you up."

Then they have developed a most extraordinary attachment to the 'voiceless masses of India': and yet when we speak of free and compulsory elementary education as a thing which above all else is necessary, they raise a hundred objections. They object also to allowing the labouring classes to associate themselves into unions for the asser-

tion and maintenance of their rights. There is always fresh recruiting of labourers and labour is recruited with the object described by impartial people as service occupying a position little removed from slavery. I well remember how in the time when Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India the merchants of Lancashire came up with a proposal to diminish the competition of the Indian textile trade, upon the ground amongst others that the Indian textile industry was built up on undue restrictions of labour and that labour was unduly sweated in Bombay and they wanted the Indian labour conditions to be made stringent. Lord Morley administered a severe rebuke by telling them not to add hypocrisy to selfishness but to admit frankly that they shrank from the competition of the Indian manufacturer. He told them that they were moved in this matter not by the humane consideration of protecting the Indian labourer in the Indian Mills. One is tempted to repeat to them this rebuke when they speak of their overpowering love for the Indian masses and concern for their interests. I would ask those amongst them who have not done so to read with care the report of the proceedings at the Savoy Hotel entertainment to Lord Sinha and especially the speech of the Maharajah of Bikanir. No more patriotic, nor more powerful utterance was ever made within the hearing of Englishmen. Every passage in it is replete with sound common sense. He rebuked the Indo-British Association started under the auspices of Lord Sydenham pursuing their nefarious tactics in every possible way, either fair or foul. He called their proceedings mendacious and unscrupulous—strong words to come from the lips of such a man, but they are stamped with the hallmark of truth.

The mendacity and unfairness of such a campaign is nowhere more conspicuous—and that is saying a great deal—than in a pamphlet of the Association, under the title of 'Danger in India: Sedition and Murder,' an annotated epitome of the findings of the Rowlatt Committee. You can imagine how eagerly anti-reform capital is made therein of those findings. Lamentable and serious as are the outrages dealt with in the Report, they relate to nefarious activities of an infinitely small number out of a loyal Indian population of 315 millions, constituting one-fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. * * * * *

And let me say frankly that Indians, Princes and people, indignantly resent the abuse to which Lord Hardinge, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have been subjected.

Now there are two allies with whom the Indo-British association are working hand in hand. One of them is the party represented by that or-

gan of public opinion called 'Justice' in this city. They are powerful allies in conducting this campaign. I do not know what to say of people who think nothing of ranging themselves under Lord Sydenham whom the Maharajah has thought fit to denounce in these indignant words. Then you have got a very powerful body, the European Association in India, which has been recently formed and placed on a basis of greatly increased strength and financial position. Their opposition to the Reforms is rooted and exceedingly bitter. Their campaign is persistent and their antipathy to the educated classes of India is something which may only be described as a menace to the peaceful progress of this country. And you will find among other things that Madras has an unenviable prominence in this matter. The European Association is for all India. It ought therefore to deal, with all matters of general interest to the European Community. And yet if you read what their recommendations are you will find it strongly charged with the prejudices of a person whose experiences proceed almost entirely from Madras. He aims widely his Madras experiences and the antipathy to the Brahman which is a feature of Madras public life, and through the agency of the European Association is spreading it throughout that community in India. Now I have frequently asked my European friends, "What is the strength of this Association; some of your people seem to be so very reasonable and gentle and yet you allow the European Association to speak, write and agitate in your name in this way." Of course, I was then remembering myself how often these European monitors of ours counsel us to repudiate the Extremist teachings of our own people. They say "Why do you not disown Mrs. Besant and the people with her?" Then I say "Why do you not disown the European Association. It is certain you do not agree with its ideas." They say "We do not sympathise with its doings."

This tendency to allow a person who overstates your case, who colours and exaggerates and makes it a point to accentuate racial feelings—this tendency to be represented by such a person is not altogether confined to Indians. It is equally to be observed among the Europeans. I suppose they feel that they should be abused by their community as doubtless some of us would be if we repudiate or disapprove of some of our own people's opinions.

Now there is, however, one redeeming feature, and I must lay emphasis on this aspect because

it is part of to day's talk which I have mostly devoted to the darker side. While I realise as fully as any of you this side of it and in some cases have also seen the worst form of this European domination, I must at the same time recognise, what perhaps some of you do not to the same extent—I must recognise the existence along side of this tendency to self-aggrandisement a tendency also to elevate the class over whom they are placed and by whom they are supposed to be doing their duty. In the first place, I will only draw your attention to three important matters in which Indian opinion has within recent times prevailed against the opposition of European opinion. These I mention as exceptions to the general rule of subservience and neglect of Indian opinion. But the exception ought to open our eyes to the existence of the principle of progress somehow or other embedded in Western Civilisation, in this genius of the British people for governing other races. There is for instance, this great question of the Reforms which you know under every shade and variety of European opposition has taken shape so far and may actually fructify unless something untoward repeating in Indian history happen to baulk them.

There is then the question of the abolition of Indian indenture against which the colonials fought all they could. Then there is the very recent instance of the Viceroy of India rebuking Sir Michael O' Dwyer, the "strong" ruler of the Punjab for offering an open affront to the Indian politicians in the Legislative Council. Now, remember, in every one of these three cases—and I mention only these—in every one of these three cases European opinion was adverse to the step taken. The men that were responsible had to face much unpopularity and odium. And although along with a genuine desire for progress and justice, motives not so clear, not so moral, might also have been mixed up, none of you will I think have the un-charity to deny that a genuine desire for the betterment of our people is present in this mixture of motives in the interrelation of races. The principle of progress always subsisting is not always, however, openly seen. It has occasions of strength and intensity during which its operation is visible above the surface. But every time such a thing happens it is always opposed most violently. You may remember how when the Bishop of Lahore (subsequently Metropolitan) spoke of the desirability of showing charitableness in times of trouble he was severely rebuked as a person who had no place in

politics and should not have intruded into that sphere. He must preach and do no more—as if politics must be kept rigidly aloof from religion, from the sway of the spirit of religion. Doctor Whitehead, the Madras Bishop—with whom we are all well acquainted, some of us at least—had a similar treatment. He was also spoken of as a person who intruded into the domain of politics and brought Christian charity, Christian love, Christian equality into the treatment of questions which in these things ought to have been kept out. Now, when Mr. Montagu is devising a great scheme of reform, he finds the greatest opposition coming from the trained Indian Civil Service. But like an astute Parliamentarian he does not—as you and I in somewhat freer positions may do—he does not turn round and denounce them. He cajoles them, occasionally also he bribes them and the sister services. But he always tells them the cardinal truth of the new situation. He says to them in words as plain as possible: "Your position in the future of India cannot be the same as it has been in the past. You must reconcile yourself to the change in the situation." A warning of that kind uttered by the Secretary of State and not altogether for the first time is however resented by these people.

The announcement of the 20th August 1917, promised the transfer of responsibility. From whom to whom? To the people of India from the Civil Service of India. (Cheers.) If we said to the Civil Service to-day that their political position will be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the announcement of H. M. Government becomes meaningless. (Hear, hear.) For the past ten years I have been in close association with the Home Civil Service. Is their position unendurable? Is there any doubt about the great Imperial services they render because they are subordinate to the policy laid down by Parliament? There is, believe me, for the Indian Civil Service an indispensable and honourable part in the future of India. The pronouncement of eighteen months ago meant nothing unless it meant that the political destinies of India are to be gradually reposed in the people of India, and gradually taken from those who have gloriously built up India as we know it to-day. (Loud cheers.) Although any talk of reform in any country brings out of retirement those who walk, dangerously as it seems to me, with their heads over their shoulders, gazing admiringly, I do not know that there is any Civil Servant in India who thinks (though it is sometimes claimed on their behalf) that the appointed destiny of the country can be delayed or altered in the interests of the service. (Loud cheers.)

Now that is as clear a statement as we could desire with regard to the character of the coming Reforms. But even he has been obliged, as I told you, to conciliate the opposition of the

the organised Civil Service by every possible means. You may remember how Lord Morley had to play the same part. The Viceroy has given them guarantees foreshadowed in his speech in the opening session of our Council, and the Viceroy has granted to them increased salaries and is contemplating, I understand, a scheme of increased pensions as well. Nevertheless, he recognised that the future Government of India is a Government by 'vote'—no longer by despatch—and that is the great point that we have got to remember in shaping our course to-day. We have got to realise that the Government here is to be a Government by 'vote,' that is to say by people whom you place in power as a result of contested elections during which opinion clashes with opinion and programmes of reform compete with programmes of reform and men with one set of political opinions contend for the suffrages of their constituents with men holding a rival set of opinions. This we have got to realise even before it comes. The situation is this. Before, in India, Government by 'vote' comes in we have to realise that that great change can only come in by manipulation of opinions and vote in the English Parliament. Their Parties are divided; we have friends of reform, men in whom this principle of progress that I have just now mentioned finds illustrious embodiment, people who may be represented as the vehicle of the better mind of the English generally. There is the other Party represented by Lord Sydenham seconded by the 'Justice' Party in India and by the Anglo Indian Press in this country. Between two sets of people we have to win what we desire. Ought we not, I ask, by every means open to us, strengthen the hands of the 'friends' of reform, men like Mr. Montagu, who have determined that if they can help it, India shall take one long and big stride in constitutional progress. Let us then do nothing in India, which may weaken their hands, which it will be difficult for them to defend, which our opponents may be able to put forward as proving the proposition that India is either unfit by nature or distempered for the time being for the receipt of any large measure of political power. This is a great lesson that we must never let go out of our minds.

I have during the last few months come in contact with some Europeans who seemed to me to be genuine representatives of this principle of progress. They have told me, 'we are not many in England, it takes a good deal of knowledge for us to translate our theoretical sympathy into practical benefit for your cause. Help us therefore by

enabling us to understand you. Lots of good, well-meaning people enthusiastic for the liberation of humanity there are in England, but they have been continually mistaught and misguided. A good many of them believe that India will pass, when the hand of Great Britain relaxes—that India will pass into the hands of people who are social and religious reactionaries, that the power will then be wielded to turn the face of India backward, that attempts will be made in a Chauvinistic direction to replace ancient institutions that have ceased to serve and violate the conscience of Western Civilisation, that you will attempt once more to enthrone caste privilege and bring in the numberless divisions that unhappily divide you, that you will in every way undo the great things that—unconsciously it may be, Great Britain in her civilising mission—limit it as you may in your comprehension—accomplished in India. Come then, some of you and teach us to believe, as we heartily desire to believe, that you will carry on, when seated in the place of power, the traditions that we have built up in India, that you will stand for intellectual and social progress, that you will stand for perfect toleration, perfect equality of religions, that you will do nothing in fact to hinder India from taking her place amongst the great Nations of the world. You will have to give us that assurance." And if we are to do that most important business I think the direction in which we must spend our energies, the shape that we must give to all our thoughts and actions, is pretty clear. Now, only one idea I have got to state and with it I will finish. There are some amongst us who do not wish that any Indian of prominence should be associated even in social matters with Europeans. I have myself been often criticised and sometimes violently ridiculed for my attempts to understand the European and to be understood by him. I do not in the least feel embarrassed by such criticism. I know it proceeds from ignorance. I know it proceeds from complete failure to understand the necessities of Indian conditions. Gentlemen, I have just now said that it is one of our primary duties to increase the volume of sympathetic opinion in England, that you have to mollify and to subdue to sympathize with it the asperities of European opinion here. Now everyone knows that sympathy is born of true knowledge and intercourse. Do not turn round upon me and say "Do not the Germans and the English understand each other?" Now I do not say that sympathy and knowledge alone will

answer. There is such a wall of reserve erected between the European and Indian, generally that justice is not done to Indian character, Indian aspirations and to Indian capacity, sometimes, no doubt, as you will see, through perversity and a desire not to see the facts of the case, but also from ignorance, from some amount of failure on our own part to make ourselves understood by those with whose fortunes our fortunes have somehow or other been entwined. It is necessary so to cultivate relations with them that however much we may differ in the political field we still may learn to understand and respect one another in the social and intellectual spheres so that political controversies may be conducted without any bitterness,

so that political rivalries may be pursued without entire disadvantage to the weaker party and the whole of our political campaign may reach that stage, the fruit of emancipation, which we so much desire. Europeans do wish to understand us. Remember that you must do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. Just as you take the Europeans to task when they persecute Mr. Norton and Mr. Adam, just as you blame them for thinking ill of any individuals amongst them who are friendly to you, so remember in your turn that you must not be uncharitable and harsh to those who feel that part of their duty to India lies in understanding and being understood.

KRISHNAKUMARI

BY

PROF. P. SESHADRI, M.A.

Two mighty, rival princes claimed her hand,
 Threatening her father with the scourge of war ;
 Their martial hordes were pressing on the land,
 Each warrior backed by allies near and far ;
 Old Bheem Singh lay in anguish and despair
 And sought in vain to stem the coming tide :
 And thus it was a bane that she was fair,
 When kingdoms fought to win her as a bride.
 The weary, groaning people longed for rest
 And peace and scowl'd upon her in their ire
 As cause of all the pain and strife. And lest
 The land she loved be vexed with sword and fire
 She quaff'd a poisoned bowl which stopp'd her breath,
 And chose the marriage-bed of kindly Death.

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

BY
MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH

INDIANS have a direct interest in the settlement of the Palestine question. To begin with, that country divides with Egypt the honour of guarding the bridgehead between Europe and Asia, and so long as war is not banished from the world and that prospect daily becomes dimmer and dimmer, whatever happens to Palestine vitally concerns us. Muslim shrines are, moreover, strewn about Palestine in great profusion, and while India has 70,000,000 Muslims, any resettlement of any part of the Muslim world touches Hindus and Muslims alike.

With these ideas simmering in my mind, I called upon Mr. Israel Zangwill, the Hebrew litterateur and dramatist, whose imagination, idealism, and humour are appreciated wherever English is read. Though he is burning with the desire to lead his people back to Zion, he thinks in terms of humanity and not merely in those of Judaism.

The very first glimpse that I had of Mr. Zangwill gave me that impression. It was in 1912 that I made his acquaintance. The Italian war upon Turkey had just commenced. He came to a meeting organised by Mr. W. T. Stead in London to urge the British people to stop that war, and spoke warmly in support of that movement. I was greatly touched to find this ardent Zionist standing up boldly in defence of the liberty of the Muslims in Tripoli. But Mr. Stead assured me that Zangwill's particular mission in life was to champion the under-dog, whoever he may be.

When I called upon Mr. Zangwill the other day I found that it was not at all necessary to remind him that Palestine was a land sacred to the Muslims as well as to the Hebrews and Christians. Hardly had we begun to talk on the subject when he referred to that problem.

At present there were, he said, something like 600,000 Arabs in Palestine. What would become of them if a Jewish State were created there? How would they be able to compete successfully with the Jews, who, in all parts of the world, have proved their ability to survive under the most discouraging conditions? Besides, if the Arabs remain in the country and the Jews do not employ them on the land, the Jews will be criticised for leaving them out in the cold, while, on the other hand, if the Jews give them work the world will be told that they get others to do their manual work. In either case the Jews will come in for criticism.

But, Mr. Zangwill asked, why could not an amicable arrangement be made whereby the Jews may buy out the vested interests of these 600,000 Arabs in Palestine, and then settle gradually the new Arab State? These people, he declared, live under canvas, or in mud hovels. But the Jews would be willing to pay a fair price for every value they had created.

Why could not the Jews, Mr. Zangwill inquired, render financial assistance to the Arab State and establish good neighbourly relations?

In regard to the sacred places, Mr. Zangwill suggested that the Hebrew converts to Islam should be put in charge of the Muslim shrines, whereas the Christian holy places should be entrusted to the Hebrew converts to Christianity. When the Jewish hatred for the Apostate is remembered, this suggestion coming from a son of Israel appears most remarkable.

In considering Mr. Zangwill's ideas about the future of Palestine it is necessary to bear two facts in mind:

First, Jewish aspirations for a national home in the land of Israel are not confined to one small

section of Hebrews. On the contrary, they are cherished by Jews rich and poor, influential and lowly, in all quarters of the globe. Jews living in lands where there is no political persecution, and in countries where they are constantly maltreated and occasionally massacred, are keenly interested in the Zionist movement.

Second, the great Powers associated together for purposes of war, speaking through responsible statesmen, have definitely committed themselves to the realisation of that ideal. For instance, the Rt. Hon. J. Balfour, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared, on November 2, 1917 :

"His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of its object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Apart from the allegations made against the Turks, these circumstances render it impossible for Palestine to revert to the *status quo ante bellum*.

We must further remember that so long as we in India, both Muslims and Hindus, are claiming national rights, we cannot resist a similar movement in another corner of Asia. To do so would be to expose us to the jeers of our political enemies.

Thoughtful Muslims in Britain are beginning to realise this. One of them with whom I was talking the other day admitted quite frankly that something will have to be done to satisfy the Jewish desire for a national home. But he contended that the only way in which it could be done without giving offence to Muslims would be to convert Palestine into an autonomous Jewish State of the Turkish Empire.

I do not know how that suggestion will commend itself to the Hebrews. But with goodwill on both sides, I am sure that the problem is capable of a solution that will be satisfactory to the Mus-

lims and the Jews alike. It certainly is in the interests of both, and of the world at large, that a *via media* should be found.

At any rate, it is quite as much in the interests of the Muslims as of the Jews that the settlement in Palestine, Syria, or any other part of the near or middle East be not dictated by designing Imperialist jingoes. Mr. Zangwill, I found, had no patience with men who were bent merely upon such enterprises. He would not have a camouflaged Jewish State. He wishes the land of Zion to be the home of his people, and to be managed by them.

If a Hebrew could be found to govern, from Whitehall, so large and populous a country as India, he pertinently asked, why could not a Hebrew be found capable of being the supreme head of Jewish Palestine? Why not, indeed?

Persons who talk of a Jewish Vice Governor for Palestine (and in this case I have heard the name of the Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, a cousin of the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, mentioned) do so because they would like to have General Allenby, or some other such person, set in authority over the whole of the Near East and Middle Asia. These people really dream of the extension of the Empire by the incorporation, under one name or another, of the whole of Middle Asia.

Mr. Zangwill is, however, the sworn foe of all expansionists. He wishes the settlement of the whole world to proceed in conformity with President Wilson's "fourteen points," and each new State to enjoy free institutions. Indians may rest assured that he has no sympathy with those Imperialists who do not hesitate to tell the world that English Jews will be satisfied if Palestine is given, for the time being, a Crown Colony Government under British tutelage, so long as the officials are Jews, preferably English Jews.

I asked Mr. Zangwill if he thought that the Hebrews would emigrate to Palestine in suffi-

ently large numbers if it were constituted into a Jewish State. He said that the trouble would be to keep emigrants out until the land was ready for them. Under long misrule, he declared, Palestine had become desolate and it would take years of assiduous labour to make it fit for the reception of further agricultural colonies. Irrigation would have to be developed, communications built, sanitation introduced, and towns planned. The work would be stupendous, and would require brains, men, and money.

What was happening in Palestine at the present time, I asked. From the latest account that Mr. Zangwill had received, he could not say that much progress was being made in any direction. The site for the Jewish University had been bought and that fact had been announced with a flourish of trumpets. But all schemes for development must, of necessity, hang fire until the Jews and others knew what the Peace Conference proposes to do about Palestine.

The strong Imperialist tendencies that assert themselves in spite of Dr. Wilson's idealism, have made Mr. Zangwill extremely weary, as, indeed, they have made others. From what one hears, one often wonders if justice will triumph in the end, and if, after all, the world will be resettled along Wilsonian lines.

To do Mr. Zangwill justice, I must say that he is looking forward to the consolidation of the Arab people, as of all the world, on a basis of reason and goodwill. He does not wish to see Arabia, Mesopotamia, or, for that matter, any part of the Near or the Middle East, become a part of any Imperial system while retaining *nominal* independence. He has, moreover, a very shrewd idea that we in India do not lack administrative genius, as Englishmen who have been out to India would like to have the world believe. All movements for national rights have his blessing, and can count upon all the support that he can lend them.

PROGRESS OF CHEMISTRY IN INDIA'

BY

DR. P. NEOGI, M.A., Ph.D.

THE older Indian Universities at the Presidency towns, were established as early as in 1857. The foundation of the Universities marks a distinct epoch in the renaissance of modern India for more reasons than one. In the first place they perhaps for the first time threw open the portals of learning to all alike, rich and poor, Brahmin and Pariah, Hindu and Mussalman. In the second place they brought into India a knowledge of the western sciences which have revolutionised human civilisation by harnessing the forces of nature to the use of mankind and by attempting to give man an insight into the

workings of nature in her manifold fields of work.

But the introduction of the modern sciences into India in an effective form was not possible in a day. The earlier efforts of the Universities were more or less concentrated on the wider diffusion of literary knowledge, and when science teaching was undertaken it was done mainly on the "black board and chalk" system in the absence of suitable laboratories where alone science can be taught properly. It is to be remembered that the western sciences were introduced into India *de novo*, as the old spirit of scientific enquiry and skill which produced the magnificent iron pillar at Delhi in the 5th century, the gigantic iron girders of Puri,

* Inaugural address delivered by Dr. P. Neogi M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S., F.C.S., to the Rajshahi College Chemical Society on the 27th, February.

Bhubaneswar and Konarak temples in the middle ages or the colossal copper statue of Buddha 80 ft. high which Hi-yen Tsang saw standing at the gates of the famous Nalanda Convent were lost long ago. To repeat what I have said elsewhere. "From the seventeenth century onwards Europe began to wake up from her slumber of intellectual atrophy of the dark middle ages and scientific research began to strike deep roots in European soil. In India, however, the reverse reaction was in progress. The time from which Europe got a new lease of intellectual activity in all branches of human understanding marks the period when India reached the nadir of her intellectual decadence. Industries began gradually to be relegated to the least advanced communities as being unworthy of the higher castes with the inevitable result that old methods continued in a moribund condition without any improvement which is possible only when they are conducted by intellectual people."* So complete was the emasculation of the scientific spirit in the latter half of the nineteenth century that when the Calcutta Medical College was opened, no Bengalee student was available who would dare commit, what was regarded as a deadly act, *viz.*, the dissection of a dead body or the purpose of learning human anatomy. It is even reported that when at last one Hindu boy was actually found out to undertake the work, the tidings were trumpeted forth to the world by gunfire from the ramparts of Fort William.

Thus judging from the fact that the introduction of the western sciences into India was in the nature of an innovation it is no wonder that for full half a century India produced very few scientists who looked to research work as their vocation in life. Original work certainly presupposes the prior diffusion on a comprehensive scale of known knowledge, and it took full half a century to produce that amount of diffusion of

P. Negoi's Iron in ancient India.

knowledge of the western sciences which is a necessary preliminary to the creation of an atmosphere of original thought and work.

EARLIEST ATTEMPTS

Nevertheless individual, though isolated, attempts were not wanting. So far as Chemistry is concerned, the credit of pioneering chemical research in India during this period of preparation is due to an Englishman. I refer to Sir Alexander Pedler at the Presidency College, Calcutta. Mr. Pedler was an assistant of the late Sir Henry Roscoe before he came out to India. He was a brilliant lecturer and I have been told by some of his pupils that he was extremely successful as a teacher. His work at the Presidency College on cobra poison and on the action of atmospheric moisture on red phosphorus was the best he turned out and won for him the coveted distinction of a Fellowship of the Royal Society of London.

But Sir Alexander was more or less an individual worker in the cause of chemical research. The general line of science teaching as distinguished from research work was not of a high order. Laboratories were conspicuous either by their absence or by their defective equipment. It was not uncommon for a professor of chemistry to hold up his thumb and say "suppose this is a test tube". Even when we graduated so late as in 1903, no graduate in chemistry was required to do practical work of any kind. Honours students alone were asked to undergo a course of practical work in qualitative analysis only. It is no wonder that Sir Alexander did not get any student to follow in his footsteps.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE.

Another noteworthy movement in this direction in a collective shape was started by the late illustrious Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar. Almost single-handed he collected a large sum of money and established at Calcutta the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science with the two-fold object in view, *viz.*, the diffusion of

scientific knowledge on an experimental basis and the prosecution of research work. For more than a generation the Association has been delivering lectures on Physics and Chemistry (and lately Botany) to students as well as to the public. I was a pupil of this association myself and can personally testify that possibly with the exception of the Presidency College, Calcutta, no institution in Bengal delivered lectures in Physics and Chemistry with such a wealth of experimental illustrations. The second object of the illustrious founder of the Association was not naturally fulfilled in his life-time for the very obvious reason that a sufficiently large number of students imbued with true love for science was not created by the system of science teaching then prevailing. It is, however, satisfactory to notice from the recent publications of the Association that the second object of the founder is now being fulfilled and it is being increasingly converted into a common meeting place of the younger generation of Indian scientists.

NEW UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS

So far as science teaching is concerned, it must be noted that the new Regulations of the Universities framed after the passing of the Universities Act during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty have completely revolutionised it. Science teaching has now become real. Laboratories have grown up like mushroom growths in the remotest colleges. Practical work has been made compulsory for every science student from the Intermediate to the M. Sc. degree. The result has been that science students now have an opportunity of reading science in the only manner it should be read. Science is now loved and appreciated by the students instead of being looked upon as a subject for pure memory work. How science teaching has been revolutionised by the new Regulations of the Calcutta University will be easily understood from the history of our own college. When I joined the Rajshahi

College in 1907 there was no Chemical Laboratory worth speaking. It would be no disparagement to the memory of this college when I say that two dispensing tables with a few re-agent bottles formed all the paraphernalia of the Chemical Laboratory. But the requirements of the new regulations were rightly very high, and compliance with them was ably insisted on by the late Mr. J. A. Cunningham on behalf of the University. The old laboratory was remodelled and equipped at a total cost of about half a lakh of rupees. A new physics laboratory costing about three quarters of a lakh is now an ornament of the college. This story has its counterpart in every college teaching science subjects. The erection and equipment of these laboratories has not only made science-teaching real and attractive to students, but has alone enabled professors of colleges other than those of the premier college of the province to conduct research work. At present any college affiliated up to the Honours standard in any science subject must of necessity possess a sufficiently well-equipped laboratory where the professors would be in a position to carry on research work if their inclination tends in that direction. This radical improvement in the equipment of laboratories in response to the dictates of the new regulations of the Universities has indeed gone a very long way in ushering an era of research work in science.

RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIPS

Along with this improvement in science teaching a very real step for the advancement of research work was taken by the Government of Bengal in the institution of ten research scholarships of the value of Rs. 100 per mensem to be awarded to M. A. and M. Sc's in Arts and Science subjects and made tenable for three years. This step was perhaps the first recognition which the Government extended to the necessity and value of training in research work. The value of research work is not

even now properly understood. It is thus often forgotten that we Indian teachers have so long been teaching in the form of textbooks the accumulated actual research work brought into being by our European confreres. Surely the time has come when India would no longer be a mere debtor country to Europe in point of new knowledge, but would also through the labours of her own sons repay her debt and present new thought to the world as it was her privilege to do in ages gone by.

At any rate these research scholarships provide young aspirants for original work with the necessary training for such work. Every profession, every art, has its special training, and research workers would require training to imbibe the spirit of work as well as to learn the methods of work at the feet of some *guru* who has already got research work to his credit. I was a research scholar myself and can personally testify to the value of such scholarship in the act of providing the necessary training in this respect. Most of those who have now earned reputation for original work in our country in Chemistry and other subjects have been research scholars under some acknowledged authorities in their subjects.

Fortunately the value of research scholarships has been understood by the Universities as well. The Premchand Roychand studentship, which was originally bestowed as the result of one of the stiffest competitive examinations, has now been converted into research scholarships. The Calcutta University has also provided several research scholarships out of the Sir Tarak Palit and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh endowments. Other Governments and Universities have followed suit with the result that an ever increasing number of earnest seekers after knowledge is springing up in all parts of India who are expected to raise in the near future the level of creative knowledge in our country.

Whilst the improvement in science teaching

and the recognition of the value of research training have been the most potent general factors tending to the creation of those environments which are necessary for the development of research work, it would be proper to refer here to the devoted labours of Dr. (now Sir) P. C. Ray in the cause of chemical research. Dr. Ray, after taking the D. Sc. degree at Edinburgh joined Sir Alexander Pedler as an Assistant Professor of Chemistry in the Presidency College. Like Sir Alexander, Dr. Ray had to be content for a number of years in being an individual worker. But by his magnetic personality and with the establishment of research scholarships he was gradually able to draw round himself a body of earnest students and assistants who were anxious to follow the example set by their *guru*. The result of the association of research assistants and scholars became soon apparent in the large increase in the output of original work from the Chemical laboratory of the Presidency College. Whilst Dr. Ray unaided contributed only ten papers during the decade 1893-1902, the number of papers contributed by himself and his assistants and scholars during the next decade rose to the number of forty. Messrs Jatindra Nath Sen and Atul Chandra Ganguli and myself were fortunate in being Dr. Ray's earliest associates. Drs. Rashik Lal Datta, Nilratan Dhar, Hemendra Prasad Sen and Bimanbehari De and others joined him afterwards. The secret of success in maintaining a steady output of research work from a particular laboratory lies there—viz. in placing a large number of research scholars and assistants under a qualified person when a two-fold result accrues. In the first place the scholars receive the necessary training in the methods of work and in the second place the output of research papers steadily increases owing to the conjoint labours of the teacher and the taught. This system obtains everywhere in Europe where dozens of research

scholars work under the guidance of one professor, the result being an enormous output of research work from a single laboratory and also the upbuilding of an army of trained research workers who spread the gospel of work in distant parts of their own country.

INSTITUTES OF SCIENCE.

Whilst Sir P. C. Ray was training up his scholars in Bengal, a great and noble mind in Bombay was conceiving the idea of establishing and endowing a purely research Institute in Southern India thus creating a nucleus of chemical research in that part of the Indian continent. The late illustrious Mr. J. N. Tata, spent a large portion of his enormous wealth in founding the Indian Research Institute which was ultimately located at Bangalore in the Mysore territory and brought from England Dr. Travers, one of the most brilliant co-workers of Sir William Ramsay as its first director. The work commenced by Dr. Travers and Dr. Rudolf has been ably continued by Dr. Sudborough, Dr. Watson and Dr. Fowler, and the Institute has already succeeded in obtaining a name and fame in being a centre of chemical research. Professor Ray of the Patna College, Messrs' Paranjpe, Bhagabat Lakhaumani and others are the products of this institute and it is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. Sudborough and his colleagues would be able to train up an ever-increasing band of young chemists surcharged with the spirit of devotion for the science who in after-life will be able to keep the flame of work burning in other parts of India.

A prototype of this Institute has recently been established at Calcutta, thanks to the munificent donations of the late Sir Tarak Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. The Institute has been placed directly under the control of the Calcutta University as a University College of Science and aims at combining post-graduate teaching with research work in Chemistry. The services of Sir P. C.

Ray were requisitioned before his retirement from Government service and he and his colleagues.

OTHER CENTRES.

Other centres of chemical research have now happily been established as a direct result of the infinitely better condition of equipment of laboratories in fulfilment of the new regulations.

Dr. E. R. Watson has very largely succeeded in converting the chemical laboratory of the Dacca College into a research centre. Many of his pupils like Drs. Anukul Ch. Sircar, Sudhamaya Ghosh, Brojendra Nath Ghosh have gained distinction by their research work in chemistry.

The late Dr. Hill was carrying on research work in Chemistry at the Muir Central College, Allahabad and was assisted by Dr. A. P. Sircar in his work. Dr. Richardson worked in the Central Hindu College at Benares. Then again Dr. J. L. Simonsen was busy in his work and trained up research workers at the Presidency College, Madras and some of his pupils have published the results of their work in European Chemical Journals. Dr. Meldrum is keeping up the tradition of research work at the Ahmedabad College in distant Guzerat. At Rajshahi I am particularly happy to be able to report that my colleague Mr. B. R. Adhicari and our only research scholar Mr. Tarini Charan Chowdhuri have turned out valuable work which has found place in English, German and American Chemical Journals.

It will thus be seen that the spirit of work is there. It is expanding on all sides. It has got to be fostered with proper care. Facilities in the shape of research endowments and scholarships have got to be provided in every college. The difficulties of workers in mofussil colleges are hundred-fold in comparison with their more fortunate brethren at metropolitan centres and consequently the former should readily be provided with reference journals, special re-agents and apparatus as well as the services of a sufficient large number of research scholars.

INDIAN MUNITIONS BOARD

It will be pertinent to refer here to the recent research activities of the Indian Munitions Board in the cause of Indian industries during the war. It is to be remembered that most of the chemists ordinarily engaged in chemical research undertake subjects of purely scientific interest. Very few researches relate to applied chemistry. Whilst it is true that development of chemical industries is absolutely dependent on the progress of the pure science, problems which are calculated to be of immediate use to the country in the development of industries should also be handled for solution. This aspect of chemical research attracted most attention in Germany where industrial concerns dependent on the progress of applied chemistry employ a large staff of chemists, sometimes even in hundreds in a single factory, whose labours enrich the proprietors themselves and at the same time add to the existing stock of knowledge of pure science.

The Indian Munitions Board during the war harnessed the research activities of the Indian chemists for the solution of chemical problems relating to industries which arose out of war conditions. Dr. Simonsen of the Madras Presidency College was appointed Chemical adviser to the Board. Sir P. C. Ray in the University College of Science, Dr. Sudborough and his colleagues at the Tata Institute of Science, Dr. De at the Presidency College, Dr. Ghosh at the Gauhati College, Prof. Normand at the Wilson College, Bombay, Prof. Dunncliffe at the Government College, Lahore, were given by the Board industrial problems to solve. I was given the task of investigating the possibilities of manufacture of potash from the ashes of indigenous plants. Much of the results which have accrued were important for the period of war only but the Board indirectly stimulated one branch of chemical research which has hitherto been neglected by Indian chemists. It is an

cerely to be hoped that when the Munitions Board is disbanded after the conclusion of peace, this branch of the Board would continue as a permanent feature of the industrial department of the Government.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Lastly I would like to refer to the services of newly formed Indian Science Congress in the cause of stimulating research work not only in Chemistry but also in Physics, Botany, Agriculture and other sciences. The Congress has been organised under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to fulfil the purpose of an Indian "British association for the cultivation of science" on the suggestion of Dr. Simonsen and Prof. Macmohan of the Canning College, Lucknow. I have the good fortune of being able to attend all its sessions held at Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, Bangalore, Lahore and Bombay and would be able to testify to the great utility in having such a congress in our midst. It serves as a common meeting ground for all science workers scattered in isolated laboratories throughout our vast country and at the same time not only stimulates healthy rivalry for more and better work amongst those who are actually engaged in research work but also serves to kindle a spirit of work in the minds of students and other local members of the younger generation who take part in the congress. My interest naturally centres in the Chemistry Section of the Congress, and I have it on the authority of a competent critic who attended several meetings of the British Association that the quality of papers read and discussions conducted would not be unworthy of the British Association itself.

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MARTIAL LAW IN THE PUNJAB

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BY

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 **HILE** the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab has been widely discussed in the press, the legal aspects of the subject have received comparatively little attention from the public. It is neither practicable nor desirable to go into the merits of any individual case, but it is worth while considering the scope and effect of the regulations and ordinances under which action has been taken and the powers of the Crown and the military authorities apart from any specific enactments.

The regulation under which Martial Law has been introduced in the Punjab is the Bengal State Offences Regulation 1804, which has been declared to be in force in the Punjab by section 3 of the Punjab Laws Act 1872. Section 2 of this regulation empowers the Governor General in Council to suspend or direct the suspension of, wholly or partially, the functions of the ordinary criminal courts and to establish Martial Law therein during the existence of any war or open rebellion against the authority of the Government and also to direct the immediate trial by Courts-Martial of all persons owing allegiance to the British Government, who may be guilty of certain offences. The only offences, which can be taken cognizance of, are those specified in the second paragraph of section 2. The persons who can be tried by Courts-Martial under this regulation are subjects of the British Government, who shall be taken :

1. In arms in open hostility to the British Government, or
2. In the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the Government, or
3. In the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the State, or
4. In the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British Government within any part of the territories in question.

The punishments provided by section 3 are, death and forfeiture of property. Having regard to the severity of the punishments provided and the language of sections 1 and 2 and the whole scheme of the regulation, there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the opinion of Advocate-General Spankie that the manifest intention of the regulation was, that none but cases of the

simplest and most obviously criminal nature should be the subject of trial by the Courts-Martial, that only persons, who were *taken* in the actual commission of overt acts of rebellion or hostility should be tried by such courts and that complex cases depending upon circumstantial proof and requiring either a long examination of facts or a discriminating inference from facts in themselves equivocal were purposely withdrawn from the cognizance of these tribunals. Where persons concerned in acts of rebellion were not taken in the actual commission of the offences specified in the regulation, the intention of the legislature evidently was, that they should be handed over to the civil power for trial by the ordinary criminal courts, as will appear from the instructions issued by the Governor-General on the 11th April 1805 (See Harrington's Bengal Regulations edition of 1821, page 350).

The Martial Law Ordinance—I of 1919—recites that the functions of the ordinary criminal courts have been suspended in respect of the offences described in section 2 of the regulation and provides for trials in respect of such offences being held by commissions of three persons appointed by the local Government instead of by Courts-Martial. The object of this substitution was presumably to secure the presence in the tribunal of judges in the civil employ of the Government. As a consequence of this constitution of the tribunal the right of the accused to challenge the members of the tribunal has been excluded and the necessity for confirmation of the finding and sentence as required by sections 94 and 98 of the Army Act has also been provided against. Though this ordinance came into force at mid night on the 15th April 1919 it was expressly rendered applicable to all persons referred to in Regulation 10 of 1804, who were charged with any of the offences therein described, committed on or after the 13th April 1919. The question has been raised in some quarters whether the ordinance is valid, in so far as it purports to give retrospective effect. To the mind of a lawyer, there can be no doubt as to the validity of an express provision of this sort. Though the inclination of the courts would be against the retrospective operation of penal laws in cases, in which the language of the statute admits of reasonable doubt, there can be

*no question as to the validity of an express provision for giving retrospective effect. The only offences which can be taken cognizance of by the commissions under this ordinance are those described in section 2 of the regulation above referred to. It is not every offence under Chapter VI of the Penal Code that could be brought under this ordinance, for instance, section 124-A dealing with sedition, would fall outside the class of offences described in the regulation; so also offences under section 129. Whether offences under section 121-A or 123 of the Penal Code could be taken cognizance of or not under the Martial Law Ordinance would depend upon the circumstances of the case. The Martial Law Ordinance does not authorise the military authorities to enact any rules or regulations or to create any new offences in respect of infringement of any rules or orders, which may be issued by them. Whether apart from the provisions of the Martial Law Ordinance, the Crown or the military authorities have any power to issue such regulations and how breaches of such regulations may be punished are distinct questions, which will be examined later on. As regards the sentences which may be imposed by a commission constituted under this ordinance, they could not pass any sentence except that of capital punishment, and forfeiture of the property of the person convicted was an automatic and necessary result of the conviction under section 3 of the regulation. To obviate this hardship the Martial Law (sentences) ordinance was issued on the 18th April 1919 and it enabled the tribunals to pass any sentence of transportation for life or for any period not less than 10 years or of rigorous imprisonment for a term of not less than 7 and not more than 14 years and it further provided that forfeiture of property should not follow a conviction automatically, but only when so directed by the court or commission. The only other ordinance, which it is necessary to notice is, the Martial Law (further extension) ordinance, which was passed on the 21st April 1919. This ordinance gives an extraordinary extension to the scope of the Martial Law Ordinance-I of 1919. Whereas by the first ordinance only persons charged with the offences described in section 2 of the regulation could be tried, the fourth ordinance provides for the trial of any person charged with any offence committed on or after the 30th March 1919. It may be anything punishable under the Indian Penal Code, or for the matter of that, even under a special or a local law. The offence may be, simple trespass,

defamation, bigamy or nuisance. It need not involve the safety of the British possessions or the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants. Of course, it is not at all likely that such cases will be actually tried by the commission, for this extended jurisdiction of the commissions is made dependent upon a general or special order to be issued by the local government and they are not likely to refer ordinary cases not connected, in their opinion, however directly or indirectly, with the recent disturbances. The provision is referred to here merely for the purpose of showing how entirely it is left to the local government to displace the ordinary criminal courts and introduce the procedure of Courts-Martial. Under the regulation it is, no doubt, open to the Governor-General-in-Council to direct any public authority to order suspension of the ordinary criminal courts, wholly or partially, but the extent to which such suspension or the ordinary criminal courts may take place, may be gathered from the general scheme of the regulation. The suspension of the functions of the ordinary criminal courts and the exercise of jurisdiction by Courts-Martial constituted under the regulation are co-extensive. In as much as the jurisdiction of Courts-Martial under section 2 of the regulation is confined to the 4 classes of crimes described therein, which are all more or less overt acts of hostility or rebellion to the State, the functions of the ordinary criminal courts cannot also be suspended to any greater extent or except as regards these crimes. Even in respect of the crimes specified, the regulation (section 4) displays a solicitude to avoid the institution of Courts-Martial, except where trial by them appears to be indispensably necessary. In view of the fact that Martial Law was established in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of the regulation that the procedure of Courts-Martial was also introduced in exercise of the same powers, that the commissions appointed under the Martial Law Ordinance are only a convenient substitute for the tribunals prescribed by the Indian Army Act of 1911 and that the procedure to be followed by these commissions is the procedure prescribed for Courts-Martial by the Indian Army Act, the legality of the extension of the scope of the Martial Law Ordinance to persons other than those referred to in regulation 10 of 1804 and other than those subject to the Indian Army Act and to all kinds of offences, even those not falling under the regulation of the Army Act, appears extremely doubtful. In par-

sing it may be observed that a sentence of whipping would not be a legal punishment either under regulation 10 of 1804 or under the Martial Law (sentences) ordinance of 1919 or under the Army Act. Though corporal punishment is permitted under the Army Act, it is only in respect of persons subject to the Act and under the rank of Warrant Officer. Any sentence of corporal punishment can only be justified under the Ordinary Criminal Law. It is conceivable that a Military Officer charged with the duty of suppressing a rebellion may have to resort to corporal punishment, but it can only be inflicted as a matter of unavoidable military necessity and not under the show of any legal trial.

It may perhaps be argued, that notwithstanding the fact that ordinance 4 of 1919 was intended to extend the scope of the Martial Law Ordinance, which was brought into existence under the conditions described in regulation 10 of 1804, it is open to the Governor General to do anything he may please in the exercise of his powers under section 72 of the Government of India Act 1915. Under this section the Governor-General may, in cases of emergency, make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good Government of British India or any part thereof and any ordinance so made has, for the space of not more than six months, the same force of Law as an act passed by him in Legislative Council. The power is subject to the same restrictions and disallowance as an Act of the Indian Legislative Council. It may be said that the ordinance making power of the Governor-General is practically unlimited and that it is legally open to him to suspend all courts or to abolish the Evidence Act or to order any and every offender to be tried by Courts-Martial. There are, however, two conditions laid down in the section, that it must be a case of emergency and that the ordinance must be for the peace and good government of the country. Whether in the existing circumstances in the Punjab the Ordinary Criminal Courts should be regarded as unfit for bringing offenders to justice or whether it is indispensable for the peace and good government of the province that their functions should be suspended and offenders should be tried by the procedure of Courts-Martial, is a question of fact upon which a divergence of views may be reasonably possible and it would be a matter for regret if the Government were not guided by the same solicitude for preserving the jurisdiction of the Ordinary Criminal Courts as is apparent in regulation 10 of 1804. *Prima facie*, one would be inclined

to think that this unlimited delegation to the local government of the power to suspend the functions of the Ordinary Criminal Courts in respect of offences outstrips the necessities of the case. It seems a reasonable view to take that the power conferred by section 72 of the Government of India Act represents the prerogative of the Crown, which has been defined as the residue of discretionary authority, which at any given time is legally left in the hands of the Crown, or, in other words, the executive government and that the exercise of the emergency power under section 72 should, in practice, if not in theory, be guided by the same considerations and limitations as the exercise of the prerogative by the Crown under similar circumstances in England.

The circumstances under which Martial Law may be proclaimed in the case of a rebellion, the significance of the proclamation and the validity of measures taken upon such proclamation have been discussed by eminent text-writers and the weight of authority is in favour of the view that, while it is the duty and the prerogative of the Crown to suppress revolts and it is also competent to employ military force so far as may be necessary for the purpose, it is illegal for the Crown to resort to Martial Law for the purpose of punishing offenders. In his history of the Criminal Law of England Mr. Justice Stephen sums up the result of his discussion on pages 215 and 216 of Volume I as follows :—

- i. Martial Law is the assumption by officers of the Crown of absolute power exercised by military force for the suppression of an insurrection and the restoration of order and lawful authority.
- ii. The officers of the Crown are justified in any exertion of physical force extending to the destruction of life and property to any extent and in any manner that may be required for the purpose. They are not justified in the use of cruel and excessive means but are liable civilly or criminally for such excess. They are not justified in inflicting punishment after resistance is suppressed and after the ordinary courts of justice can be re-opened.
- iii. The courts-martial by which Martial Law is administered are not, properly speaking, courts-martial or courts at all. They are merely committees formed for the purpose of carrying into execution the discretionary power assumed by the Government.

It may be taken as settled law in England that if in the suppression of a rebellion and the effort to restore peace and order any subjects of the Crown are punished or put to death by a trial under court-martial, such punishment may be challenged in the ordinary courts after the restoration of order and can only be justified on the ground of necessity which must be proved as a fact. Necessity is the measure of the duration and extent of the force to be employed. The fact that the summary execution of rebels, whose crimes can be punished by the ordinary courts of law may check the spread of treason does not show that the execution is necessary or legal. (See Appendix Note x on Martial Law-Dicey's law of the Constitution 7th edition pages 548 to 554). In opposition to the view put forward by Professor Dicey it is urged by Sir Erle Richards that in as much as military operations cannot be conducted in time of war or rebellion without interference with rights of property and person and such interference is according to the authorities not contrary to law, it follows that the interference must include also the right of trial and the infliction of punishment (See Law Quarterly Review, Vol. XVIII page 139.) The conclusion deduced from the premises is, by no means, necessary. Sir Erle Richards assumes that if a commanding officer has the power of controlling the movements of the civil population he must also have the power of punishing those who are guilty of a breach of his orders. An infringement of the orders of the military authorities may be either an offence or not an offence. If it is an offence, the civil courts cannot punish and the military authorities also should not interfere by way of punishment. Sir Erle Richards does not sufficiently distinguish between the nature of the coercive measures which may be taken to prevent a breach or avert its consequences and the measures necessary by way of punishment for a breach. The former class of powers must necessarily vest in the military authorities, but the latter power is not so vested. The necessity for the trial and punishment of civilians by the military authorities may conceivably exist in some cases; as for instance, where it is impossible for the ordinary civil courts to exercise their functions. But even in such cases, the correct view to take is, that put forward by Mr. Justice Stephen that the courts-martial are merely committees formed for the purpose of carrying into-execution the discretionary power of the Crown. The case of *Wright vs. FitzGerald*

27, State Trials, page 765 is opposed to the contention of Sir Erle Richards, who relies chiefly upon the decision of the Privy Council in *Ex parte Marais* (1902), A.C. 109. This decision has been canvassed at length by several critics and the most acceptable view is that the courts will not and cannot interfere with actual military operations or whilst war is actually raging entertain proceedings against military men and others for acts done under the so-called Martial Law. The judgment of the Privy Council asserts nothing as to the jurisdiction of the courts when peace is restored in respect of acts done during time of war and eminent jurists have held that even in time of war the exercise of jurisdiction by the ordinary courts is rather rendered impossible than superseded. (See Dicey's Law of the Constitution, 7th edn. page 546). With reference to this case of *Ex parte Marais*, the remarks in noted on page 403 of Vol. 6 of Halsbury's Laws of England are of interest when it is remembered that the judgment of the Privy Council was delivered by Lord Halsbury. Here it is said, it is doubtful how far sentences of fine and imprisonment passed by Courts Martial upon civilians would be valid in law after the war or insurrection is over. According to Sir James Frederick Pollock, the only point decided by *Ex parte Marais* was that the absence of visible disorder and the continued sitting of the courts are not conclusive evidence of a state of peace. Sir Frederick Pollock holds the view that the justification of any particular act done in a state of war is ultimately examinable in the ordinary courts and that a person justifying his act must show not merely that he acted in good faith but also that there was reasonable and probable cause according to the apparent urgency of the circumstance. (See Law Quarterly Review, Volume XVIII page 156 to 158.) Sir Frederick Pollock's view is criticised at length by Professor Dicey at pages 551 to 554 of note x in the Appendix to his Law of the Constitution. The difference between the two eminent jurists consists in this: that the tests proposed by Sir Frederick Pollock would justify acts not dictated by immediate necessity, while according to Professor Dicey and a number of other jurists immediate necessity is the only ground of justification.

It will be clear from the foregoing statement that in England, there cannot at common law be any supersession of the civil courts by the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown. If, however, the disturbance of the country

renders it impossible for the ordinary courts of law to sit or enforce the execution of their judgments in such cases. Martial Law is indulged rather than allowed as a law and it is a rude substitute for the ordinary courts. In the language of Sir James Mackintosh, while the laws are silenced by the noise of arms the rulers of the armed forces must punish as equitably as they can those crimes which threaten their own safety and that of society, but no longer. While the closure of the courts owing to the impossibility of exercising their functions is a reason for indulging Martial Law, the fact that the courts may be actually sitting is not *conclusive* evidence of a state of peace. The Ordinary Courts of Justice may, as a matter of fact, will be exercising their functions as a matter of sufferance by the military authorities. (*See Ex parte Marais* 1902) Appeal cases 109; *Elphinstone vs. Bedree Chund*, I. Knapp, P.C. 816).

Applying these principles to the case of the Punjab, could it be said that it was impossible for the ordinary courts to sit or exercise their functions or that if they did, it was only by sufferance of the military authorities. There is nothing to show this. It does not appear that the establishment of Martial Law in respect of offences other than those specified in Regulation 10 of 1804 was called for by the impossibility of the ordinary courts exercising their functions. The fact, the trial by Courts Martial is bound to be swifter or would serve as an example of terror to others and to keep the rest in due awe and obedience is not a sufficient justification in policy for the establishment of Martial Law. Even taking it for granted that the establishment of Martial Law was originally justified, the question whether the state of open rebellion or such circumstances as justified the introduction of Martial Law have continued in existence so as to justify the continuance of Martial Law, is also a question of fact.

One question which naturally arises with reference to the administration of Martial Law is, whether the Crown or the military authorities have any power at common law to create any new offences. According to the law in England, they clearly do not possess any such power. Where it is necessary to enable the military authorities to issue any rules or regulations affecting civilians and where it is necessary to treat any infringements as offences, the practice in England has been to confer such powers by statute. Witness, for instance, the English Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act 1914, 5 Geo. 5 Chapter 8.

Section I of the statute expressly confers power to issue regulations and authorise trial and punishment by courts-martial. It will be interesting to note that by the Defence of the Realm Amendment Act 1915, 5 Geo. 5 Chapter 34, Section I, any person not subject to the naval discipline Act or to Military Law, who is alleged to be guilty of an offence against any regulations made under the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act 1914 is entitled to claim to be tried by a civil court with a jury instead of being tried by Court-Martial.

The officer administering Martial Law in Lahore has issued a large number of proclamations partaking of the character of regulations and providing for the trial and punishment of persons guilty of an infringement of these regulations. These proclamations merely recite that the Government of India have proclaimed Martial Law and that superior military authority has appointed him to administer Martial Law. No other source of authority is quoted and while the officer-in-charge was entitled to take measures reasonably necessary for the safety and peace of the area under his command, he had, to all appearance, no valid authority empowering him to create any new offences or try and punish civilians for infringements of his regulations. The Government of India, no doubt, are empowered by the Defence of India Act, IV of 1915, Section 2, to make rules for securing the public safety and the Defence of British India and to create offences in respect of contraventions of such rules but it does not appear that the Governor-General-in-Council has any power to delegate his powers under section (2) to the military authorities. We do not know whether the officer administering Martial Law tried and punished any persons for infringements of his regulations, but if he did, his proceedings cannot be treated as *ipso facto* valid. A perusal of the different orders passed by him also creates a doubt whether they were called for by the military necessities of the situation or by a desire to strike fear into the minds of the inhabitants by a show of exuberant severity or to secure certain conveniences for the public or particular sections thereof which could have been secured by the Civil Government. Whatever might have been the reason of the regulations, any infringement of them could not be an offence unless it was one under some other law.

[The above contribution reached us too late for publication in the last issue.—Ed., *Indian Review*.]

THE INDIAN REFORMS

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

THE following text represents what the Government of India believe to be the language of the Bill to make further provision with respect to the government of India which has been introduced in Parliament.—

Whereas, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire it is expedient gradually to develop self-governing institutions in that country:

And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of such institutions in the provinces of India it is expedient to give to those provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows.—

PART I.

Local Governments.

Classification of control and provincial subjects.

1. (1) Provision may be made by rules under the Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916 (which Act, as so amended, is in this Act referred to as "the principal Act").—

- (a) for the Classification of subjects, in relation to the functions of government, as central and provincial subjects, for the purpose of distinguishing the functions of local Governments and legislatures from the functions of the Governor-General-in-Council, and the Indian Legislature;
- (b) for the devolution of authority in respect of provincial subjects, and for the allocation of sources of revenue, to local Governments;
- (c) for use under the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council of the agency of local Governments in relation to central subjects, in so far as such agency may be found convenient; and

- (d) for the transfer from among the provincial subjects of subjects (in this Act referred to as "transferred subjects") to the administration of the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of the subject, and for the allocation of provincial funds for the purpose of such administration.

(2) Rules made for the above-mentioned purposes may—

- (i) regulate the extent and conditions of such devolution, allocation, and transfer;
- (ii) provide for fixing the contributions payable by local Governments to the Governor-General-in-Council and making such contributions a first charge on provincial revenues;
- (iii) provide for constituting a finance department in any province and regulating the functions of that department;
- (iv) provide for regulating the exercise of the authority vested in the local Government of a province over members of the public services therein;
- (v) provide for the settlement of doubts arising as to whether any matter does or does not belong to a provincial subject or a transferred subject, and for the treatment of matters which affect both a transferred subject and a subject which is not transferred; and
- (vi) make such consequential and supplemental provisions as appear necessary or expedient;

Provided that without prejudice to any general power of revoking or altering rules under the principal Act, the rules shall not authorize the revocation or suspension of the transfer of any subject except with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council.

Provision as to Powers of Control of Governor-General-in-Council.

(3) The powers of superintendence, direction and control over local Governments vested in the Governor General in Council under the principal Act shall in relation to transferred subjects be exercised only for such purposes as may be specified in rules made under that Act, but the Governor-General in Council shall be the sole judge

as to whether the purpose of the exercise of such powers in any particular case comes within the purposes so specified.

(4) The expressions "central subjects" and "provincial subjects" as used in this Act mean subjects so classified under the rules.

Provincial subjects, other than transferred subjects, are in this Act referred to as "reserved subjects."

Revised system of local government in certain provinces (Rep. 214, 218; Act of 1915, ss. 46 and foll)

2. (1) The presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George and Bombay, and the provinces known as the United Provinces, the Punjab, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, shall be governed in relation to reserved subjects by a Governor-in-Council and, in relation to any transferred subject, save as otherwise provided by this Act, by a Governor acting with the Minister appointed under this Act and in charge of the subject. The said presidencies and provinces are in this Act referred to as "Governors' provinces" and the two first named presidencies are in this Act referred to as the presidencies of Bengal and Madras.

(2) The provisions of Sections forty-six to fifty-one of the principal Act, as amended by this Act, shall apply to the United Provinces, the Punjab, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, as they apply to the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

Appointment of Ministers. (Rep. 218, 219, 220)

3. (1) The Governor of a Governor's province may, by notification, appoint Ministers, not being members of his Executive Council or other officials, to administer transferred subjects, and any Ministers so appointed shall hold office during his pleasure.

There shall be paid to any Minister so appointed such salary as the Governor, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State, may determine.

(2) No Minister shall hold office for a longer period than three months, unless he is or becomes an elected member of the local legislature.

(3) In relation to a transferred subject, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of the Minister in charge, unless having regard to His Majesty's instructions he sees sufficient cause to dissent from the opinion of the Minister, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice.

(4) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act for the temporary administration of

a transferred subject where in cases of emergency owing to a vacancy there is no Minister in charge of the subject by such authority and in such manner as may be prescribed by the rules.

Qualification of Members of Local Executive Councils. (Rep. 218; Act of 1915, ss. 47 and 55.)

4. (1) The provision in Section forty-seven of the principal Act, that two of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor of a province must have been for at least twelve years in the service of the Crown in India, shall have effect as though "one" were substituted for "two" and the provision in that section that the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in India, if resident at Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, shall during his continuance there, be a member of the Governor's Council, shall cease to have effect.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the Executive Council of the Governor of a province in any case where such provision is not made by Section forty-seven of the principal Act as amended by this section.

Business of the Governor-in-Council and the Governor with Ministers.

5. (1) All orders and other proceedings of the local Government of a Governor's province shall be expressed to be made by the Government of the province and shall be authenticated as the Governor may by rule direct.

(2) The Governor may make rules and order for the more convenient transaction of business in his Executive Council and with his Ministers, and every order made or act done in accordance with those rules and orders shall be treated as being the order or the act of the government of the province.

The Governor may also make rules and orders for regulating the relations between his Executive Council and his Ministers for the purpose of the transaction of the business of the local government.

Local Legislatures (Rep. 215, 236; Act of 1915, ss. 72 and foll)

6. (1) The aggregate number of members of the Governor's Legislative Councils, the number of members elected by general communal and other electorates respectively, and the number of nominated official and nominated non-official members shall be in accordance with the table set out in the First Schedule to this act:

Provided that—

(a) rules under the principal Act may provide for increasing by not more than five per

cent. the aggregate number of members of any Council as specified in that Schedule, and for varying the proportions which the classes of members specified in that Schedule bear to one another; so, however, that at least seventy per cent. of the members of every Governor's Legislative Council shall be elected members and that not more than twenty per cent. of the aggregate shall be official members; and the

- (b) Governor may for the purpose of any Bill introduced or proposed to be introduced in the Legislative Council nominate in the case of Assam one person, and in the case of other provinces not more than two persons having special knowledge or experience of the subject-matter of the Bill and those persons shall in relation to the Bill have for the period for which they are nominated all the rights of members of the Council and shall be in addition to the aggregate above referred to.

(2) The powers of a Governor's Legislative Council may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the Council.

(3) Subject as aforesaid provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to—

- (a) the term of office of members of a Governor's Legislative Council and the manner of filling casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence from India, inability to attend to duty, death acceptance of office, resignation duly accepted, or otherwise, and
- (b) the conditions under which and manner in which persons resident in India may be nominated or elected as members of Governor's Legislative Councils, and
- (c) the qualifications for being, and for being nominated or elected, a member of any such Council, and
- (d) the final decision of doubts or disputes as to the validity of any election.

(4) Subject to any such rules any person who is a ruler or subject of any State in India may be nominated as a member of a Governor's Legislative Council.

Meeting of Governor's Legislative Council.

7. (1) A Governor may appoint such times for holding the sessions of his Legislative Council, as he thinks fit, and may also by notification or otherwise prorogue the Council.

(2) Any meeting of Governor's Legislative Council may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(3) All questions in a Governor's Legislative Council shall be determined by a majority of

votes of the members present other than the person presiding, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(4) A Governor's Legislative Council may be dissolved at any time by the Governor by notification, but in that case the Governor shall appoint a date not more than six months after the date of dissolution for the next session of his Legislative Council.

Powers of Local Legislatures.

8. (1) The local legislature of any province has power, subject to the provisions of this Act, to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories for the time being constituting that province.

(2) The local legislature of any province may, subject to the provisions of the sub-section next following, repeal or alter as to that province any law made either before or after the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India other than that local legislature.

(3) The local legislature of any province may not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, make or take into consideration any law—

- (a) imposing or authorising the imposition of any new tax unless the tax is a tax (in this Act referred to as a "scheduled tax") scheduled as exempted from this provision by rules made under the principal Act; or
- (b) affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties or any other tax or duty for the time being in force and imposed by the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council for the general purposes of the Government of India, provided that the imposition or alteration of a scheduled tax shall not be deemed to affect any such tax or duty; or
- (c) affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's naval, military, or air forces; or
- (d) affecting the relations of the Government with foreign princes or States; or
- (e) regulating any central subject; or
- (f) regulating any provincial subject which has been declared by rules under the principal Act to be, either in whole or in part, subject to Indian legislation, in respect of any matter to which such declaration applies; or
- (g) affecting any power expressly reserved to the Governor-General-in-Council by any law for the time being in force; or

- (k) altering or repealing the provisions of any law which having been made before the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India other than that local legislature is scheduled by rules under the principal Act as a law which cannot be repealed or altered by the local legislature without previous sanction ; or
- (i) altering or repealing any provision of a law passed by the Indian legislature after the commencement of this Act which by the terms of such law may not be repealed or altered by the local legislature without previous sanction ;

Provided that an Act or a provision of an Act made by a local legislature, and subsequently assented to by the Governor General in pursuance of this Act, shall not be deemed invalid by reason only of its requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General under this Act.

(4) The local legislature of any province has not power to make any law affecting any Act of Parliament.

Business to be carried on by Local Legislatures.
(Rep. 238, 252, 254, etc.)

9. (1) Sub-sections (1) and (3) of Section eighty of the principal Act (which relate to the classes of business which may be transacted at meetings of local Legislative Councils) shall cease to apply to a Governor's Legislative Council, but the business and procedure in any such Council shall be regulated in accordance with provisions of this section.

(2) The proposals of the local Government for the appropriation of the provincial revenues in any year shall be submitted to the Council for its assent in the form of resolutions :

Provided that

- (a) the local Government shall have power, in relation to any such resolution, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent if the resolution relates to a reserved subject, and the Governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the resolution is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject ;
- (b) the Governor shall have power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety and tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department ;
- (c) nothing in this sub-section shall require proposals to be submitted to the Council

in regard to expenditure which is declared by rules under the principal Act to be a permanent charge on provincial revenues ; and

- (d) no proposal for the appropriation of any such revenues for any purpose or for the increase of the amount of the expenditure authorised or proposed to be authorised by any resolution shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor communicated to the Council.

(3) Provision shall be made for the appointment from among the members of the Council of grand committees on which a majority of the members shall be nominated members, selected by the Governor, with power, in cases specially referred to them, to pass or reject laws without the assent of the Council, which laws shall, if passed, have the same effect as laws passed by the Council.

(4) Where any Bills relating to a reserved subject has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced or an amendment to such a Bill is moved, the Governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects ; and the Bill, clause, or amendment shall thereupon be referred to a grand committee

(5) Where any Bill has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced, or any amendment to a Bill is moved or proposed to be moved, the Governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment affects either—

- (a) the safety or tranquillity of his province or any part of it or of another province, or
- (b) the interests of a specified reserved subject ;

and may direct either that no proceedings or no further proceedings shall be taken by the Council in relation to the Bill, clause or amendment, or, if he thinks fit and if the Council so desire, that the Bill, clause or amendment shall be referred to a grand committee, and the Bill, clause or amendment shall be dealt with in accordance with such direction.

(6) Provisions may be made by rules under the principal Act for the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing provisions of this section and for regulating the course of business in the Council, and as to the persons to preside over and for the preservation of order at meetings thereof ; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum and for

prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on and the discussion of any subject specified in the rules.

(7) Standing orders may be made providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in the Council, in so far as these matters are not provided for by rules made under the principal Act. The first standing orders shall be made by the Governor-in-Council, but may, subject to the assent of the Governor, be altered by the local legislatures.

(8) There shall be freedom of speech in the Governor's Legislative Council. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any courts by reason of his speech or vote in any such Council or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of any such Council.

Assents to Acts of local legislature. (Rep. 254)

10. (1) Where a Bill has been passed by a local Legislative Council the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner may instead of declaring that he assents to or withholds his assent from the Bill, return the Bill to the Council for consideration either in whole or in part together with any amendments which he may recommend, or in cases prescribed by rules under the principal Act may, and if the rules so require, shall reserve the Bill for the consideration of the Governor-General.

(2) Where a Bill is reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General, the following provisions shall apply:—

(a) The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner may, at any time within six months after the date of the reservation of the Bill, with the consent of the Governor-General but not otherwise return the Bill for further consideration by the Council with a recommendation that the Councils shall consider amendments thereto, and such Bill, when so returned, together with any recommendations relating thereto, shall be dealt with by the Council;

(b) After any Bill so returned has been further considered by the Council, together with any recommendations made by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, relating thereto, the Bill, if re-affirmed in accordance with the appropriate procedure, with or without amendment, may be again presented to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner;

(c) Any Bill reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General shall if assented to by the Governor-General within a period of six months from the date of such reservation, become law on due publication of such assent in the same way as a Bill assented to by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, but if not assented to by the Governor-General within such period of six months shall lapse and be of no effect unless before the expiration of that period either—

(i) the Bill has been returned by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner for further consideration by the Council; or

(ii) in the case of the Council not being in session a notification has been published of any intention so to return the Bill at the commencement of the next session.

(3) The Governor-General may (except where a Bill has been reserved for his consideration), instead of assenting to or withholding his assent from any Act passed by a local legislature, declare that he reserves the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon, and in such case the Act shall not have validity until His Majesty has signified his assent to the Governor-General through the Secretary of State in Council, and his assent has been notified by the Governor-General.

Vacation of seats in Governor's Legislative Council.

11. An official shall not be qualified for election as a member of a local Legislative Council and if any non-official member of local Legislative Council, whether elected or nominated, accepts any office in the service of the Crown in India his seat on the Council shall become vacant provided that for the purposes of this provision a Minister shall not be deemed to be an official and a person shall not be deemed to accept office on appointment as a Minister.

Constitution of new provinces, etc. (See Rep 199, 246.)

12. (1) The Governor-General-in-Council may, by notification with the sanction of His Majesty previously signified by the Secretary of State in Council, constitute a new Governor's province, or place part of a Governor's province under the administration of Deputy-Governor, and may in any such case apply, with such modification as appear necessary or desirable all or any of the provisions of the principal Act relating to

Governors' provinces, or provinces under a Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, to any such new province or part of a province.

(2) The Governor-General in Council may declare any territory within any Governor's province to be a backward tract, and the Governor-General in-Council may, by notification, with such sanction as aforesaid, direct that the principal Act and this Act shall apply to that territory subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be prescribed in the notification.

13. (1) The validity of any order made or action taken after the commencement of this Act by the Governor-General-in-Council or by a local Government which would have been within the powers of the Governor-General-in-Council, or of such local Government, if this Act had not been passed, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that by reason of any provision of this Act or of any rule made by virtue of any such provision such order or action has ceased to be within the powers of the Governor-General-in-Council or of the Government concerned.

(2) The validity of any law passed by the Indian legislature or any local legislature shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that the law affects a provincial subject or a central subject, as the case may be.

(3) The validity of any order made or action taken by the Governor-in-Council or by a Governor acting with a Minister, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that such order or action relates or does not relate to a transferred subject of which the Minister is not in charge.

PART II.

Government of India.

Indian Legislature. (Rep. 273, 274, Act of 1915, s. 63.)

14. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Indian legislature shall consist of the Governor-General and two chambers, namely, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

Council of State (Rep. 277.)

15. (1) The Council of State shall consist of the Governor-General, the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, and members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act.

(2) The Council of State shall consist of fifty-six members (exclusive of the Governor-General), the number of non-elected members shall be

thirty-two, of whom at least four shall be non-official members, the number of elected members shall be twenty-four.

(3) The Governor-General, when present, shall preside in the Council of State and shall have power to appoint, from among the members of the Council of State, a Vice-President and other persons to preside in such circumstances as he may direct.

Legislative Assembly. (Rep. 278, Act of 1915, s. 63.)

16. (1) The Legislative Assembly shall consist of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council and members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act;

(2) The Legislative Assembly shall consist of one hundred and twenty members, the number of non-elected members shall be forty of whom twenty-six shall be official members, the number of elected members shall be eighty:

Provided that rules made under the principal Act may provide for increasing by not more than five per cent. the aggregate number of members of the Legislative Assembly as fixed by this section, and may vary the proportion which the classes of members bear one to another; so, however, that at least two-thirds of the members of the Legislative Assembly shall be elected members and at least one third of the other members shall be non official members;

(3) The Governor General shall have the right of addressing the Legislative Assembly, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

Duration and sessions of Legislative Assembly and Council of State. (Rep. 278, 283.)

17. (1) Every Council of State shall continue for five years, and every Legislative Assembly for three years, from the first meeting:

Provided that—

- (a) either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General;
- (b) any such period may be extended by the Governor-General if in special circumstances he so thinks fit; and
- (c) after the dissolution of either chamber the Governor shall appoint a day not more than six months later for the next sessions of that chamber.

(2) The Governor-General may appoint such times for holding the sessions of the Indian legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time by notification or otherwise prorogue the Indian legislature.

(3) Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(4) All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present other than the presiding member, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(5) The powers of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.

Vacation of seats in Indian Legislature.

18. (1) An official shall not be qualified for election as a member of either chamber of the Indian legislature and if any non-official member of either chamber accepts office in the service of the Crown in India, his seat in that chamber shall become vacant.

(Rep. 277.)

(2) If an elected member of either chamber of the Indian legislature becomes a member of the other chamber, his seat in such first mentioned chamber shall thereupon become vacant.

Rules as to constitution, etc., of Legislative Assembly and Council of State. (Act of 1915, s. 66.

See Rep. 278.)

19. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to—

(a) the term of office of nominated members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, and the manner of filling casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence of members from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, or resignation duly accepted or otherwise; and

(b) the conditions under which and the manner in which persons resident in India may be nominated or elected as members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly; and

(c) the qualifications for being nominated or elected as members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly; and

(d) the final decision as to doubts or disputes as to the validity of an election.

(2) Subject to any such rules, any person who is a ruler or subject of any State in India may be nominated as a member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly.

Rules as to business carried on by Indian Legislature. (Rep. 279, 280, 284, 286.)

20. (1) Sub-sections (1) and 3 of Section sixty-seven of the principal Act (which relate to the

classes of business which may be transacted by the Indian Legislative Council shall cease to have effect.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act for regulating the course of business and preservation of order in the chambers of the Indian legislature and as to the persons to preside at the meetings of the Legislative Assembly; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules.

(3) If any difference of opinion arises between the chambers of the Indian legislature, in relation to legislation the Governor-General may refer the matter for decision to a joint sitting of both chambers, or may return the matter for reconsideration by either chamber.

(4) Where the Governor-General-in-Council certifies that it is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof or for the purpose of meeting a case of emergency which has arisen that any law shall be passed, the Council of State shall have power to pass laws without the assent of the Legislative Assembly which laws shall have effect as laws passed by both chambers.

(5) Rules made for the purpose of this section may contain such general and supplemental provisions as appear necessary for the purpose of giving full effect to this section.

(6) Standing orders may be made providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in either chamber of the Indian legislature in so far as these matters are not provided for by rules made under the principal Act. The first standing orders shall be made by the Governor-General-in-Council, but may with the consent of the Governor-General be altered by the chamber to which they relate.

(7) There shall be freedom of speech in both chambers of the Indian legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court by reason of his speech or vote in either chamber, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either chamber.

Composition of Governor-General's Executive. (Rep. 271, Act of 1915, s. 36.)

21. (1) The provision in Section thirty-six of the principal Act, that Composition of three at least of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council must have been for at least ten years in the service, or the Crown in India, shall have effect as though "two" were substituted for

"three," and any other provision in that section directing that such members must possess any special qualifications, and any provision in that section imposing any limit on the number of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council shall cease to have effect.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, in any case where such provision is not made by Section thirty-six of the principal Act as amended by this section.

(3) Sub-section (2) of Section thirty-seven of the principal Act (which provides that when and so long as the Governor-General's Executive Council Assembles in a province having a Governor the Governor shall be an extraordinary member of the Council) shall cease to have effect.

PART III.

Secretary of State.

Payment of salaries etc., out of moneys provided by Parliament (Rep. 294, Act of 1915, s. 2.)

22. The salary of the Secretary of State, the salaries of his Under-Secretaries, and any other expenses of his department may, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, instead of being paid out of the revenues of India, be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, and the salary of the Secretary of State shall be so paid.

Control of Secretary of State and Governor-General. (See Rep. 291, 292.)

23. The Secretary of State in Council may, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, by rule regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State in Council, and the Governor-General-in-Council by the principal Act or otherwise in such manner as may appear necessary or expedient in order to give effect to the purposes of this Act.

Any such rules shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made and if an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next thirty days on which that House has sat after the rules are laid before it praying that the rules or any of them may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rules or any of them and those rules shall thenceforth be void but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done there-under.

PART IV.

The Public Service in India.

The Public Services (See Rep. 323, 325, etc.)

24. (1) Subject to the provisions of the principal Act and of rules made thereunder, every person in the Civil Service of the Crown in India holds office during His Majesty's pleasure, and may be employed in any manner required by the proper authority within the scope of his duty but no person in that service may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed.

(2) The Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the public services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct. Such rules may to such extent and in respect of such matters as may be prescribed delegate the power of making rules to the Governor-General-in-Council, or to local Governments, or authorise the Indian legislature or local legislatures to make laws regulating the public services.

(3) The right to pensions and the scale and conditions of pensions of all persons in the civil service of the Crown in India appointed by the Secretary of State in Council shall be regulated in accordance with the rules set out in the Second Schedule to this Act. The rules set out in that Schedule may be varied or added to by the Secretary of State in Council and shall have effect as so varied or added to but any such variation or addition shall not adversely affect the pension of any member of the service appointed before the date thereof. Nothing in this section or in any rule thereunder shall affect the provisions in relation to pensions contained in the East India Annuity Funds Act, 1874.

(4) For the removal of doubts it is hereby declared that all rules or other provisions in operation at the time of the passing of this Act whether made by the Secretary of State in Council under the principal Act or by any other authority, relating to the Civil Service of the Crown in India, were duly made in accordance with the powers in that behalf and are hereby confirmed; but any such rules or provision may be revoked, varied or added to by rules or laws made under this section and any rules or provisions confirmed by this sub-section which affect pensions shall have effect subject to the provisions of the Second Schedule to this Act.

25. (1) Notwithstanding anything in Section ninety-seven of the principal Act the Secretary

of State may make appointments to the Indian Civil Service of persons habitually resident in India in accordance with such rules as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India. Any rules made under this section shall not have force until they have been laid for thirty days before both Houses of Parliament.

(2) The Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act 1915 (which confers power during the war and for a period of two years thereafter to make appointment to the Indian Civil Service without examination) shall have effect as though "three years" were substituted for "two years."

Public Service Commission.

26. (1) There shall be established in India a Public Service Commission, consisting of not more than five members, of whom one shall be Chairman, appointed by the Secretary of State in Council. Each member shall hold office for five years, and may be re-appointed. No member shall be removed before the expiry of his term of office, except by order of the Secretary of State in Council. The qualifications for appointment, and the pay and pension (if any) attaching to their office, shall be prescribed by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.

(2) The Public Service Commission shall discharge, in regard to recruitment and control of the Public Services in India, such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.

Financial Control.

27. (1) An Auditor General in India shall be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and shall hold office during His Majesty's pleasure. The Secretary of State shall, by rules make provision for his pay-duties and conditions of employment by rules.

(2) Subject to any rules made by the Secretary of State in Council no office may be added to or withdrawn from the Public Service, and the emoluments of no post may be varied except after consultation with such finance authority as may be designated in the rules, being an authority of the province or of the Government of India, according as the post is or is not under the control of a local Government.

PART V.

Statutory Commission.

Statutory Commission. (Rep. 264, 288.)

28. (1) At the expiration of ten years after the passing of this Act the Secretary of State shall submit for the approval of both Houses of

Parliament the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purposes of this section.

(2) The persons whose names are so submitted, subject to the approval of, and to any alterations made by Parliament, shall be a Commission for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India and the provinces thereof, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to extend or modify the degree of responsible government then existing in any province.

(3) The Commission shall also enquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces, which may be referred to the Commission by the Secretary of State.

PART VI.

GENERAL.

Modification of S. 124 of Principal Act.

29. Notwithstanding anything in Section one hundred and twenty-four of the principal Act, if any member of the Governor-General's Executive Council or any member of any local Government, was at the time of his appointment concerned or engaged in any trade or business, he may, during the term of his office, with the sanction in writing of the Governor-General, or in the case of Ministers, of the Governor of the province, and in any case subject to such general conditions and restrictions as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe, retain his concern or interest in that trade or business, but shall not, during that term, take part in the direction or management of that trade or business.

Power to make Rules.

30. Where any matter is required to be prescribed or regulated by rules under the principal Act, different rules may be made for different provinces, and where no special provision is made as to the authority by whom the rules are to be made, the rules shall be made by the Governor-General-in-Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not be subject to repeal or alteration by the Indian legislature or by any local legislature. Any rules to which this section applies shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made and if an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next thirty days on which that House has sat after the rules are laid before it praying that the rules or any of

them may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rules or any of them and those rules shall henceforth be void but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done thereunder.

Amendments of Principal Act to carry Act into effect, etc.

31. The amendments set out in the Third Schedule to this Act, being amendments to carry out the provisions of this Act, and further amendments consequential on or arising out of those provisions, shall be made in the principal Act, and any question of interpretation shall be settled by reference to the principal Act as so amended.

Definition of Official.

32. In this Act the expressions "official" and "non-official," where used in relation to any person, mean respectively a person who is or is not in the civil or military service of the Crown in India: Provided that rules under the principal Act may provide for the holders of such offices as may be specified in the rules not being treated for the purposes of the principal Act or this Act, or any of them, as officials.

Short Title, Commencement, and Interpretation.

33. (1) This Act may be cited as the Government of India Act, 1919, and the principal Act, as amended by any Act for the time being in force, may be cited as the Government of India Act.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on such date or dates as the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, may appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different provisions of this Act, and for different parts of India.

On the dates appointed for the coming into operation of the provisions of this Act as respects any Executive or Legislative Council all the members of the Council then in office shall go out of office, but may, if otherwise qualified, be re-appointed, re-nominated or re-elected, as the case may be, in accordance with the provisions of the principal Act as amended by this Act.

(3) Any reference in any enactment in force in India (whether an Act of Parliament or made by any authority in British India) or in any rules, regulations or orders made under any such enactment, or in any letters patent or other document, to any enactment repealed by the principal Act, shall for all purposes be construed as references to the principal Act as amended by this Act, or to the corresponding provisions thereof.

(4) Any reference in any enactment in force in India whether an Act of Parliament or made by any authority in British India, or in any rules, regulations, or orders made under any such enactment, or in any letters patent or other document to any Indian legislative authority, shall for all purposes be construed as reference to the corresponding authority constituted by the principal Act as amended by this Act.

(5) If any difficulty arise as to the first establishment of the Indian legislature or any Legislative Council after the commencement of this Act or otherwise, in first giving effect to the provisions of this Act the Secretary of State in Council or the Governor-General in Council as occasion may require may by order do any matter or thing which appears to them necessary for the purpose of removing any such difficulty.

THE AFGHAN SITUATION

SINCE we wrote last month on the Afghan trouble, events of some magnitude have happened at the various fronts and in the internal politics of Afghanistan, which have compelled the vain and infatuated Amir to revise his notions of the British power in India. To his great cost, he has now come to realise the immensity of the task undertaken and the futility of his comparatively feeble efforts to accomplish it. He has been making every attempt to bring the war to an end. It may be of some interest to our readers to follow the events that have wrought such a wonderful change in the young Amir.

In view of the failure of his troops to accomplish anything tangible, the Amir made further overtures for the cessation of hostilities. This time Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan, who was till recently the Afghan envoy in India, was entrusted with the affair. As no credentials authorising his party to negotiate peace terms were produced, his mission was not so much heeded, and Abdul Rahman alone was permitted to return to his country. It was strongly suspected as merely a ruse employed by the enemy to gain time. But soon after the departure of Abdul Rahman, the other delegates that had come with him but were detained, produced a *firman* investing the party

with power to carry on peace negotiations. The language of the *firman* and the inexplicable delay in producing it, made the British doubt the sincerity of the mission. So they too were permitted to go back without any more reply.

In the meanwhile, the Afghans were being repulsed in every theatre of war. The Amir's plan of campaign, though excellently conceived, had practically failed. Not only was the Afghan rising in Peshawar city which was to take place at the same time as the seizure of the Khyber pass traced and nipped in the bud, but the Khyber pass was placed outside the danger zone by driving the Afghans off the mouth of the pass. The attempts of the Afghan troops to raise the tribes on the border against the British were not attended with any success. These tribes occupying as they do the position comparable to a certain degree with Afghanistan between India and Russia, would have greatly embarrassed the position of the British if they had taken sides with the Amir. But thanks to the past policy of the British towards these unruly tribes, which has kept them loyal to the British connection in spite of the close ties such as religion, which would otherwise have naturally drawn them to the Afghan side. Moreover, the successful air raiding of the British on Jellalabad and Kabul, and the failure of the Afghans to adopt any reprisals, has had some effect on them. The successes achieved by the British in the actions that took place on the 9th and 11th May, the subsequent occupation of the important town of Dukka, a severe defeat later on the 17th May, and a stern repulse near Asmar in Chitral territory resulted in the Afghans giving up all ideas of stirring up the tribes in that part of the country. The tribes too showed no disposition to respond to the friendly overtures of the Afghans. But General Nadir Khan has to some extent succeeded in making the British withdraw their militia posts in the Upper Tochi, and South Waziristan. After many vain attempts he has obtained the adherence of Darwesh Khel and the Mahsuds and entered Waziristan. No effort has been spared by him to get into possession of Thal. But all to no purpose. The sight of the British relief force seems to have created a panic in the Afghan army and the immediate retreat towards Khost abandoning their point of vantage was the result. The British aeroplanes employed in reconnoitring have found out that the Afghans have abandoned Yousuf Khel also, which formed the head-quarters of Nadir Khan. Earlier in the war the British lost Spimwam; but this loss has been made good by

the gain of the impregnable fortress of Spim Baldak in the southern area.

The withdrawal of Nadir Khan to Khost and the letter from the Amir again seeking armistice show that all is not well in Afghanistan. One is really astonished to find the Amir maintaining his innocence in the affair and attributing the out-break of war to some misunderstanding. The dominating influence exercised by Torzi in regard to foreign policy and the encouragement that the vigorous propaganda campaign carried on by this man to stir up the people of Afghanistan and this country has received from the Amir prove beyond doubt that the theory of war now put forward by the Amir has no foundation at all. The mass of evidence in possession of the British conclusively proves that the Amir planned the war of offence with a view to distract the attention of his people from internal affairs, promising them much booty. The Viceroy has rightly repudiated the allegations made by him regarding the origin of the war and has proposed terms for armistice which are both 'lenient and reasonable.'

It is gratifying to learn that while pointing out the difficulties in observing certain terms the Amir has gladly accepted the Viceroy's offer and has appointed his plenipotentiaries to treat with the British Government. The Viceroy too has made the necessary arrangements to meet these Afghan representatives. In a few days, peace with Afghanistan will be an accomplished fact.

If there is one lesson more than another which we learn from the past history of the British relations with Afghanistan, it is the danger of premature peace. The conduct of the Afghans in the previous wars would make everyone pause a while before giving ready acceptance to any offer of peace. In this connection we have to bear in mind what Lord Roberts wrote after the war of 1879.

"I felt that the Afghans had not had the sense of defeat sufficiently to convince them of our strength and ability to punish breach of treaty, and therefore a peace made now, before they had been thoroughly beaten, would not be a lasting one and would only end in worse trouble in the near future."

Everyone who has been carefully following the course of events in the present war will have no need to entertain any fear on this account.

It is not too much to hope that as a result of peace negotiations it will be possible to renew the friendly relations between the two countries and place them not on the whims and fancies of hot-headed monarchs but on the goodwill and right understanding of the Afghan people. But the realisation of such a hope largely depends on the attitude of the nation as a whole,

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

European Theories of Government

Mr. W. A. Dunning, Professor of History and Political Philosophy in the Columbia University writes in the current number of *Political Science Quarterly* about the various bodies of doctrine which occupied the chief place successively in current European speculation. There were three principal bodies of doctrine of which the first was constitutionalism which dominated thought till the middle of the 19th century; the second was nationalism which reached the climax of its sway over men's minds in the sixties; and the third was socialism. After the Congress of Vienna, especially conspicuous was the idea that some kind of constitution—of fundamental law written or unwritten—was of the essence of a rational and workable system. The demand for a well defined legal basis for the government, whether monarchic, aristocratic or democratic, became the central feature in the programme of the liberal party in every State. Theoretical debate developed new and striking doctrines only as to the content and not as to their desirability of the written code. As to the essential requirements of constitutional government, theory was practically unanimous in holding that there must be, first, some guarantee of rights to the individual, and second a separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers. Theories of the *Rechtsstaat* or the constitutional state were largely concerned with the effort to reconcile the functions of a representative assembly with those of a hereditary Monarch and to partition sovereignty neatly between the prince and the people.

The *Charte Constitutionnelle* of Louis XVIII was based on the will of the Monarch. That of 1830 supported the doctrine that the fundamental law rested upon a compact between the king and the elected representatives; and formal modification of the constitution required the joint action of

parliament and crown. The French Liberal writer, Benjamin Constant, developed the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people in the general spirit of Montesquieu, rather than in that of Rousseau. In his analysis of constitutional monarchy, the royal power regulates and harmonizes the movements of the executive power, the judicial power, the hereditary assembly and the elective assembly which are represented by the ministry, the Courts, the second chamber and the house of representatives. Constant's view that the Monarch is an organ of Government rather than the sovereign of the state was quite characteristic of the transition from monarchic to popular sovereignty. Guizot was anxious to guarantee against any exaggeration of power in either Monarch or people. De Tocqueville openly imitated the model of Montesquieu and continued in the lives of Aristotle, Polybius and Machiavelli. He pointed out in the first place the qualifications permeating the idea of sovereignty which was the ultimate law-making authority, but was not absolute in any human will whether individual or collective. He brought into prominence two elements in the American system (1) the extreme decentralisation of administration and (2) the exalted political function of the higher judiciary. Both of these play an important part in the successful career of constitutional democracy. Tocqueville's general purpose is to show that successful democracy rests not so much on written constitutions, as on the history and character the environment, manners and morals of the people. The two above-mentioned features of America are not formally embodied in the written constitution and are not due to any artificial work. He finds that the evil of democracy lies in the tyranny of the majority; and the same majority that makes the law makes also public opinion.

German Democracy at the Cross-roads

It is impossible to forecast what will be the precise results or the final form of the work of the Constituent National Assembly in Germany. An article in a recent number of *The Round Table* explains briefly the salient features of the old Imperial German Constitution, summarises the reasons why it was not a democratic constitution and finally indicates the defects revealed by theory or practice in the old constitution. There is no analogy between the German imperial system and that of other countries enjoying self-government and representative parliamentary institutions. The German policy is not made in the Imperial Cabinet, nominally made by the Imperial Chancellor and by the Federal Council, practically by the King and Government of Prussia. Neither the Federal Council nor the Reichstag could make or unmake a Government or Ministers. Both in law and in practice the control of the Reichstag over the purse had been whittled down to virtual impotence. And the Imperial budget covered only a part of the taxation of Germany. The will of the Reichstag as representing the German people could not be made to prevail in the last resort. The key of the situation and the cornerstone of the governmental arch of the Empire were the powers, strength, traditions and principles of the Prussian monarchy which is the Prussian Government. This Prussian root has been immensely strengthened by the Emperor's personal policy. He has buttressed up his formidable position by tightening and extending in every way the dynastic bonds between the Hohenzollerns and other ruling families of Germany. Imperial penetration which is Prussian penetration, thus subtly and surely, aimed at controlling through the Prussianised rulers, the Governments of the non-Prussian States. The Federal Council was for all practical purposes of policy and administration an organ tuned and effectively controlled by Prussia, and against this bulwark the waves of opposition

of liberalism, of social democrats and of Radicals had until 1918 beaten in vain.

Thus, if Germany is to have a democratic Government, no tinkering of the old constitution will suffice. The machinery of government must be recreated on different principles in a different spirit and for fundamentally different objects. Secondly there must be a no less drastic reconstruction of the constitution and Government of Prussia. Regarded historically, the situation at the end of 1918 reverted to the situation in the spring of 1848. The leaders of 1848 grasped very clearly that unless 'Prussia was dissolved in Germany' the revolution which would have given a liberal democratic and unifying constitution on truly nationalist lines would end in a collapse and in the triumph of reaction. They recognised that the failure of the Revolution to master Prussia was the main cause of the reaction of 1849. The subsequent conversion of Germany to the principles of militarism, based on the Gospel of Power, was the result of this collapse. Germany has now imposed on herself the task of demolishing the work of Bismarck and the post-Bismarckians and of extirpating Prussianism without destroying Prussia. A similar task was imposed on the men of 1789 in France. They had to destroy the achievements and principles of Richelieu and of Louis XIV without destroying France. The substitution of a Republic and a President for the Empire and the Emperor is not the most striking point. A Republic, unitarian or federal is not in itself necessarily democratic. In the draft constitution framed for Germany there are several large defects. But if the Revolution has for the moment made Junkerdom important, it has not reduced the predominance of Prussia in Germany though it has put the predominance in a different setting. In a word, the difficulty of dissolving Prussia in Germany has been increased rather than diminished by the Revolution.

The Chinese Press

The Tang Dynasty of China (618-907 A.D.) observes a writer in the *Asiatic Review* for April encouraged learning and patronised literature and started a government organ in which were published imperial edicts, rescripts and memorials. It was issued irregularly until 1351, when it was issued four times a moon. But for many years until it ceased publication it appeared daily. The issue was limited; but it was copied and circulated throughout the country in the form of proclamations and posted outside yamens and city-gates. Anonymous placards were frequently used for giving expression to the discontent and dissatisfaction of the public against acts of oppression and injustice. These were usually written in a popular style and were often caustic, cutting and satirical, as well as full of sharp and witty quotations. The *Peking Gazette* since the establishment of the Foreign Legations in Peking after the war of 1859-60 was the principal source from which foreign ambassadors derived their official news and the policy, opinions and news of the Chinese rulers. This gave one an insight into court and official life and etiquette as well as enabled one to gain a knowledge of the manners and customs of the people.

Modern journalism in China may be said to date from 1864 when an American Missionary, Dr. Y. J. Allen started a monthly magazine which had a wide circulation and was read by officials and *literati*. In 1872 the first daily newspaper was published in Shang-Hai. It maintained a high reputation for intelligent and wise criticism and was even welcomed at the Peking Court and remained the leading organ of Chinese opinion for many years. Other newspapers were published mostly at the treaty ports where the editors were free to express their opinions and advocate reforms which they were not allowed to do in the interior. With the inauguration of the national post office and the

extension of railways, there was a boom in newspaper production. During 1903 the young China party captured most of the press and were taking lessons from the Japanese regarding the use of printing machinery and the arts of process-engraving. When the Revolution broke out in 1911, there were no less than 700 newspapers which have now reached to over a thousand. In 1906 a daily newspaper for women was started in Peking. There are also a considerable number of magazines which have a wide circulation; and a women's magazine has advocated equal rights for women and their economic independence.

In 1907 a Press-law was drawn up by Government giving the ministry power to control, censor and when necessary muzzle the Press. This was superseded by a more stringent law which led to what was known as 'cartoon' warfare between the Government and the Press. The Chinese editors are not only masters of classical literature but also artists and poets; and they portrayed by their cartoons the vices of evils caused by officials, foreign oppression through loans, indemnities and abuse of power; humiliation and shame from the conduct of the Chinese towards foreigners, the ignorances, indifference and vices of the people, etc. The Chinese editors are able to satirise, deride and goad by the use of a single character; and the Pictorial Press was very good in derision and scorn. The effect of modern journalism on mandarins was most salutary. It has led to the agitation for reform and the spreading of progressive ideas among all classes, created a desire and demand for a constitution and parliament, with a view of regenerating the country financially politically and socially. The growth of the native press has largely removed the apparent indifference and unconcern of the people. It has largely taught the Chinese to think for themselves and taught them to work out their own salvation without the intervention of other nations.

Egyptian Administration.

The present crisis in Egypt makes it imperative on all students of the politics of the British Empire to learn something of the nature of the British protectorate over that country, the character of the British rulers and their ideals. Sir Malcolm Mc Ilwraith, in a paper that is published in *United Empire* (April number) explains the more salient and distinguishing characteristics of British policy towards Egypt and the personal temperament and character of the various British rulers who have presided over that country's destinies since 1882. Earl Cromer who was in power from 1883 to 1907 laid the foundations of all succeeding regimes. The leading feature of his rule was the gradual gathering together of all the threads of administration and their concentration in the hands of one man marked out in all possible respects for supreme power. He had to struggle continuously with those forces which resented his encroachments on their powers and prerogatives and which resisted his authority by active opposition or passive obstruction. There were trials of strength between the more daring spirits among them and Earl Cromer; and the choice lay between the personal government of the Khedive Abbas II and the personal government of Lord Cromer. The marvellous financial transformation and material development of the country which he effected are well within the knowledge of all.

His successor Sir Eldon Gorst inaugurated a new policy which the Liberal Government of Mr. Asquith desired to try, viz., to get the cordial support and collaboration of the Khedive. The experiment proved a failure both from a political and from an administrative point of view. The period was one of administrative sterility and the only measure of reform was the improvement of Provincial Councils. The demand for full Parliamentary institutions and agitation continued and culminated in the assassination of the

Premier Boutros Pasha, the retirement of Sir Eldon Gorst and the accession of Lord Kitchener to power.

Kitchener breathed a new spirit into the administration. During his regime (1911-14) a large number of innovations of various kinds were introduced, most of them intended to ameliorate the lot of the *fellaheen*. His administrative talents were no less remarkable than his military genius; but his greatest defect as a civil administrator was a positive passion for despatch at any price. Much of his legislation was seriously prejudiced by his unwillingness to allow reasonable time for its elaboration. There was certainly no stagnation under his regime and routine was reduced to a minimum. He took a special interest—no doubt largely military—in means of communication.

Since the proclamation of the British Protectorate, there have been a Sultan instead of the Khedive and a British High Commissioner in the place of the Consul General. This change has not greatly altered the outward aspect of affairs. The protectorate *de facto* has been converted into a protectorate *de jure*. The High Commissioner is placed in a position corresponding to his political importance; and this change will lead to the disappearance of the diplomatic corps of other states in Cairo and the substitution for it of commercial consuls, as in other British dependencies.

Prison Reform.

At the present day, prisons are very costly to the state, and they do not accomplish the end for which they are instituted. Under existing circumstances prisoners invariably deteriorate mentally and physically, by repression and coercion and for lack of right moral training. A very large percentage of them return to prison and thus prove the inadequacy of the system in every way. And recidivism means further expense to the state and greater degradation to the prisoner.

In punishment the man is the object of revenge, often vindictiveness—and he is also contemplated with a large amount of fear. The old theory that the punishment must fit the crime, regardless of the individual belongs to past ages and should be put with other useless lumber. Solitary confinement, straight jacket, the dungeon and the lash intensify evil and make men bitter and revengeful.

A writer in the May number of *The Theosophist* deplures all these and exhorts us to improve the prison-system both from a moral and an economic point of view. When one realises the many hours that a prisoner has to think and then what these thoughts can be, we find that they are only an intensifying of the old ones through reiteration and similar thoughts round him. Correspondence can be and is of the greatest possible benefit to prisoners, but here again discrimination and common sense must be used.

The following excerpt shows the difference between the old and the new prison systems in America. The new prison system gives the prisoner opportunity for self-expression and responsibility, and the spirit of the new system is brotherhood.

"The old prison system was based on the theory that punishment must fit the crime, without regard to the individual who commits the crime, the so-called criminal. Solitary confinement in iron cells, inferior and insufficient food, the lock-step, the shaven head, the strait-jacket, the lash and the dungeon, have been devised to repress the evil in the man. The reverse has been effected. The good in the man has been crushed; the evil intensified by the resentment at the injustice of society. Prisoners, guards, wardens, society, none have escaped the degrading influence.

In many States benevolent wardens are extending privileges, and finding the men worthy of the trust placed in them. So far this has developed law-abiding slaves. This so-called "honour system" is a step between the old prison system and the new.

The Teaching of Patriotism

Lala Lajpat Rai, in the course of an article on the above Subject, in the *Modern Review* for June, writes that love of India as a whole as distinguished from love of village, town, city or province is the point round which the teaching of patriotism in India must revolve. He says: "I am sure Indian Nationalists do not want to set up an aggressive nationalism of the kind which will breed contempt or hatred of other nations. The idea that love of one's country necessarily involves hatred of others, or even indifference to the welfare of the rest of mankind, is absolutely fallacious and mischievous and should be combated through and through."

The teaching of Hindu-Mohammadan unity, says Lala Lajpat Rai, can be much facilitated by the writing of special and carefully worded theses on the lives of our national heroes. He observes "If Mother India had an Asoka, she had an Akbar too. If she had a Chaitanya, she had Kabir also. If she had a Harsha, she had Sher Shah too. If she had a Vikramaditya, she had a Shah Jahan also. If she is proud of a Todar Mal, she is equally proud of Abul Fazul."

After pointing out that the third part of our course for the teaching of patriotism must deal with our relations with the State, he concludes that

"Our loyalty must be rational, reasonable and sincere. Let me make it clear that any attempt to enforce the teaching of loyalty to the established British Government in India as such, without pointing out the road to make it truly national and truly democratic, will end in a fiasco. The analogy of Germany does not apply. The Indians must feel that their loyalty is voluntary, and an outcome of their conscious desire to remain a part of the British Commonwealth on terms of equality with the rest."

Vienna and Versailles 1815 & 1919.

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, in the current number of the *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* institutes a comparison in some important respects between the European situation in 1815 and that at the present moment. Bonaparte was the Hohenzollern model both in diplomacy and in the conduct of military operations. Fortune however has decreed that the roles of Napoleon I and Wilhelm II should be reversed. The corsican began his life in obscurity; he was thrown over the surface of public affairs by revolution; he was the creature of a conflict which he had done nothing to provoke. The Kaiser inherited the most commanding monarchy in the world; the true source of his power was the unparalleled prosperity of forty years of peace; he wantonly entered upon a war of conquest which has ended in a revolution and his own downfall.

In the two struggles which ended respectively in 1814 & 1918, Great Britain played a central and decisive part. If the Napoleonic war dragged on its weary length for over a decade the cause was very largely the fact that for the first five years Britain limited her efforts to the sea and refused to put forth her strength on land. If the German war of 1914 had been finished in less than four years and a half, one of the determining causes is the fact that from the outset Britain threw herself into the struggle by land as well as by sea. But in neither war did Britain immediately decide the issue. In each case the issue was decided by the late advent of a powerful ally whose fresh and enormous resources turned the scale. In 1812 it was Russia; in 1917 it was the United States. In spite however of the decisive influence exercised by Russia in one instance and America in the other, out of both conflicts Britain emerged with immensely enhanced prestige and power. Hence British influence is hardly less powerful at Versailles in 1919 than it was at Vienna in 1815.

The plenipotentiaries in both cases represented peoples wearied by the intolerable burden of war and eager for the establishment of perpetual peace. In each case the passionate desires of pacific peoples were voiced by a great idealist. Alexander I of Russia occupied the place at Vienna and later at Torun which in 1919 is occupied by President Wilson. The two men differ greatly; but their ultimate objects are identical, viz. the bringing into existence of some organ of international government capable of preventing war, suppressing revolution and administering justice. Alexander formulated the scheme of the Holy Alliance of autocrats. The folly of the Holy Alliance consisted in the vagueness of its principles, the absence of any agreement as to what the application of religion to politics meant and the lack of all executive machinery for giving effect to its noble sentiments. Wilson's 'League of Free Nations' is free from the weaknesses of its Parisian prototype. Its membership is restricted to peoples whose governments are of a congruous type; its principles are clearly defined, and it is provided with simple but powerful machinery of operation. The Holy Alliance was posterior to and an appendix of the treaty settlement of Vienna. The present League of Nations has been the first business of the Versailles conference; it is the preliminary to the peace.

In 1814-15 the guiding idea of the settlement was legitimacy and the settlement itself aimed at being as far as possible a restoration of conditions precedent to 1789. The Revolution of 1789 was the enemy which was to be overcome. In 1919, the principle of national democracy is everywhere accepted; hence not restoration but reconstruction is the prime object of the plenipotentiaries; but once again revolution presents itself as a disturbing element. Rousseau is now a canonical evangelist and the Jacobins are but overzealous apostles. The new Revolution is cosmopolitan socialism, and the modern supplanter of Rousseau is Karl Marx.

The Banking Needs of India.

Mr. M. L. Tannan, writing in a recent number of the *Journal of the Indian Economic Society* explains the banking needs that require to be fulfilled for the further development of India's resources. The position of banking in India is very poor. There is only one banking office for every 900,000 persons in India, whereas in the United Kingdom, there is one for roughly every 5,200 and in U. S. A. one for every 3000 persons. The paid up banking capital and reserve in India per million of the population is '008 of what it is in the United Kingdom and '004 of what it is in U. S. A. Though one cannot say that he believes in the theory of India's hoards, one cannot equally claim that a fairly large portion of her savings enters into productive channels. Hoarding more often than not, is involuntary and may be attributed to the sheer absence of banking and investment facilities.

India wants a Central or State Bank with a large paid-up capital and a network of branches in at least all the district towns. Such a bank is needed, if for nothing else, at least for dealing satisfactorily with the Cash Balances of Government both in England and India which average roughly 42 crores a year. These balances can be transferred to this Bank and can be utilised for helping the trade of the country. The London Branch will utilise the heavy balances now kept in London and manage the finances of the India Office. The Central Bank will also better do the work of maintaining our artificial system of currency. It can maintain the system of paper currency and Government can share the profits of the whole business with it. This Bank will be in a good position to provide facilities for the remission of money from one part of the country to another and can give help to other banks by providing facilities for the grant of loans at reasonable rates and also for discounting commercial paper in their hands. It can render assistance

to the co-operative credit-movement and industrial development by helping the central co-operative banks and the industrial banks. Another alternative scheme would be to amalgamate the Presidency Banks and to permit them to raise their capital by twice the amount of their paid-up capital and reserve on condition that preference is given to Indian applicants. The right of note issue may also be transferred to this amalgamated bank.

Besides a Central Bank, the country requires many more Indian joint-stock commercial banks with a net work of bank offices preferably managed and controlled by Indians. More banks are wanted not only for mobilising the capital of the country and placing the same at the disposal of the trade, but also for the extension of our paper currency and for obviating the currency troubles. They would have helped the use of currency notes and cheques and helped the growth of bank deposits. Branches of English or Colonial banks will either eliminate the Indian joint-stock banks by cut-throat competition or drive them into poverty and depression. Secondly such banks cannot meet our needs owing to their most costly management and owing to their being out of touch with the needs of our people. They are likely to insist on the use of English for their banking transactions and thus put in a position of disadvantage the middle classes and the bulk of the native merchant classes. Under proper state control Indian managed banks will thrive very well, but it is necessary that state-control should not be excessive.

There must also be some specialised banks for financing our industries and agriculture; and we should have more industrial banks with very large paid up capital. There must also be some organisation to look after the interests of the banks, to promote co operation among them and to provide facilities for the training of young men for the banking profession.

Indian Christians

Miss. A. J. Marris, a retired member of the staff of the London Missionary Society, Benares, brings to notice in the current number of *The East and the West* some of the special troubles, anxieties and everyday difficulties of Indian Christians. She divides the Indian Christians into three classes, those who are converts from Mahomedanism, those who are Hindu converts and those who are Christians by birth and descendants of converts. The Mahomedan convert never loses his personal and religious pride even when he becomes a Christian. To him the way of return to his old faith is always open and should either party to a Mahomedan marriage become Christian, the marriage is ipso facto dissolved and both parties are free according to Mahomedan law to remarry. In the case of Hindu converts, caste-habits and instincts like the inborn pride of the Mahomedan, persist long after the individual has become a Christian, often unconsciously and as a matter of course. With regard to food, water and other matters of daily life, it is far easier for the Mahomedan to accustom himself to the social life of the Christian community than for the Hindu. The habits and standard of the Zenana persist long after a woman may have broken with her old life and companions.

The Christian character of a community is always a matter of slow growth. Progress in this direction is complicated by the great differences in the original standards of morality of the many castes from which the Christian community is recruited. All converts, unless they belong to a mass-movement area, have to face the problem of self-support. School masters, clerks, mechanics and domestic servants will probably lose their posts if they become Christians, but other posts are generally available for them. The case is worst

entirely dependent on family and caste support. Women converts are much in the same position.

The problems which the Indian Christians have to face are threefold, economic, educational and social and underlying these are great moral problems. The caste or family backing is almost entirely lacking to the Indian Christian of the cities, though it is one of the gains of the mass-movements. The old caste occupations are for the most part closed. To ensure a really Christian training for children, parents desire the possibility of founding schools where only Christian boys will be admitted; but in this there is the danger that boys thus brought up may be unable to take their place in a society of mixed creeds. The housing problem is another imminent one. Should the adherents of a mission be encouraged to live in the streets and bazaars? or should they live separately in their own quarters? Following this there is the question of neighbours and social inter-course and in this connection the dread danger that threatens is that the Christian community should drift or be forced into becoming one more caste among many. There is also the possibility of the Christians becoming isolated in the coming national movement i.e., becoming alienated in sympathy and affection and ties from the great nationalities that are becoming increasingly self-conscious in the different parts of the country.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS

BENGAL UNDER LORD CARMICHAEL. By Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee. ["The Hindustan Review," April.]

ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN INDIA. By D. A. Shah. ["Journal of the Indian Economic Society," March.]

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE." By Lala Lajpat Rai. ["The Modern Review," June.]

SELF SUPPORTING SCHOOLS FOR INDIA. By J. B. Pennington. ["The Asiatic Review," April 1919.]

THE FAKIR AND THE CARPET. By G. M. Calmady-Hamlyn. ["The Occult Review," May 1919.]

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS. By S. Vythia Nathan. M.G., B.R.A.S. ["The Young Hindu," Feb. 1919.]

Mr. Montagu's Memorandum

A memorandum by Mr. Montagu on the Government of India Bill states that in regard to the division of functions it is contemplated that, apart from the administration of provincial subjects, the Provincial Governments will continue to discharge in their own provinces many duties on behalf of the Central Government in regard to subjects which will remain under the full control of the Central Government. For example, the administration of customs, shipping, laws and the collection of income tax. The agency of the Provincial Government in this respect is employed merely as a matter of convenience, and it is, therefore, always open to the Central Government to cease to employ such agency and itself to undertake the entire work of administration through its own officials. The Bill contains no express provision in regard to the reserved subjects, but clause 23 will cover the making of rules thereon. It is not contemplated that questions in regard to the dividing line between the spheres of the Central and Provincial authorities shall be subject to a legal decision in Courts. The intention is that the rules to be framed shall provide that doubts, whether any matter does or does not belong to a provincial subject, shall be decided by the Governor-General in Council, subject to the control of the Secretary of State.

In regard to the diarchy, Mr. Montagu says that no alternative plan has yet been submitted which is consistent with the announcement of the 20th August in providing for a gradual transfer of responsibility. The alternative plans suggested have two fatal defects. First, at the outset, they give no such responsibility to the non-official element in the Government as will be recognisable by the councils or their electorates, and secondly, they provide no means whereby such responsibility and control could ultimately be secured, except by a sudden change from official to popular

government which would take effect simultaneously as regards all provincial functions. The scheme of the joint report does give immediate responsibility to Ministers, who represent the popular element in the Legislative Councils in regard to some departments of administration, though, as long as there is division of functions between official and non-official sections, such responsibility cannot be complete. At the same time by bringing Ministers into touch both at joint meetings and in the discharge of their own duties with the work of the reserved departments, it gradually familiarises them with the needs of those departments and the considerations affecting their administration, and thus prepares the way for the assumption by Ministers of further responsibility by degrees as additional subjects are transferred until the ultimate goal of complete responsibility is attained.

The new form of Provincial Government does not apply to Burma, which, for reasons indicated in the joint report, requires separate treatment, but Burma will come within the scope of the devolution provisions of the Bill, except so far as such provisions depend on the institution of a new form of Provincial Government. In regard to the Executive Councils, the suggestion of the Government of India that one seat should statutorily be reserved for an Indian is not adopted, because it is considered undesirable to include in a Bill any provision for racial qualification, but it is contemplated that in any event the Executive Councils will continue to include at least one Indian member, and if a second European member is added, there will also be a second Indian member. As regards the Indian legislature no formal limitation is proposed of the general powers of legislation conferred by Section 65 of the Act, but it is contemplated that the Indian Legislature will abstain from Legislation on provincial subjects, except where those subjects are declared to be subject to Indian Legislation,

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Montagu on the Reforms

In moving the second reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons on the 4th instant, Mr. Montagu made a remarkable speech, in the course of which he said:—

Whether India was a nation or not, we had promised her the progressive realisation of Responsible Government. We had given India representation like that of the Dominions on the Imperial Conference. India was to be an original member of the League of Nations. Therefore their Imperial task was to overcome whatever difficulties might be in the path and help India on the road to nationality. If there were those who considered that the Empire justified itself when it gave a country satisfactory law and order, adequate peace, decent institutions and a certain measure of prosperity, if there were people who believed that we fulfilled our mission when we run the country as an estate and not as a country at all, even then there were large proposals in the Bill which commanded assent from them, for example, the proposals for devolution and decentralisation.

Mr. Montagu, referring to Lord Willingdon, said although he had a plan of his own, he was certain he would have preferred to rely on his qualities which made his astonishing success in the government of Bombay. He said in effect that under a Governor such as Lord Willingdon a far more elastic arrangement would be far preferable to the scheme of the Bill, if in any province, the Governor would so influence his advisers and if the circumstances of the particular province made it possible, there was nothing in the Bill to prevent the Governor to discharge all reserved functions as if they were transferred. He could tell his Government that he did not believe much in the new dual form of government and would use none of his powers under the Bill, unless driven thereto they would always consult together and he would do the best to work the scheme in deference to the wishes of the Legislature on all subjects. If he were lucky he would perhaps get through his term of office without having to use his exceptional powers on reserved subjects. Therefore under the scheme of the Bill Lord Willingdon would get all he proposed. Under the scheme of the Bill, whatever the personality of the Governor, transferred subjects were bound to the representatives of people, but under the alternative scheme, nothing was guaranteed them at all.

The (Indo-British) Association was a body which got very angry when it was suggested that it did not intend to carry out the Pronouncement. It had done a great deal of harm in India by leading the people to suppose that it had more influence on the decisions of Parliament than he hoped it was likely to have. Its scheme was the scheme of bureaucrats, for the consumption of bureaucrats and was intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy. The Provincial Government was not to be interfered with by the Legislative Council, the Government of India, or India Office. Future Sydenhams would remain upon the throne untrammelled by control from above and undismayed by criticism from below. How would that lead to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government.

We should never get on with all the work we had to do in India unless we settled, as this Bill would settle, the constitutional question and its intermediate discussion. When he said that the Bill would settle the question, he meant that he hoped they would receive from the Joint Committee an agreed Bill, that all alternative schemes would be considered in far more detail than was then possible and that somehow or other a Statute would pass as a consequence of the second reading of the Bill which would launch India on the road to complete self-government. There was so much other work to do in India that, if we could once get a growing constitution for it to win for itself the goal we had pronounced, we could give attention to the improvement of education, development of India's great resources and industries and consider the reorganisation of her defences. But before we could do anything and in order to make these things possible it seemed to him essential to start her on the road to self-government.

He could not believe that Parliament was going to afford any obstacle to the partnership of India in the Empire. We had recently been so sympathetic to the national aspirations of the Arabs, Czech-Slovaks and others and India desired to achieve nationality. She was an original member of the League of Nations developed under our protecting care and with our political thought. Let us pass the Bill and start India under the ægis of the British flag on the road we ourselves had travelled, in spite of all difficulties of area, caste, religion, race and education. If you pass the Bill and modify it until it becomes a great statute, we can say to the people of India: "The future and the date on which to realise the future goal of self-government is with you. You are being given great responsibility to-day and opportunities of consultation and influence on other matters in which at present we keep responsibility. You will find in Parliament every desire to help and complete the task which this Bill attempts if you devote yourselves to use with wisdom, self-restraint and respect for minorities the great opportunities with which the Parliament is entrusting you." That message the House should send to the Indian people to-day. That message cannot be sent unless the House is determined to pass without delay and with every desire that it should be improved before it passed a statute which means the beginning of Responsible Government for India (cheers).

Lord Cecil on Co-operation

We all believe we are on the threshold of a new era. It is so. What is that era to be? Is it to be gradual, and gradually increasing chaos in these countries until they have engulfed the whole fabric of Christian civilisation? Or by a supreme effort are we going to start on the road of international confidence and co-operation? That is really the issue before us. If I may venture to do so, I would appeal to all in this country alike, to the workman as much as to the employer, to the rich as much as to the poor to make a great effort—as great an effort it may well turn out as any we made during the War—but I am bound to say that, great as the effort may be by ourselves we cannot succeed. All the countries in Europe are exhausted by this long War. Our own energies are diminished. Our own resources are very much restricted. If Europe is to be saved, it will be saved by the united efforts of all those countries which were associated in the War.

Sir M. Visvesvarayya

The following *Gazette Extraordinary* has been issued by the Mysore Government :—

In permitting Sir M. Visvesvarayya, K C I E , to retire from the service of the Mysore State from the 10th June 1919, His Highness the Maharaja desires to place on record his appreciation of the great services rendered to the State by this distinguished officer. Sir M. Visvesvarayya after a successful career in the Bombay Public Works Department, was appointed Chief Engineer to the Mysore Government in the month of November 1909. Three years later he succeeded Mr. T. Ananda Rao, C.I.E., as Dewan of Mysore, an appointment which he filled with conspicuous ability for over six years. During all this period Sir M. Visvesvarayya laboured with unwearrying zeal and single-minded devotion to increase the material resources of the State. His administration as Dewan has resulted in important and far-reaching developments in education, irrigation work, railway communications and industries, and has laid the foundation for a prosperous and progressive future for the State. Sir M. Visvesvarayya carries with him in his retirement the esteem and best wishes of His Highness the Maharaja and all classes of his subjects. As a mark of appreciation of Sir M. Visvesvarayya's valuable services, His Highness has been pleased to grant him a special pension of Rs. 1,250 a month.

Famine in Baroda

Famine has been declared in several areas of the Baroda State and relief measures, as provided in the Famine Code, are in full swing. An outstanding feature of the present famine is that relief works are not as crowded as in the previous famines. The Baroda State has promptly met the keen demands for financial assistance from the agriculturists by advancing more than Rs. 7 lakhs for takavi and Rs. 2 lakhs for constructing wells.

Hyderabad Council

It is stated on official authority that, instead of having a mere Chief Minister, H.E.H. the Nizam has decided upon establishing an Executive Council, with Sir Syed Ali Imam as President. The members, who will be selected from among the officials of the State, will be nominated later.

A Maharaja's Gifts

On the occasion of the birthday of H. H. the Maharaja Raj Sahib of Dhrangadhra, the following announcements were made:—A grant of Rs. 6,000 to the Girassia Hostels, Rs. 5,000 annually to Sunderba Anathashrama, a purse of Rs. 1,000 to Dr. Baria and Rs. 10,000 for sundry charities. Ten scholarships each of Rs. 25 monthly for higher education in commemoration of the visit of H.H. the Jam Saheb.

Mysore University

The opening of a Mysore University course for mining and metallurgy, suggested by the existence of mineral wealth in the State, and of a project for iron smelting and steel manufacture, which is likely to be put in operation soon, was lately proposed by Government and the question is now under consideration. A committee will be appointed by the Council to devise a scheme under which instruction in these subjects may be provided as one of alternatives for students of the B. E. degree, the course to be one of two years after passing the intermediate examination in engineering.

The question of the institution of a degree in agriculture has also been considered. A rough scheme was drawn up by the Director of Agriculture on the assumption that a college would be located in Bangalore where existing facilities, such as a farm at Hebbal and laboratories in Bangalore and the services of the existing officers of the Department of Agriculture, would be taken advantage of as far as possible, but as Government expressed a preference to its location in Mysore the scheme has to be considerably altered.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Bikaner on India and the Dominions

At the Jubilee Dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner said that the comradeship of India with the Dominions in the war had created an atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill, which he fervently hoped would prevent new Indian grievances and difficulties in the Dominions, and which would pave the way to an early and complete removal of those remaining. The Maharaja of Bikaner recapitulated India's war sacrifices in men, her valuable contributions in material, and the generous donations of the Indian Princes. He referred to severe post-war economic effects and other difficulties, notably the uncertainty of Indian Mahomedans respecting the fate of Turkey. Touching the recent disturbances, the Maharaja of Bikaner earnestly hoped that neither in the United Kingdom nor other parts of the Empire would public opinion allow itself to be perturbed by these, or by alarmist statements or propaganda.

Indians in the American Army

In the *Young India* (New York) says the *Modern Review*, there is an incomplete list of the men who adopted Uncle Sam's uniform and fought for the war aims of the United States. This list contains the following 15 names:—Ahmad Ali, K. C. Kerwell, D. N. Mitra, Amulya Mukerji, S. A. Mullah, M. K. Pandit, K. H. Patel, R. D. Shelke, O. L. Singh, Iswar Singh, Haqiqat Singh, Karm Singh, Sher Singh, Lab Singh Tehora. To these Mr. R. Ahmed adds the names of Lieut. Dhiren Roy, Lieut. B. Sharma and Chandra Singh. It is to be noticed that some of our boys got commissions, too, in the United States Army. Considering that there are only 125 Hindu students (any native of India, Hindu or Mussulman or of any other sect, is called Hindu in America) in the American Universities, those of them who volunteered for fighting for the 'world's freedom' do not form a negligible proportion.

Indians in Transvaal

The provisions of the Asiatic Amendment Act are:—

1. Those provisions of sections 130 and 131 of Act No. 35 of 1908 (Transvaal) which relate to the residence on or occupation of ground held under a stand licence on proclaimed land by coloured persons and any provisions similar thereto contained in the conditions of any deed of grant or freehold title in a Government Township shall not apply—

(a) to any British Indian who on the first day of May 1919, was, under the authority of a trading licence lawfully issued, carrying on business on proclaimed ground or on any stand or lot in such township, or to the lawful successor in title of any such Indian in respect of such business; or

(b) to any person bona fide in the employment of such a British Indian or his successor in title, so long as such British Indian or successor in title continues so to carry on business on the same ground or stand or lot on which or in the same township in which it was being carried on on the first day of May 1919:

Provided that nothing in this section shall be construed as abrogating any exceptions contained in the said sections one hundred and thirty and one hundred and thirty-one or in the conditions aforesaid.

2. Those provisions of Law No. 3 of 1885 (Transvaal) and any amendments thereof heretofore enacted which prohibit a person belonging to any of the native races of Asia from being an owner of fixed property in the Transvaal subject to certain exceptions specified in such amendments shall, subject to the same exceptions, be construed also as prohibiting the ownership of fixed property in the Transvaal by any company or other corporate body in which one or more persons belonging to any of those races have a controlling interest:

Provided that the provisions of this section shall not apply in respect of the ownership of any fixed property acquired by any such company or corporate body before the 1st of May 1919.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Indian Industries

The East India Section, London Chamber of Commerce, held a meeting at its offices on May 1919, under the chairmanship of Sir Charles McLeod and discussed Mr. Chadwick's recent Society of Arts paper on the report of the Indian Industrial Commission. Sir C. McLeod inaugurated a discussion on friendly lines, but specially alluded to the recommendation of the Commission in favour of raising railway rates instead of by direct specific increased taxation when Government needed money.

Mr. Dick, Deputy Chairman of the Section, strongly deprecated any hastening of the development of India, and called attention to the suggestions that openings should be created for labour when labour was even insufficient now for the industries which existed.

Mr. Jackson also supported gradual development since enthusiasm was not enough to ensure success, and when there was any native failure it usually ascribed some European influence.

Thereupon Mr. Longcroft, representing Messrs. David Sassoons, took up the need for interesting capitalists in India rather than in other countries. Sir Alexander McRobert did not think the Government in India had given sufficient protection to industry. They knew what had happened at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras, while, although it had not been published, he could tell them that one of the most important British industries in the Punjab employing 3,900 hands, near Amritsar, had been in the greatest danger during the last few weeks. These were things which they had to consider in advising people to send their money to India. They should devote greater attention in the improvement of existing possibilities. An increase of one bushel per acre more wheat would mean twelve million sterling to the country at the present prices which is much better than starting new industries.

Cloth Consumption in India

Sir Dinshaw Wacha has calculated that there were 13.6 yards of cloth for consumption in India per annum per head of the population in 1913-14, as compared with 9.28 yards, the annual average of the five years which ended on 31st March 1919, or a shortage of 4.32 yards per year per head. The figures explain the cry of shortage and high prices of cloth.

The Currency Commission

The terms of reference of this Committee are as follows:—To examine the effect of the war on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice and upon the position of Indian note issues and to consider whether in the light of this experience and of possible future variations in the price of silver modifications of the system or practice may be required; to make recommendations as to such modifications and generally as to the policy that should be pursued with a view to meeting the requirements of the trade to maintain a satisfactory monetary circulation and to ensuring a stable gold exchange standard.

India's Cotton Trade

In the twelve months, April 1918 to March 1919, the quantity of yarn spun in Indian mills was 615 million lbs. and that of woven goods manufactured 350 million lbs. as compared with 661 and 381 million lbs., respectively, during the corresponding period of 1917-18. The value of woven goods manufactured in Indian mills, as far as reported, amounted to Rs. 44 crores in the months of April 1918 to March 1919 as compared with Rs. 27 crores during the corresponding period of 1917-18.

The total imports during the week ending 24th May 1919 of cotton piece-goods by sea from foreign countries into the ports of Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Madras, and Rangoon amounted to 6 million yards as against 7 million yards and 14 million yards in the corresponding period of 1918 and 1917, respectively.

Agricultural Education in the C P.

A correspondent writes to the *Pioneer*:—The two Agricultural Middle Schools to be opened this month at Ohandkhuri and Powarkhera mark the beginning of what promises to be a new era of agriculture in the Central Provinces. By working through the more enterprising adult farmers the Agricultural Department has made rapid progress within recent years in stimulating their practical interest in its teaching. Millions of pounds of improved seed are now being supplied annually from seed and demonstration farms managed by tahsil agricultural associations and co-operative unions, the members of which have been induced to co-operate for the commonweal. A keen demand for new manures and improved implements has arisen; and the silent, plodding tiller of the soil is now beginning to realise, as he never did before, the enormous possibilities there are of increasing his farming profits by adopting the improved methods of cultivation recommended by the Department.

Cattle Census

Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Peoples' Association, has addressed the following communication to the Census Commissioner for India:—It has been announced that the intention of the Government is to take another census of the people of India in 1921. My committee suggests that it would be very opportune and at the same time would lead to a considerable saving of expense if along with the census of the people in India a census of the cattle of India were taken on which the sustenance of the peoples of India in a large measure depends. Hitherto the attempts at statistics have been of a very fragmentary nature and therefore unreliable. Should such a periodic survey of the cattle be taken as urged in this communication, much useful information could be gleaned and the necessity of a separate quinquennial census as now being taken may be abandoned, leading to a

considerable saving of finance on the part of the Government. My committee would also point out how imperatively necessary such a survey is, seeing that the people of India, not only on account of their large agricultural pursuits but also because for their daily sustenance, are dependent upon the cattle scattered over the length and breadth of the country.

My committee would also prefer that the above information should be gleaned on such definite heads: (a) stock of plough and draught cattle, milch cattle, young stock, (b) slaughter of cattle and hide statistics, (c) pasture land, (d) fodder crops, (e) yield of milk. Such information would help in the gathering of correct figures and would show whether the cattle in India are deteriorating and are insufficient for the needs of the peoples of India, which in its turn would lead to measures being adopted for their upkeep and maintenance.

An Agricultural Exhibition for Jaffna

Jaffna has moved very slowly in the matter of Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions, writes the *Morning Star*, while such exhibitions have been held in many other parts of the Island. There has been talks of organising such exhibitions in Jaffna every now and then, but, as far as we are aware of, only one was held, and that, two decades ago. We are therefore glad that an exhibition is at last going to be held a year from now, and a sub-committee has been appointed to devise measures to bring it about.

Condensed Milk

Condensed milk is becoming a fairly important item on Japan's list. With the development of the dairy industry in that country, the volume of shipment is becoming larger every year. In 1915 the year's export was, roughly speaking, 147,000 *yen*, or say, £14,700, whereas this year, during the four months, January-April, no less than £19,300 worth was shipped elsewhere, and much more money and energy is being put into the business.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Anthropological Papers: Part II. By Jivanji Jamshejji Modi B.A., PH.D., C.I.E. Printed at the British India Press, Bombay.

This book is a collection of twenty papers read by Mr. Modi on various occasions before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. It fully maintains the author's reputation as an able and prolific writer on anthropological subjects. Among the particularly interesting papers included in this volume may be mentioned those on Parsae ceremonies, rites and customs, the Ancient Iranian Belief and Folklore about the Moon and the Pundits of Kashmir.

A Short History of the Mahrattas. By Upendra Nath Ball, M.A. Published by Rama Krishna and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Rs. 1-8.

This is a very useful publication intended mainly for the B.A. class students of the Punjab University. The author has evidently consulted most of the standard authorities on the subject and carefully marshalled all the relevant and material facts bearing on the rise of the great Mahratta power. Mr. Ball's account of Shivaji is at once succinct, accurate and reliable. The title is somewhat misleading, for the book takes us down only to the death of Shivaji.

The Rowlatt Act: Its origin, scope and object. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

This is a handy pamphlet containing the full text of the Rowlatt Act as passed in the Council. An introduction interpreting the technicalities of the Act is also appended: but the interpretation is mainly from the point of view of those who apologise for this drastic legislation and think it altogether inoffensive and harmless.

The Years Between. By Rudyard Kipling. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London.

In this volume has been collected together Mr. Kipling's poems written at intervals during the past several years. To appreciative readers of Mr. Kipling's works, this book must be welcome, as it gives a varied selection of his best literary efforts.

The Oxford History of India. By Vincent A. Smith, C.I.E. The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

This book gives a comprehensive history of India from the earliest period up to the close of the year 1911. The visit of Their Majesties to India for the Delhi Durbar is also recorded. Such a concise work from this eminent historian must find a place in every library. It is amply illustrated and will be valued by students as a handbook of Indian history very much like Mr. Green's "History of the English People."

Sohrab and Rustum; Sree and Sore-Throat. H. W. B. Moreno, Central Press, Calcutta.

The first is a dramatised version of Mathew Arnold's well-known epic: "Sree" is an episode from one of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novels translated by Mr. Moreno and Mr. P. N. Bose; while the third is a farce in one act written by Mr. M. Hashim Khan and Mr. Moreno. It has been played with success at Calcutta and Simla and the book has already run through three editions.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

RELIGIOUS MYSTICISM OF THE UPANISHADS. By R. Gordon Milburn, Cambay & Co., Calcutta.

THE BUSTLING HOURS. By W. Pett Ridge, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

A HISTORY OF THE SIKHS. By Joseph Davey Cunningham, Edited by H. L. O. Garrett, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

INTERNATIONALISM. By Wilbur F. Crafts, PH. D. International Reform Bureau, Washington.

THE HOME AND THE WORLD. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

THE SILK INDUSTRY AND TRADE. By Ratan C Rawley, M.A., M. Sc. P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.

PRAYER AS A SCIENCE. By W. Wybergh, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

BENOIT CASTANI. Translated by Arthur C. Richmond, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

THE NEW ELIZABETHANS. By E. B. Osborn: Jane Lane, London.

A MANUAL OF DISTRICT BOARD WORK; PART I. By L. C. Sengupta, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

HAND BOOK OF PLANTAIN FIBRE AND FRUIT INDUSTRY. By J. K. Sircar, Sukohar, Bengal.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 21. Indian Budget. Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons.
Rumoured resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair.
- May 22. In the House of Commons Mr. Montagu announces that the Reforms Bill would be introduced in the beginning of June.
- May 23. The Hon. Mr. Chintamani is entertained at a garden party in Allahabad.
- May 24. The German Delegation delivers three fresh Notes to the Allies.
- May 25. The King today receives Capt Raja Sir Hari Singh of Kashmir.
- May 26. Sir M. O'Dwyer makes over charge of his office to Sir Edward Maclagan.
Government of India's despatch on the reform scheme is published.
- May 27. The "Bombay Chronicle" is asked to deposit Rs. 5,000 provisionally.
- May 28. Sir Michael O'Dwyer recommends abrogation of martial law in the Punjab.
- May 29. In the Commons Mr. Montagu formally introduces the Government of India Bill.
The Germans hand over their reply to the Allies.
- May 30. The Indian Association, Calcutta, sends a cable to Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha and Mr. B. N. Basu protesting against the Government of India despatch.
- May 31. Public meeting in Bombay presided over by Mr. Gandhi resolves to collect money towards Mr. Tilak's expenses in England.
- June 1. Sir Rabindranath Tagore renounces his Knighthood.
- June 2. Both the Proprietor and Editor of *Kathiawad Samachar* are sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment.
- June 3. Pandit Malaviya is re-elected to the Vice-regal Council.
- June 4. Protest meeting in Madras against the action taken under the Press Act on the *Hindu*, and other Madras papers.
- June 5. Second reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons.
- June 6. A manifesto is issued in Bombay offering co-operation with the Government in putting down lawlessness.
- June 7. Count Rantzau has handed a letter to the Peace Conference protesting against the establishment of the Rhenish Republic.
- June 8. Messrs. Shaukat and Mohamed Ali have been lodged in the Tul Jail.
- June 9. Security of Rs. 10,000 is demanded from the *Bombay Chronicle*.
- June 10. Martial law is withdrawn from the Punjab.
- June 11. A communique dealing with the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service is issued.
- June 12. The Social Democratic Congress at Weimar, Berlin, passes a resolution of indignation at the Entente's demands.
- June 13. The Lt. Governor of the Punjab rejects the petition for mercy from Mr. Kalinath Roy, Editor of the *Tribune*.
- June 14. H. E. Lord Willingdon holds an informal meeting re. peace celebrations in Madras.
- June 15. A public meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, protests against the Government of India's despatch of March 5.
- June 16. The Servants of India Society celebrates its anniversary.
- June 17. The Amir's letter of reply to the Viceroy is received.
- June 18. The full text of the Reform Bill is published.
- June 19. The Viramgaum riots case is taken up before the special tribunal, Ahmedabad.
- June 20. An Order rescinding the pre-censorship of the *Bombay Chronicle* is issued.
- June 21. Protest meeting in Madras against the sentence of imprisonment on Babu Kalinath Roy.
- June 22. Sir C. H. Setalvad opens the Willingdon College at Sangli.
- June 23. The Indian Association, Calcutta, protests against the capital and transportation for life sentences in the Punjab.



SIR SANKARAN NAIR

Replying to Colonel Wedgwood, in the House of Commons on June 3, Mr Fisher stated that Mr. Montagu had no official information, but he understood that Sir Sankaran Nair resigned because he differed from his colleagues in regard to the continuance of Martial Law in the Punjab.



THE HON. SIR ALI IMAM

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has decided upon establishing an Executive Council with Sir Syed Ali Imam as President.



JUSTICE SIR ABDUR RAHIM

A Gazette of India issued in Simla on June 6 announced the bestowal of a Knighthood on Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in honour of the King-Emperor's birthday.

Literary

Mr. Lansbury on the Ideal Paper

Speaking at St. Paul's Covent-garden, on the "Christian Witness in the Press," Mr. George Lansbury said it was impossible to serve God and the devil at the same time, the devil meaning the competitive, soul-destroying system which made men and women sell their brains for bread.

He felt very sceptical about the future of the Labour movement when he thought of its attitude towards the Press. They could not get the Labour movement to see that it ought to have a Press which would tell the truth irrespective of consequences either to the movement or individuals in it.

"If I were a millionaire," said Mr. Lansbury, "I would found a newspaper without advertisements, and without racing tips, and I would run it with a minimum of murders and divorce cases, and the very best propaganda articles I could get, and I would have both sides stated fairly

"I would try through the medium of the newspaper to get people to make up their own minds rather than have their minds made up for them. We live in a sloppy kind of age when most of us are either too tired or too lazy to think for ourselves.

"Social conditions are as they are because people won't take the trouble to think. The function of a newspaper should be not so much to give people ideas ready made, but to stimulate thought, and enable them to form their own ideas."

Mr. Montagu and the "Chronicle"

Mr. Jinnah, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the "Bombay Chronicle," has cabled to Mr. Montagu denying the latter's statement in the Indian Budget speech regarding the free distribution of the "Bombay Chronicle" among British troops, which he says is absolutely without foundation. Mr. Jinnah regrets that the "Chro-

nicle" published the statement regarding the use of soft-nosed bullets during the Delhi riots and asserts that an immediate contradiction would have been published but the message from Delhi containing it was held up by the censor.

The Editor of the "Tribune"

The *Bengalee* writes:—The sentence of two years' hard labour passed on Mr. Kali Nath Roy, Editor, *Tribune*, by the Martial Law Commission has caused us the deepest regret. He had his baptism in journalism in the *Bengalee* office and we watched with keen interest the development of his faculties and powers which gave promise of a bright career. We knew him as one of the sweetest and gentlest creatures that ever trod the earth.

Mr. Asquith on Lord French's Book

Mr. Asquith made several speeches during his visit to Newcastle and in one the following occurs: I am constrained by loyalty to the memory of my lamented illustrious friend and colleague, Lord Kitchener, to correct at once the account which Lord French has given of his visit to Paris in the early autumn of 1914. It is wholly untrue to suggest that either Lord Kitchener, who was Secretary of State for War, or the Home Government contemplated or attempted gratuitous interference with the Commander in the field. The Government was seriously disquieted by communications received from Lord French as to his intentions, and the Cabinet unanimously came to important decisions for which I, as head of the Government, took and take now full responsibility. Lord Kitchener was entrusted with the duty of conveying and explaining those decisions to Lord French. The decisions were, in our judgment, the only ones which could have been taken by any responsible British Government, and I entertain no doubt that they would have had the practically unanimous support of the country. In visiting France and conferring with Lord French, Lord Kitchener performed a service of the greatest value to the country and, as events showed, with the best results.

Educational

The Indian Educational Service

In the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. Fisher stated that no definite promise regarding revision of pay and terms of service of the Indian Educational Service had been made, though the need for improvement was recognised. An inquiry in this connection had just been completed and the Government of India was still considering the results. Meanwhile the Government of India proposed certain provincial relief measures which had been sanctioned and which would shortly be announced in India.

A Research Scholarship

The Royal Society of London has awarded a research grant of £50 to Dr. Rasik Lal Datta, D. Sc., of the University College of Science, for his researches on the detonating temperatures begun jointly with Mr. Nilhar Kanjan Chatterjee M. Sc of the Dacca College.

British Universities

We had now reached a point in educational development, said Mr. Fisher, Minister of Education, at Saddler's Hall recently at which it became clear that the Universities would be compelled to accept a larger measure of State assistance than had hitherto been afforded to them, so that they might meet the needs in certain important branches of scientific development.

Trained meteorologists were needed for aviation purposes, trained marine physicists in connection with submarines, and hydraulic engineers for the proper use of our waterways.

It was his intention, in collaboration with the Secretaries for Scotland and Ireland, to set up a committee which would distribute grants to Universities. In their administration there would be some opportunity to give counsel to the University as to what was most likely to contribute to the common-weal.

The Dnyan-Prasarak-Mandal

The Dnyan-Prasarak-Mandal (the society for the spread of knowledge) that was started in Poona in the year 1913 with the object of fostering the love of learning among the illiterate masses throughout the whole country by means of Free Reading Rooms, Free Stationary and circulating Libraries and weekly lecture series held its Triennial Election for the year 1919 to 1920 in the society's Shree Ram Free Library on Thursday the 22nd May 1919 in the evening under the Presidentship of Pro. V. K. Rajawade, M. A. when several members were elected. Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, is the President of this Society.

The School of Oriental Studies

Work of great value to the Empire has been done throughout the war by the School of Oriental Studies in Finsbury-Circus. It has given extensive courses to officers in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Japanese, Chinese, Swahili, and has passed out a large number of interpreters and instructed many others in the history of the peoples and the great movement of the East.

The Indian Women's University

The annual Senate meeting of the Indian Women's University was recently held in Poona, at which 32 out of 60 fellows were present. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the Chancellor of the University, presided over the first Convention and conferred the B. A. degree on the only successful candidate of the year.

Indian Students in British Universities

A Bengali lady recently took the L.L. B. degree in England, while two more Indian ladies were given the Teachers' Diploma. A Kashmiri young man and also Mr. Gurumukh Singh—a younger brother of the well-known Mr. Saint Nihal Singh—both received the degree of M. Sc., in Economics in May last. Three more are now added to the list of Indian Wranglers at the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos; and two Indian students won the Natural Science Tripos.

Legal

Mr. Andrews on Kalinath Roy

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes to the *Leader* :—

"I have received at last a copy of the full judgment given by the President of the Special Tribunal, Lahore, in Mr. Kalinath Roy's trial. I have also read through the series of articles in the *Tribune*, to which the charges formulated against him referred and on which the judgment and sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment, with a fine of 1,000 rupees, was passed. I wish to say with all the strength of my conviction, as an Englishman, that the verdict is contrary to all the ideas which I have cherished, from my youth upwards, of British freedom and justice. The unfairness of such a verdict seems to me only equal to the unfairness of refusing to allow the prisoner under trial to employ the counsel of his own choice. As there is no superior court in India to which an appeal may be made, the very serious expense must be incurred of an appeal to the Privy Council. Mr. Kalinath Roy is in extremely weak health and only with the greatest difficulty was he able to get through the heat of last summer. In addition he has recently suffered the most sad bereavement that can happen to a man in the loss of his wife. As one of his friends and admirers of many years standing, I would now very earnestly plead that funds may not be wanting for the payment of the fine imposed (if needed) and for the Privy Council appeal."

The Calcutta Bar's Protest

The following resolutions were passed by the Calcutta Bar at a meeting presided over by the Advocate-General on 19th May last :—

I. That the members of the English Bar ordinarily practising in the Calcutta High Court and in the Courts subordinate thereto respectfully protest against the recent proclamations issued by Major-General Beynor, Commanding the 16th Indian Division, and General Dorell, command-

ing the 2nd (Rawalpindi) Division, disallowing a legal practitioner whose ordinary place of business is outside the Punjab from entering the Martial Law area included in the limits of the said divisions without the permission of the Administrator of Martial Law as the said proclamations are a serious encroachment upon the rights of the public and upon the rights of the Bar the members whereof take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor and are entitled as members of the English Bar to appear in all Courts and to defend and they respectfully pray for the withdrawal of the said proclamations.

II. That the members of the English Bar ordinarily practising in the Calcutta High Court and in the Courts subordinate thereto respectfully protest against the order of the Administrator of Martial Law refusing permission to Messrs. Eardley Norton, B. Chakravarti, W. Gregory, C. R. Das, J. N. Roy, B. C. Chatterjee and J. W. Langford James to enter the Martial Law area in the Punjab to defend clients in several cases who had engaged their services as counsel and who are charged with offences punishable with death or transportation and they respectfully demand the permission necessary for the discharge of their duty as counsel.

III. That the Junior Advocate do send by wire a copy of the above resolutions to the Secretary of State for India in Council (with a copy to the Attorney-General) and to His Excellency the Viceroy (with a copy to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) and a copy to the Chief Justice of Bengal.

Martial Law Sentences.

The Indian Association has passed the following resolution :—The Committee of the Indian Association records its emphatic protest against the unduly severe sentences passed by the Martial law tribunal in several cases in the Punjab and is strongly of opinion that they will create a feeling of embitterment in the minds of the people.

Medical

How Disease Spreads

An entomologist has been at work on the Panama Canal zone investigating certain predatory insects for several months. He has discovered some new pests. One of the most interesting is a small beetle which bores into the ivory nut, one of Panama's largest exports. These nuts are used to make buttons. This beetle is no larger than a grain of wheat, but it can penetrate the tough fibre of the ivory nut which is so hard as to turn the edge of a sharp knife. A large number of other insects have been collected, including weevils and beetles, which may be spread over the world from the piers at Colon, where large cargoes are temporarily stored in transit.

Public Health Organization

Regarding the resolution on the increase of budget allotments for sanitation moved by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma in the Legislative Council on the 8th March, a grant of five lakhs has been made by the Government of India as initial grant to form a nucleus of public health fund and provision has been made for this amount in India budget estimate for 1919-20. A committee of medical men chiefly composed of public health experts met in Simla on the 23rd and 24th May to advise upon the best means of applying such fund and to consider proposals for the establishment of a central public health organisation. The proceedings of the Conference were opened by Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

Influenza

Dr. Charles Edward Nammack, an American physician, observes that uncomplicated influenza does not kill unless injudicious attempts are made to relieve pain by opiate dosing, or to reduce temperature by coal-tar products. He is convinced that every death certificate which gives influenza as a cause of death is a confession of failure to

find a complicating broncho-pneumonia. He urges that coal-tar products are responsible for more deaths than influenza. "Influenza demands isolation, ventilation, elimination, and sustentation. Only these, and nothing more." If the patient insists on more, he orders a combination of ammonium carbonate, grs. 5, to facilitate expectoration, ammonium salicylate, grs. 5, to mitigate pain with the least depressing effect, and aromatic wine of erythroxylon coca, one-half ounce as a nerve stimulant and muscle invigorator.

Merits of Sterilised Water

Some interesting facts bearing on the transmission of influenza have been collected by two U. S. Army Surgeons. The investigations covered 66,000 troops. It was proved that the catching of disease and the death rate coincided with the washing of mess utensils in unsterilised water. That is, deaths were few in the battalion in which the mess things were washed in boiling water and high in the battalion in which warm water was used for this purpose. In fact the warm water battalion became physically unfit while the hot-water battalion was composed of hardy, vigorous men. Dish water, then, is the conveyor of disease.

How Soap Cleanses

It is generally considered that the efficacy of soap depends mainly upon its decomposition, when it is mixed with water, into all alkali and fatty acid. The alkali thus set free dissolves the grease by which the dirt is attached to the surface to be cleansed, and the water then carries off the dirt. But this is not all, the fatty acid from the soap neutralises any free alkali remaining after the loosening of the dirt and thus prevents the alkali from attacking the cleansed surface itself.

This is very important when soap is applied to the skin, and the painful effects produced by some varieties of soap are due to the fact that they possess an excess of free alkali, more than the fatty acids can neutralise.

Science

Boy Chemist's Wonderful Discoveries

We are to-day enabled to acquaint readers, writes the *Advocate of India*, with some remarkable discoveries made in the chemical world by a 17 year old lad Mr. E. E. Dutt—discoveries which are expected to revolutionise the industrial development of India in the near future.

The discovery was made in the Central Provinces a couple of years ago when the Germans were developing some of their most fiendish methods of warfare. At the request of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, who became acquainted with the discovery when the lad applied for patent, it had to be kept a profound secret during the war lest the Huns heard of it and put it into capital use against the Allies.

Young Dutt has, in addition, discovered and patented methods and processes by which pure sulphur could be manufactured from gypsum (sulphate of lime) which is plentiful in Rajputana, viz., within the states of Bikaner and Jodhpur and also in the North-West Frontier Provinces in Kalabagh and in Sind. The significance of this achievement cannot be over-rated. As stated in the records of the Geological Survey of India, a cheap supply of sulphuric acid would be the key to many new industries in India, now either non-existent or in a feeble condition. The defect could now be remedied.

The lad has also found out simple and cheap methods of manufacturing soda, and carbonate of soda and alumina and an equally cheap process of extracting potash from ordinary rocks in this country. As a fertilizer potash is largely used in Europe and America and the countries, which use them, are till now practically dependent on Germany for the supplies. Young Dutt's discovery would enable India to export potash in large quantities and successfully compete with Germany.

Acoustics of the Violin

The current issue of *Science Progress*, publishes the following appreciation of the exposition on the "Acoustics of the Violin and other Bowed Stringed Instruments" by Prof. C. V. Raman, of Calcutta :—

"Helmholtz on an experimental basis was able to construct a partial theory of the bowed string. F. Krigar-Menzel and A. Raps photographed upon a revolving drum carrying a film, various points of bowed strings so as to exhibit their displacement-time-graphs. E. H. Barton and his pupils took simultaneous photographs of the behaviour of the strings and either bridge, belly, or air of a monochord or violin. But in none of the foregoing cases was a direct mechanical theory of the string, bridge, etc., attempted. This is now done by C. V. Raman. The equations of motion of the string are written and solved for the case of a periodic force applied transversely by the bow at any given position. The equations of motion of the bridge are next written and dealt with. The *modus operandi* of the bow is afterwards examined and a simplified kinematical theory of the bowed string is based upon it. This leads to a number of types of vibration—two-steps, three-steps, etc., zig-zag motions appearing in the corresponding graphs. Another interesting subject here treated is that of the effect of the mute which, by loading the bridge, enfeebles and veils the tone of the instrument. For the purpose of these tests, loads were placed at various positions on the bridge, and simultaneous curves obtained photographically of the bridge and of each of the strings in turn. The instructive results so obtained are given in two plates. Photographic reproductions are also given of simultaneous vibration curves of the belly and G-string of a violoncello when played at and near the "wolf-note" pitch, showing alternate cyclical variations of amplitude. ..

Personal

Sir Rabindranath and the Viceroy.

The following rather spirited letter has been sent by Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore to His Excellency the Viceroy:—Your Excellency,—The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has, with a rude shock, revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised Governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population, disarmed and resourceless, by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of insults and sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence, reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine as salutary lessons. This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers, which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings, without receiving the least check from the same authority, relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers. Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government, which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befiting its physical strength and moral tradition,

the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings. And these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask Your Excellency with due deference and regret, to relieve me of my title of Knighthood, which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor, for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

Swami Shraddhananda.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi, Swami Shraddhananda writes:—

"I am convinced that under the present conditions in India the civil breaking of laws without producing upheaval among the masses, for which neither you nor any Satyagrahi is morally responsible, is impossible. Hence, consistently with the views you hold, the time for the civil disobedience of laws other than the Rowlatt Act will never arise in the near future. I am further of opinion that when real tranquillity is restored in India the Rowlatt Act will have gone out and again no occasion of civil disobedience of laws on its account will arise. The result is that the actual result of my signing the Satyagraha vow formulated by you having disappeared, I beg your leave to withdraw my name from the Satyagraha Sabha founded by you. As a Sanyasi I will continue my work of the preaching and practice of the eternal principles of Dharma which include Satya, Ahimsa, and Brahmacharya also."

Political

Sir C. Sankaran Nair's Minute

All the Nationalist papers chorus approval of Sir Sankaran Nair's masterly minute of dissent. This brings us particular joy, says the *Servant of India*, as Sir Sankaran's position is identical with the position which the Moderates have consistently taken up ever since the publication of the Reform Scheme. He in terms 'accepts' the Scheme in a general way in so far as it refers to the provinces and asks for a division of subjects in the central Government. He resists firmly any whittling down of the Reforms outlined in the Report, but it is clear that he is a warm supporter of the M. C. proposals. We notice that with regard to many of the detailed provisions of the Scheme Sir Sankaran takes the same view as this paper ventured to take against the prevailing opinion. Verily, it is when a thing is denied to you that you begin to appreciate its worth. But we cannot understand for the life of us how the Nationalists who are ecstatically enthusiastic of Sir Sankaran Nair's minute could consistently denounce the supporters of the Scheme as the very embodiment of unwisdom and pusillanimity.

Hon. Mr. Chintamani on the Punjab

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani on the eve of his departure to England said in the course of a speech at Allahabad :—

"I do not think there can be two opinions among thinking and self-respecting Indians with regard to the character of the measures that have been adopted in the Punjab during the last five or six weeks in the name of law and order. I verily believe on such information as the Punjab Government and the Martial Law authorities have enabled us to possess, and with all the inferences that we might draw, filling the gaps in that information as best we might—I verily believe—

that in that province the local Government has taken such steps that unless the whole country rings with the cry of denunciation and unless every one of your representatives who are now in England, or who will shortly be there, will make it their first duty to represent to the authorities there to exercise some control over the authorities in India, not to leave everything to that new divinity called the man on the spot, not to think that to sing the praises of the strongest Lieutenant-Governor is an adequate substitute for giving comfort and consolation to the people who are being treated in this manner, constitutional reforms or other administrative reforms will cease to have any meaning or any value in the eyes of any Indian whatsoever."

Mr. Tilak on Self-Government

At a meeting of the British and India Association at the Caxton Hall, Colonel Wedgwood, M. P., presiding, Mr. B. G. Tilak declared that the Indian movement for her dominion self-government was not anti-British, but merely anti-bureaucratic. Even to-day they did not ask for full dominion self-Government. They did not demand that the Government in India should be made responsible for India even as regards the Army, Navy and foreign affairs; which they definitely reserved to the Government of India as at present constituted, that was responsible not to the people of India, but to the people of Great Britain. They asked for responsible Government only in domestic affairs.

Burma Reform Scheme

The Burma Reforms League, an offshoot of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, has expressed disapproval of the revised Craddock Reform Scheme as opposed to public opinion and in direct conflict with legitimate national aspirations and has decided to send a deputation to England if branches and other Associations support. Funds are to be collected for the expenses of the deputation.

General

British Labour Manifesto

The well-known Labour Leaders, Messrs. Robert Williams, Robert Smillie and George Lansbury, have issued the following appeal —

India which contains 315 millions of human beings, is at present ruled by a handful of officials whose gross incompetence and ignorance have brought these peaceful, law-abiding people to the verge of open, undisguised revolution. Indians ask the same rights, the same duties, the same recognition as Serbia, Poland, and other small European peoples. The bureaucrats of India reply with a Coercion Act which robs Indians of all freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of public meeting. Indians are unarmed, yet they are bombed from aeroplanes and shot down by machine guns. We cannot believe our countrymen and women understand these things, neither do we think they realise that these autocratic methods place in jeopardy the lives of thousands of British men, women and children. We, therefore, ask you to join us in our protest against the bombing and shooting of unarmed men and women, and in our demand for a public enquiry into these outrages, the complete withdrawal of the Coercion Bills, and the immediate introduction of Self-government, giving to the millions of Indians the same rights as are enjoyed by Canada, Australia, and Africa.—*India.*

India and the War

In the House of Commons, Mr. Fisher stated that including the hundred million war contribution, the war expenditure of the Government of India to the 31st March was about £127,800,000. The Indian Princes and others had contributed £2,100,000 in cash, besides considerable sums for the purchase of horses, motors, comforts for troops, etc.

Passive Resistance

A manifesto issued on the 6th June by a number of well-known citizens of Bombay states:— Viewing with horror and detestation the atrocious deeds of lawlessness recently committed in certain parts of this presidency and elsewhere in India, we desire to make public expression of our resolve to perform our duty as loyal citizens of the Empire and to stand by and support the Government of Bombay in the primal duty of all Governments, the maintenance of civil law and order. We dissociate ourselves at the outset from the pernicious doctrine of active disobedience or even passive resistance to civil law which has been sedulously promulgated throughout the presidency of late among ignorant people and we bind ourselves to combat those doctrines as far as possible by every means in our power. Finally we pledge ourselves to assist Government by word and deed in the preservation of order. We make this declaration in response to an address made to us by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in his speech of the 16th April last wherein he appealed to all leading citizens to make clear their determination to uphold the cause of law and order and to trample under foot the twin demons of lawlessness and disorder.

India and Double Income-tax

At a recent meeting of the Royal Commission on Income tax in London, Sir C. McLeod stated that double income tax reacted adversely upon the Indian Exchequer and retarded the development of India's natural wealth and staple industries, because her trade and commerce were largely financed by British capital. The income arising from India should not be taxed by the British Exchequer. Sir Charles McLeod suggested that there should be no British taxation of profits of companies operating solely in India or the Dominions. Distribution of any tax should be negotiated between the Mother Country and the Dominions.



SIR KRISHNA GOVIND GUPTA



HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI



HON. MR. M. RAMACHANDRA ROW



HON. MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI

THE MODERATE DEPUTATION



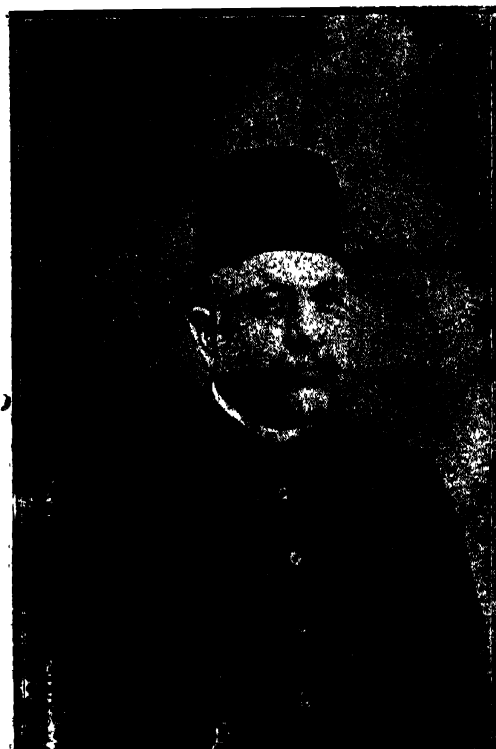
HON. BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEE
President, The Moderate Deputation.



MR. N. M. SAMARTH
Secretary Moderate Deputation.



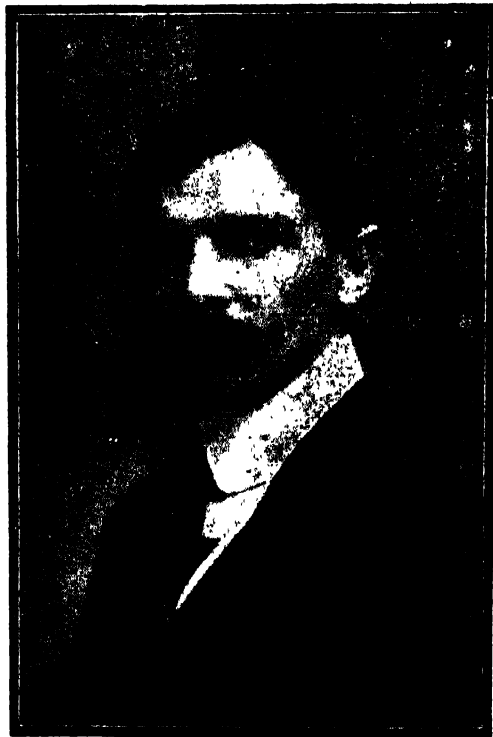
MR. V. P. MADHAVA ROW, C.I.E.
The Congress Deputation.



HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN
The Muslim League Deputation.



MRS. ANNIE BESANT
National Home Rule League



MR. M. A. JINNAH
All-India Home Rule League.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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THE REFORM BILL

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

WHEN the controversy on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was at its height, I ventured to observe :—

"The authors deserve the thanks of the country for the honest and sincere attempt they have made to start India on the road to responsible government. I feel that when the storm and dust of controversy is over, even the few adverse critics of the Report will give Mr. Montagu a place among the small band of noble Britishers who have laboured for the good of India."

After reading the full text of the Bill, the Memorandum and Mr. Montagu's great speech in the House of Commons on the occasion of its Second Reading, I feel convinced more than ever that India's confidence in Mr. Montagu was rightly placed. Despite the defects and the shortcomings of the Bill now before Parliament, few will venture to deny that it is a genuine attempt to embody the main principles enunciated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

THE DEPUTATIONS AND THE BILL.

As no other satisfactory alternative scheme could now be considered, the only course open is to accept *diarchy* as the basic principle of the Bill and try to suggest modifications which will improve and widen its scope. It is a matter for great satisfaction that the endeavours of the Moderate Deputation headed by Messrs. Surendranath Bannerjee, Sastri and others are now directed towards this end. We are glad that in their efforts they are supported by Mrs. Besant and by the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hassan who represents the Muslim League. It is a great pity that the Congress Deputation, disregarding even the advice of Mr. Tilak, is persisting in advocating the resolutions of the Delhi Congress, when everybody knows that the older and more experienced Congressmen have

disapproved of them as they cut at the root of the Scheme of the Joint Report. It is deeply to be deplored that the Congress Deputation headed by men like Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao should make unity among the Deputations impossible, when such a fearless and doughty champion as Sir C. Sankaran Nair himself has in his historic Minute of Dissent accepted the principles of the Scheme and contented himself with suggesting some important modifications "strictly consistent with its principles."

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

Viewing the Bill from that standpoint, it would still be idle to disguise the fact that all sections of politicians feel keenly that it contains no provision for any reform in regard to the Central Government. Even a cursory perusal of their criticisms will show that there is complete unanimity of opinion that the reforms proposed in regard to the Government of India are of the feeblest and of the most unsatisfactory character.

As Sir Dinshaw Wacha and his colleagues have pointed out in their very able and telling Memorandum on the Joint Scheme, the Reforms of the Government of India are altogether based on a wrong formula for which there is no justification in the terms of the announcement of August 20. The distinguished authors of the Report have given absolutely no valid reason as to why "the Government of India *must* remain *wholly* responsible to Parliament," and why even the *beginnings* of responsible Government in the Government of India should be withheld.

It is entirely wrong in principle and is bound to lead to rigidity and unprogressiveness at the centre of the body politic, which would react on the freedom, elasticity and growth of provincial administrations.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Opinion is fairly unanimous that the Council of State must go. It is justly regarded as "a

discredited device," and second chambers have, on the whole, been far from successful, and there is an apprehension that it may "lead to heat, irritation and bad blood, imperilling the constitution itself." It has evidently been conceived as "an antidote to the elective majority in the Legislative Assembly," and "to serve as a screen, thin though it be, to cover the continuance of the present system of Government." If this ill-fated second chamber is to remain at all, the elected element in it should be strengthened, and it should be shorn of some at least of the powers proposed to be conferred on it.

Without entering into a detailed examination of the various provisions of the Bill, we would draw attention to what is generally considered as some of its objectionable features which it should be the endeavour of the Joint Committee to remove. We refer, for instance, to the extraordinary provision forbidding the Legislatures in India to repeal or alter any rules under the Act, to the restrictions imposed on the power of the purse, the powers vested in the Governor to block the progress of a Bill, to the invidious provisions in regard to the salary and status of the Ministers and to the somewhat wide powers given to the Governor-General in regard to certification.

CONTROL OF THE PURSE.

While we are glad that many of the reactionary proposals of the Government of India have not been embodied in the Bill we consider it a matter for regret that Mr. Montagu has, in the important question of financial arrangements, not stuck resolutely to his original proposal of one joint purse but has left it open to the Joint Committee to consider the highly retrograde suggestion of the Government of India for separate purses. The proposal of the Government of India has been unanimously condemned, and as Sir Sivaswami Aiyar with his experience as Indian Member of the Madras Executive Council has rightly pointed out in his Memorandum prepared for the Madras Liberal League:—

The separate purse system proposed by the Government of India will have the pernicious effect of dividing the house into two hostile camps each unmindful of the just claims of the other and anxious to aggrandise and benefit itself by extravagant expenditure. While the joint discussion and settlement of the budget by the entire Government will have an educative effect in promoting a better understanding of the needs of all subjects by the different members of the Government and a spirit of compromise, the system proposed by the Government of India will have the deplorable effect of creating a feeling of antagonism

between the interests of the reserved and transferred departments and will imperil the success of the Reform Scheme.

But the mischief will not stop here. As Sir Sankaran Nair has observed in his Minute of Dissent, the cumulative effect of the Government of India's financial suggestions will be "to place the Minister and the Legislative Council in relation to transferred departments not only in a position of no real responsibility but virtually in subordination to the Executive Councils." The adoption of the proposal of the separate purse would certainly be a "negation of responsibility," and altogether opposed to the spirit of the Declaration of the 20th August.

FISCAL AUTONOMY.

There is intense disappointment too at the omission of a definite pronouncement with regard to Fiscal Autonomy. It is the thing on which the entire country has been keen for years. It is the absence of it that has caused Indian interests often to be victimised to propitiate other vested interests. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Qurrimbhoy voices the general feeling of the country when he says:

Consistent with Imperial interests, it should be possible to formulate a scheme of scientific tariffs dictated by the interests of India. I cannot help thinking that if a radical change of policy had been outlined in regard to fiscal matters, the disappointment of the public at certain features of the scheme in the reform should not have been so keenly felt.

It would be well to remember the warning of Sir James Brunyate that "the Reform Scheme will, to a large extent, be offered to India in vain if that question is not disposed of as nearly simultaneously as may be practicable."

GRAND COMMITTEES.

We regret to find that in the Bill under discussion the provision in regard to the constitution of Grand Committees is still retained. It has been condemned by every shade of Indian opinion. The Grand Committee is evidently created to serve as a check on the popular Assembly, "and is in itself therefore an undesirable institution." According to the proposal it is to consist of 40 to 50 per cent. of the whole Council and that means that a large number of elected members are to be excluded from it—a procedure which is bound to be resented. The purpose of the Grand Committee could very well be attained by adopting the suggestion of the Bombay Government then presided over by Lord Willingdon that in the reserved sphere of legislation the votes of 40 per cent. of the

members present may be deemed sufficient to carry a measure through the Council. Furthermore, as pointed out by Sir Sankaran Nair, the safeguard of the Imperial Legislative Council for all affirmative legislation and the powers of veto possessed by the Governor and the Viceroy to negative any act which is passed by the local Legislative Council and the power of Ordinance for urgent occasions would be amply sufficient.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

We feel bound to take exception to the proposal in the Bill that the main rights and duties of the services in India should be reduced to statutory form. The proper course would be to leave the Governments in India, acting with their legislatures to regulate their own services. And as a well informed Indian publicist has pointed out in the columns of *India* 'it is an anomaly that a great Government should be compelled to conduct its administration with the aid of services regulated and recruited and safe-guarded by outside authority. Such a position is incompatible with the very idea of authority.' The correct view of the position has been thus stated by Prof. A. B. Keith in his able Memorandum affixed to the Report of the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian affairs :—

As regards the public services of India, I am strongly of opinion that there are grave constitutional objections to regulating their conditions of service by an Imperial Act or by regulations made under it, thus withdrawing from the legislatures of India the control of legislation regarding these services. Moreover it is essential in the interest of decentralisation that, as far as possible, the Secretary of State should abandon detailed control of the conditions of service of officers in India, and that changes in the existing conditions should be subjected to the criticism of the legislatures under safeguards against unjust treatment of members already in the services. The proposal to compel the Secretary of State in Council to create a Public Service Commission, and to assign to it such functions as he thinks fit regarding the public services in India, appears to me to be wholly incompatible with the fundamental principles of the reform scheme, and the proposal to provide by Imperial Act that no office may be added to, or may be withdrawn from, the public service, and that the emoluments of any post may not be varied without the concurrence of a finance authority designated by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council is, I think, an injudicious attempt to establish by legislation which cannot be varied by local legislation a principle of undoubted value, but one which cannot properly be given a place in an Imperial Act.

SPECIAL INTERESTS.

We must also strike a note of warning against any attempt to make any provisions in the Bill

on the "theory of divided interest." As Mr. Gandhi pointed out :—

One cannot help noticing an unfortunate suspicion of our intentions regarding the purely British as distinguished from the purely Indian interests. Hence, there is to be seen in the scheme elaborate reservations on behalf of these interests. I think that more than anything else it is necessary to have an honest, frank and straightforward understanding about these interests and for me personally this is of much greater importance than any legislative feat that British talent alone or a combination of British and Indian talent may be capable of performing. I would certainly, in as courteous terms as possible, but equally emphatic, say that these interests will be held subservient to those of India as a whole and that therefore they are certainly in jeopardy in so far as they may be inconsistent with the general advance of India.

Indians very rightly claim that where the interests of India and England conflict the interests of India should not be subordinated to those of England; and Britishers should not forget what John Bright was never tired of repeating that the good of England must come through the channels of the good of India.

In the past it has been our melancholy experience that many a great scheme nobly planned has been shorn of its beneficence at the hands of the bureaucracy by the narrow and petti-fogging spirit in which they have been interpreted and worked; Parliament cannot be too careful in providing safeguards against "the hazards of bureaucratic jealousy." The Pronouncement of August 20 has justly been regarded by the educated classes in India as a pledge binding the Imperial Government in regard to its future relations with India. Mr. Curtis rightly warned the British public when he said, "Our danger lies in pledges being so framed that mere delay and failure to take the necessary steps forth-with will expose us to a charge of breach of faith."

Hence the insistence by politicians of all classes and creeds that adequate assurance should be given that full responsible government shall be established in India within a reasonable period.

Indian Reforms : The Govt. of India Bill, 1919.—

With the full text of the Bill, the Memorandum, Mr. Montagu's Speech and Sir Sankaran Nair's Minutes; Summaries of Southborough Committee's Reports, Government of India's despatches and connected papers.

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THE REFORM PROPOSALS

A SYMPOSIUM.

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner.

With respect to the proposed constitutional reforms it would be superfluous for me to speak of the well-known and whole-hearted sympathy of Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha with whom it was a very great pleasure to be once again associated and whose devotion to duty and loyalty and patriotism for India require no testimony from me. I, however, had several opportunities of discussing these reforms with Mr. Lloyd George and I had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Montagu's fine speech in the House of Commons during the second reading of the Bill. Although we shall probably encounter a certain amount of opposition to the reforms in certain quarters in England, it is my confident belief that the Bill will go through under the able leadership of Mr. Montagu and with the support of His Majesty's Government. *(From an interview published in the 'Times of India')*

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray.

It is difficult to form an adequate idea of the Bill from the skeleton supplied by the Government of India. It is a matter for congratulation however, that some of the retrograde and reactionary proposals of the Government of India have not been accepted by Mr. Montagu. The most unsatisfactory feature of the Bill is that the Governor has been given almost unlimited power of certification even in matters of transferred subjects, as this is likely to curtail the power and responsibility of the Legislative Assembly. I welcome, however, the provision that not less than 70 per cent. of members will be elected and this I believe will afford an excellent ground for the training of the electoral colleges. The ring of earnestness and sincerity in Mr. Montagu's speech in introducing the Bill in the House of Commons prompts me to hope that some at any rate of the objectionable features of the Bill will be eliminated when it becomes law.—*From the 'Bengalce.'*

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee

We are anxious that the Reform Bill should not be delayed in its passage through Parliament. The educated community of India desire that their views should be placed in the fullest possible manner before the joint committee which will probably be constituted in a few days.

There are two or three points to which I desire to call special attention. In the first place, there should not be any deviation in a reactionary direction from the joint scheme as formulated by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu; and, secondly, there should be some measure of responsibility in the Central Government. The message of August 20, 1917, makes responsible government the end and aim of British rule in India, to be attained by progressive stages of realisation. The scheme provides for such realisation in the provincial governments, but not at all in the Central Government, which will continue to be entirely bureaucratic as at present.

The Government of India in their last despatch make recommendations which amount to a whittling

down of the scheme in some essential matters. For instance, with regard to the Budget control by the Legislative Council in the provinces, the recommendations of the Legislative Councils will not be binding, as proposed under the joint report. This report made them obligatory upon the Government, except when the Governor in the interests of public peace and tranquillity considers it necessary to modify a resolution.

The control of the Budget is the crux of the matter, and educated India will deeply regret any departure from this important recommendation in the joint report, which was in 1918 supported by the entire Executive Council of the Government of India and the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

A good deal has been said about the impracticability of diarchy, which has been recommended in the joint report and finds a place in the Bill. Five provincial Governments are against it. Many things in practical politics seem at first to be impracticable, which, however, when put to the actual test are quite good in practice. For instance, the South African Union was considered to be an impracticability. It is, on the whole, working satisfactorily enough. How can there be the gradual introduction of responsible Government in the provinces without diarchy, without certain branches of administration being made over to popular Ministers who, though appointed by the Governor, would be responsible to the Legislative Council? Being placed in charge of distinct departments of the administration, with responsibility to the Legislative Council, they would acquire a training, and the diarchy is only a transitional arrangement which is to be replaced by full measure of provincial autonomy when the Commission to be appointed has pronounced it to be a success.

In truth we have a disguised form of diarchy even now under the present unified administrative system. There are members in charge of distinct departments which sometimes overlap one another, and there is no friction of any kind, and there will be none in the dual system, because the Governor will be the head of the whole administration and he will be in a position to co-ordinate the different sections of the administration and he will be at the head of the whole administration under the dual control system.

A great deal has been said in England against reform on the ground of our caste differences. The whole theory is grotesquely magnified. Caste differences you have in England also, although perhaps in a less stereotyped form. These differences are rapidly disappearing and, as Mr. Montagu said in his speech, democratic customs are engendered and stimulated by democratic institutions.

They say the great body of our people are illiterate, but in the words of the late Sir George Birdwood, than whom there has not been a greater authority on Indian matters, the Indian peasant is the inheritor of the cultured traditions of his race, extending over thousands of years, and he is, generally speaking, as capable as any other peasantry in the world. *[From an interview published in "The Observer"]*.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar.**Diarchy.**

In view of the fact that the dualism of the executive is the basic principle of the Joint Report and the Bill and the difficulty of framing any scheme which will provide for real responsibility, short of complete provincial autonomy, there is nothing to be gained by pointing out the defects inherent in the principle of a dual executive, which are admitted by the authors of the Joint Report themselves. Public attention must, therefore, be devoted to the improvement of the scheme in other respects without attacking the very foundation of the whole scheme. . . .

Transferred Subjects.

If there is any subject which satisfies the tests for transfer proposed in paragraph 238 of the Joint Report, it is Education. There is no ground for the assumption of the Government of India that the development and improvement of education would be too heavy a burden for ministers alone to bear. In view of the admitted failure of the policy of Government in the past and in the interests of a well-ordered and symmetrical development of education in all spheres, it is absolutely necessary to transfer the whole of education to popular control. The proposal of the Government of India to transfer primary education alone and to treat secondary, collegiate and technical education as a reserved subject is likely to lead to a conflict of interests between these branches of education and to a lopsided development of one branch or the other at the expense of the other. Education is far more likely to advance under the impetus of popular control than under official guidance. . . .

The development of industries is another subject which has been cut out of the transferred list by the Government of India. The total inadequacy of the existing departments of industries, the lack of expert staff and definite lines of work, the scanty progress achieved by the departments of industries under official guidance and the indifference of the Government till the war to the necessity for making India a self-contained country as far as possible in industrial matters are all reasons in favour of transferring the subject to popular control. The argument based on absence of industrial experience can be used just as much against official control as against ministerial. Whatever expert advice it will be possible for the official part of Government to secure can and will be also utilised by the ministry. . . .

There is no sufficient reason for not including the subject of land revenues among the transferred subjects. The assumption that the masses would suffer, if questions of land revenue were left to be handled by the ministry, is totally baseless. Notwithstanding the defects in the existing system of representation in the provincial legislative councils, the interest of the masses and the backward classes have been zealously looked after by the elected members of the legislative councils.

Separate Purse Condemned.

The allocation of provincial funds between the reserved and transferred subjects is left, under the

Bill, to be determined in accordance with rules to be made under the Act. The Joint Report contemplated a single coffer for the entire Government and a single Budget to be framed by the Executive Government as a whole. The amounts to be allocated to the two halves of the Government would be the subject of annual settlement by the Executive Government and the question of new taxation was to be decided by the Governor and the ministers. These proposals have been severely criticised by the Government of India in their Despatch of the 5th March and they recommend a system of separate purse for the reserved and transferred departments. It is unfortunate that the Bill should have left this question open instead of rejecting the proposal of the Government of India and adhering to the scheme outlined in the Joint Report. The proposals of the Government of India have been condemned by the public in no uncertain voice throughout the country. . . .

The separate purse system proposed by the Government of India will have the pernicious effect of dividing the house into two hostile camps each unmindful of the just claims of the other and anxious to aggrandise and benefit itself by extravagant expenditure. While the joint discussion and settlement of the budget by the entire government will have an educative effect in promoting a better understanding of the needs of all subjects by the different members of the Government and a spirit of compromise, the system proposed by the Government of India will have the deplorable effect of creating a feeling of antagonism between the interests of the reserved and transferred departments and will imperil the success of the Reform Scheme. The official half of the Government will be under a constant temptation to work up their expenditure to the full limits of their available resources even though the needs of their subjects do not expand at anything like the same rate as those of the transferred subjects. Far from being an evil the annual settlement of the allocation will have the advantage of apportioning the supply of funds to the precise needs of the year instead of allowing funds to be provided for a series of years either in excess of or below the actual wants. If the funds provided are in excess there will be a temptation to dissipate them to avoid their falling into the hands of the other half of the government. If the funds are deficient, either the needs of the departments affected must be starved or recourse must be had for fresh taxation. The advantage claimed on behalf of the separate purse system that it offers an incentive to either half of the government to develop its own resources, carries its own condemnation. It is obvious that the development contemplated is mainly by means of taxation. The proposal simply means that the people will be liable to be fleeced by two rival sets of tax gatherers each anxious to swell its own coffers. The proposal will defeat the third principle enunciated by the Government of India that during the transitional period the people must be protected from unjustifiable finance burdens. As observed by the Government of India themselves the success of any scheme of reform must depend upon the spirit in which it is worked by the persons who participate in the work of government. We have no right to assume that they will be unreasonable and introduce safeguards for all conceivable dead-locks on this assumption. . . .

Resumption of Transferred Subjects.

In paragraph 102 of their despatch of the 5th March, the Government of India suggest, that in the event of the ministers not yielding to the wishes of the Governor and the legislature supporting the ministers, the Governor must be empowered to assume the control of the administration of the transferred subjects concerned, until the causes of difference disappear. They propose also that if he is unable to find a compliant minister within six months, he should move the Secretary of State for revoking the transfer of the portfolio. These proposals are of a highly retrograde character and it is not clear whether they are intended to be adopted or not in the Bill. Reference is made in the proviso to clause 1, sub-clause (2) to rules for the revocation of the transfer of any subject with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. The existence of such powers of resumption and revocation of transfer will be a Damocles' sword over the heads of ministers to enforce compliance with the wishes of the official half of the Government and will be detrimental to the growth of a sense of responsibility in the ministers and the legislature. The remedy proposed in paragraph 260 of the Joint Report that the question of further transfer or revocation of transfer should be considered at the end of 5 years and again at the time of the periodic commissions, is an ample safeguard against maladministration.

Governor-General's Executive Council.

It is necessary that the Indian element in the Executive Council should be equal in number to the official and European element and this equality should be secured, either by amending clause 21 or by some pledge by the Secretary of State. The tendency of the head of the Government is often to side with the majority. If the Indian element in the Council is in a minority, there is a danger of their views not obtaining sufficient consideration. If the Indian and the non-Indian element are equally balanced, the Governor-General would be obliged to give his mind to the question and feel the responsibility of an arbiter between the divergent views of the Indian and non-Indian elements. In this view, the addition of one more Indian member in the Executive Council proposed by the Government of India will be insufficient and unsatisfactory.

Transfer of Responsibility by the Government.

It is to be regretted that no attempt has been made to transfer any part of the administration in the Government of India to popular control. The subjects of Education and Sanitation, of Commerce and Industries would be eminently suitable for such transfer, as being the subjects which stand most in need of development under the quickening impulse of popular control. In any event, the subjects of the Customs and Tariffs at least should be left to the control of the Legislative Assembly, as a step towards the fiscal autonomy, which it is necessary that India should enjoy in the same manner as the self-governing Dominions of His Majesty. *[Condensed considerably from a lengthy Memorandum on the Bill prepared for the Madras Liberal League.]*

An Indian Publicist.

Restrictions on the Indian Legislatures.

Turn now to some of the important details of the Bill which seem open to exception. Clause 30 forbids the Legislatures in India to repeal or alter any rules under the Act. It is an extraordinary provision. The Secretary of State in Council makes some rules, the Governor-General in Council makes others. The arrangement is proper to start with. But is it proper to withhold from autonomous Legislatures the power to amend them subsequently? Natural growth is impossible so long as external authority is requisite, not to sanction, but even to initiate change. For every small improvement in the rules which experience may prove desirable, it is highly inconvenient to wait till it should please the Secretary of State in Council or the Governor-General in Council to effect it. Of course no one will dispute that in respect of some rules of great constitutional importance the sanction of superior authority must be made a condition precedent. To separate that category is easy. For the rest the Legislatures concerned should be endowed with competency subject, if necessary, to the sanction of the Governor or the Governor-General, as the case may be, but not to that of the Governor in Council or the Governor-General in Council. When the Dominions got their start, some had power given them to incorporate territories and some to establish Upper Houses, when they thought fit. There is such a thing as excessive and intolerable rigidity. We do not overlook clause 9 (7); but it relates only to standing orders governing the procedure of the Councils.

Power of the Purse.

The next great objection is to the restriction on the power of the purse. To an Englishman unacquainted with Indian affairs the first idea of a constitution would be the right of the people to control taxation and expenditure. In the Colonies representative institutions had the power of the purse before the beginnings of responsible government were thought of. It is quite time India had this rudimentary right of a free people. Diarchy involves a certain definite limitation on the power of the purse. The Joint Report of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu hit the limitation with a fair degree of accuracy. The Bill, however, in sub-clause (2) (b) of Clause 9, proposes to give the Governor power to authorise expenditure not allowed by the Legislative Council if he considers it necessary "for the carrying on of any department." This power extends to the transferred functions as well as the reserved. We cannot reconcile ourselves to such a drastic limitation of the financial control of the Legislature over the departments entrusted expressly to it. Mistakes as regards the transferred subjects the elected leaders of the people must have the liberty to make and rectify. Where they are so serious as to interfere with "the safety or tranquillity" of provinces they will fall with the reserved group, and if they do not, the sub-clause in question contains a sufficient safeguard.

Sub-clause (2) (c) of the same clause excludes an undefined portion of the expenditure from the purview of the Council. The contribution to the Central Government and the interest on public debt will be the most important items in this category. But it is also usual to make permanent provision, not dependent

on the annual vote of the Legislature, for the salaries of high officers appointed directly by the Crown. These would be the head of the Government, the Auditor-General, the Executive Councillors, and the High Court Judges. We trust the list will not be allowed to go further in the rules that may be made for the purpose under this Bill.

Governor's Power to block Bills.

Sub-clause (5) invests the Governor with power to block the progress of a Bill, clause, or amendment after certifying that it affects the interests of a specified reserved subject. Now the power to block legislation is new to the Indian constitution. The non-official majority may, under existing rules, refuse leave to introduce a Bill; but if that majority is agreeable and lets a Bill go through, the head of the Government can only refuse his assent to it at the end. Why is it necessary to invent this extraordinary power to interfere with the Legislature? Let it be noted that this power is not applicable where the legislation proposed concerns exclusively a reserved subject or a transferred subject; it is to be exercised only in the case of "mixed" subjects. The anomaly cannot be justified except on ingenious grounds.

Salary and Status of the Minister.

Exception has been taken by every section of Indian opinion to the suggestion that the salary of the Minister should be determined in future by the Governor or other authority. In fact Indians are extremely sensitive on the question of the comparative status of the Executive Councillor and the Minister. If anything, the advantage and precedence should belong, in their judgment, to the latter. It is almost unpardonable ignorance or disregard of the feeling of those directly concerned to persist in the discrimination, see 3 (1). We fail to see any object in the provision. Indians will watch with the utmost jealousy any inequalities or disparities that may lie in the instrument of instructions to Governors. Let us hope that the draftsman of the instrument will remember this fact when drawing it up.

The Central Government.

In the forefront of our observations on the Government of India part of the Bill must be placed the view that some of its functions must be "transferred" to the legislature and entrusted to a Minister responsible to it. On this point all the deputations from India are agreed. They are convinced that it does not violate the Declaration of August, 1917, in the letter or in the spirit, but goes against one of the limitations laid down by the authors of the Joint Report without adequate grounds. We have not the space required for a full treatment of the subject; it has been argued at length in the Indian Press. It is complained that the whole matter of the popularisation of the Central Government is not only put off indefinitely but evaded even in the statement of the scope of the periodical commission for recommending further steps. The Bill does not meet this complaint at all, see 28 (2). The language used here and in 28 (2) is by no means satisfactory: responsible government is spoken of only in connexion with the provinces, not in connexion with the Central Government. The point must be cleared up beyond doubt or controversy.

Indians in the Executive Council.

There is something in the argument that racial distinctions should not be made, if they could be avoided, in the terms of a statute. The one-half proportion, unanimously desired by the progressive Indian opinion, in the Executive Council of the Viceroy, will therefore have to be pressed when the rules come to be considered.

Governor-General's Power of Certification.

Strong exception must be taken to the very wide language of clause 20 (a). It deals with the power of Governor-General-in-Council to take away certain clauses of legislation from the scope of the Legislative Assembly and by certificate bring them within the sole jurisdiction of the Council of State. A law required for the safety and tranquillity of the country or any part thereof is fit matter for such treatment. But why should the same treatment be allowed to every law which may be essential "for the interests of British India or any part thereof"? We can hardly conceive of a law which will not come within the description. The Legislative Assembly could be made to die of inanition, if the Governor-General were so minded. The Joint Report used the words "good government," and people in India criticised even these as too comprehensive. What could have induced the draftsman to adopt the indefensibly wide language of the Bill?

As regards emergency legislation, for which the same certification procedure is provided in 20 (a), let it be remembered that the Governor-General now has power to make ordinances which are valid for six months. The proposed Council of State legislation is therefore superfluous. If it be thought that the interests of the people would be better safeguarded by having emergency legislation discussed in the Council of State, which includes a certain number of elected representatives, than by having it passed as an ordinance by the Governor-General—a position which certainly is correct—then the ordinance power must be abolished. Where the emergency is of a nature that touches peace and tranquillity, the case is covered by the earlier part of the clause. Where the matter involved is public money or a taxation proposal, it is proper to let the Executive take action first and then seek the ratification, in due course, of the Legislature. We are unable for this reason to support the provision in question for emergency legislation. On the whole, then, it seems sufficient to restrict the Governor-General's power of certification to cases where the peace and tranquillity of British India or of any part thereof are involved.

The Services.

The next point is the question of the Indian Civil Service and other Imperial services. The rule-making power, it is proposed in 24 (2), may be transferred to the Governments in India by the Secretary of State within prescribed limits. This is satisfactory, so far as it goes. We trust, however, the aim will be to leave the Governments in India, acting with their legislatures, to regulate their own services. It is an anomaly that a great Government should be compelled to conduct its administration with the aid of services regulated and recruited and safeguarded by outside authority. Such a position is incompatible with the very idea of authority. The inheritance of the early days of the Company, however, cannot be

worked off in a day. It is noteworthy that the subject of pensions is dealt with by itself in 24 (3), that the rules regarding them can be varied or added to only by the Secretary of State, and that it is not proposed to authorise him to devolve any part of this power on the Governor-General in Council. It is not easy to explain this discrimination; under safeguards, which could be provided without much ingenuity, the rules as to pensions should likewise be made alterable by the India Government.

Public Service Commission.

The purposes for which a Public Service Commission is to be appointed permanently by clause 26 are not clearly stated. In para 55 of the Despatch of the Government of India dated March 5, one of the purposes is stated to be the protection of the Service from political influence and the difficulties arising from Ministers' control. We realise the need and note with satisfaction that the Commissioners will be appointed and controlled by the Secretary of State. As in the United Kingdom, these Public Service Commissioners should conduct public examinations of two or three grades and regulate admission to employment under Government without the suspicion of partiality or bias. It is to be hoped that this consummation is definitely contemplated. Otherwise jobbery might establish itself firmly and bring inefficiency and corruption in its train. No greater calamity could be imagined.—*India*

Mrs Annie Besant.


We insist on the necessity for some measure of responsibility being introduced into the Central Government as indeed is implied in the claim for fiscal autonomy. Without this the announcement of August 20, 1917, is truncated, for provincial responsibility even if complete, is not secure with autocracy in the centre; all our worst evils, coercive legislation, arbitrary interference with liberty, suppression of Indian interests, injustice in customs, excise duties, and the like, come wholly from the Central Government, and as the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Shastri pointed out, autocracy there renders the liberties granted in the provinces of small avail.

Personally, I believe that Mr. Montagu sees the great ideal which has fired the heart of many of us, the commonwealth of free nations, the greatest servant of humanity. I believe that he is honestly striving to open the way to that freedom of India which shall be the glory of unborn generations, and the glory also of the England whom we have loved as the pioneer of liberty, who has placed in his willing hand the appropriate and splendid task of leading a mighty nation out of the house of bondage into the Promised Land. "*Daily Chronicle*"

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS

BY

MR. G. A. NATESAN


 CABLE from South Africa brings the news that the British Indians in the Transvaal are taking the vow of passive resistance as a protest against the recent Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Bill reported to have been passed by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa. This measure contravenes the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 and is an iniquitous attempt to deprive Indians lawfully resident there, of their vested interests. In the words of Mr. Gandhi, it "virtually deprives the Indians of the Transvaal from holding fixed property even as share-holders of companies or as mortgagees. This they have hitherto successfully and legally done. It further deprives them of the right of obtaining new trade licences throughout the Transvaal. This means that the Indian settlers, if they are not now efficiently protected, will be reduced to the status of menial servants no matter what their capacity might be. It was bad enough to restrict so as almost to prohibit fresh immigrants; it is intolerable to confiscate the economic and natural rights of legally admitted immigrants and their descendants." When an attempt is thus made to confiscate their rights, it is

by no means surprising that the Transvaal Indians should resort to passive resistance. We trust the Imperial Government will take early steps to prevent the legislation from taking effect and thus avert an agitation which is bound to grow more and more not only among the Indian residents of South Africa but in their mother country as well. It is the good fortune of the South African Indians that Mr. Gandhi is now in India to advocate their cause and that he has been able to enlist the sympathy of H. E. the Viceroy to obtain for them the elementary rights of citizenship and the barest justice which is denied to them purely on account of racial and economic jealousy. It is a matter for satisfaction that the campaign against Asiatics in the Transvaal is confined mainly to the inferior white traders while some of the better class of their community recognise the justice of the claims of the Indians. The attitude of hostility to the Indian settlers in the Transvaal on the part of some of the white population, if not checked at the outset, will gravely imperil the growth of the true spirit of comradeship which has been promoted by the war that has just closed.

- The Menace of "Welfare Work" in Industry.

BY

MR. G. BROMLEY OXNAM.

 HERE is a distinct social menace in the welfare work now carried on by large industrial establishments in India, judging from the experience of similar welfare work and its results in America. The writer has had occasion during the last six months to visit many large industrial concerns in India and to discuss social questions with a number of progressive leaders. Welfare work has been pointed to with pride by industrial managers, and seems to have the welcome sanction of social students. It may be well therefore to consider some of the reasons why American labour is fundamentally opposed to welfare work as such.

It is quite true that many socially-minded employers and factory owners are sincere in their attempt to help the worker. It is likewise true that a larger percentage of owners introduce welfare work because it pays, and not a few "far-sighted" managers look upon it as "strike insurance." Schools, playgrounds, baths, hospitals, libraries, entertainments, and the like, are of course valuable to the employee, and at their inception no doubt are of real social worth. But welfare work must not be judged by the results achieved in a year. It must be judged by its results over a term of year. Such results are available from American experience.

First, *welfare work is a menace because it tends to blind our eyes to the basic fact that it is democracy and justice that are needed in industry, and not charity.* The very fact that welfare work exists is a virtual acknowledgment of the indictment that the industrial order as it stands denies the worker certain privileges in life that are rightfully his. The owner, however, does not see this. He feels that he is giving the employee something, and that it is his privilege to revoke the gifts on certain conditions. But education, recreation, health, freedom, justice, and much more, are fundamental rights of men, and giving or refusing them ought not to be left to the discretion of an employer. Furthermore, it is said that the employer pays for welfare work. Actually, the employee pays. He has largely produced the wealth all along, but by some inexplicable method he receives but a small portion of the wealth he produces in the form of wages, the employer of course fixing the wage. Since then the worker has certain rights, which the very fact of welfare work proves he has been denied, since he pays for the privileges handed down, [it is

unwise socially to speak of welfare work as beneficence. It is a left-handed acknowledgment of rights denied to workmen, at once a social menace and a denial of democracy, confusing the issue which is in reality a question of justice or injustice.

Second, *welfare work is a menace because it tends to become a weapon in the hands of the employers.* In America large employers bought great tracts of land and erected model dwellings. The schemes were lauded to the skies in the capitalist press. But what actually happened was this: A little later when the workers saw profits ascending at a dizzy rate and wages remaining practically stationary with food prices soaring, they decided to organize and strike for higher wages. Upon hearing of their organization, the owners ordered every family off the company property and out of the houses. Married men hesitated before they would endanger their families, the attempt to strike was thwarted, and the men were forced to return to the same unfair conditions. The much advocated model dwelling for industrial workers in India, may become a real weapon to employers when India steps into the next stage of industrial development, namely that of collective bargaining.

Third, *it is a menace because it tends to retard the organization of the workers, the only sure method of securing permanent justice in our present economic order.* In practically every concern where the writer found welfare work in India, there was found a very firm refusal on the part of the employer to allow the employee to organize. The employer seemed to feel that welfare work would keep the worker a docile being, easily controlled. This control is necessary to keep the worker from gaining power to successfully demand a larger share of the wealth he actually produces. While visiting one of the outstanding welfare factories of India, it was pointed out that welfare directors were not allowed to talk over matters of organization with the workers, that the employees were not allowed to assemble together, that wages were little higher than the average, and that twelve hours was the regular day's work. If welfare work is too often "strike insurance," as a leading Indian social worker who is in close touch with it, declared it was, it most certainly is a menace to industrial development, if we think of industrial

development in terms of democracy and life, instead of in terms of feudalism and profit.

Fourth, *welfare work is a menace because of the fact that certain privileges given the workers by private corporations has a tendency to slow up the demand for the community provision of such privileges.* "Why," say the tax-payers, "do we need a community playground when the corporation has one?" But these are community duties, and should be carried on by the people, with the final word as to their use and purpose in the hands of the people. In America some corporations went so far as to build churches for their employees and employed the preacher. He was warned not to preach anything that would stir up the workers, and in some cases, when this warning was ignored, the pastor found himself looking for another church. Community needs must be met by the community under a real social control. Industrial despotism is as bad as political despotism.

Fifth, *welfare work has proven a weapon to slow up the demand for industrial democracy, even in its simpler forms of collective bargaining.* Political democracy has won its battle in the minds of thinking men. Government must be of the people, by the people, and for the people. Industrial democracy, wherein industry shall be of the people, by the people, and for the people, is on the horizon. It is a travesty in these days of democratic preaching to think of actual needs being handed down by private corporations with

the power in hand to revoke them if they so desire. All the advantages are held up before the worker and he is told that if he strikes or expresses himself as a component and essential factor in the production of wealth, he will lose his pension, his home, his child's education, his job. Why has American labour so strongly opposed welfare work? Because it has proven a menace to the development of the labour movement. Labour demands its fair share of the product of industry under the present system, and states it will do its welfare work in the home or pay taxes and have the community do it. When industrial democracy arrives, the very phrase "welfare work" will be a misnomer, since it is a frank violation of the fundamental principles of democracy, for its posits on the one hand a benevolent overlord and on the other a recipient serf.

Of course it may be urged that communities in India cannot take over these duties at present. This may or may not be true. But in choosing welfare work as a real advance in the interests of the industrial worker, it may prove worth while to note the experience of America. The West has made many fatal errors in its industrial development. It does not desire to pass on its mistakes, but rather to share its experience so that the emerging New India may be a land where the principles of justice, of brotherhood and love are pregnant forces in the industrial, political and social life.

LORD BRYCE ON THE WAR AND AFTER.

BY MR. S. RATNASWAMI M.A.,

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LORD BRYCE is one of the small band of Victorian statesmen still left to us. He is one of the few living representatives of that race of scholar-statesmen which flourished in the Victorian era but has become almost extinct now. In this respect Lord Morley and Lord Bryce, colleagues in more than one Cabinet stand together. But unlike Lord Morley, intellectual and Quaker though he is, Lord Bryce took the national side at the moment of the supreme crisis which has settled the political fate of the "bold (Jobdenite)." Having taken the national attitude in the war, Lord Bryce, occupying no official position, has seen his influence grow. At home, no great Commission or Report during the war was authoritative without his

name, and, abroad among neutrals his utterances on the war have been listened to with an attention which would have been denied to the official spokesmen of England. Hence this collection* of Lord Bryce's *Essays and Addresses in War Time* has a peculiar value and interest.

These *Essays and Addresses* are concerned with (1) the justification of England's position in the war (2) an analysis of German political philosophy (3) the bearings of the principle of nationality on the war and the problems after the war. Now, the causes that led England into the war form a more than twice-told tale. There is nothing new that we learn from Lord Bryce's statement. All the

* *Essays and Addresses in War Time* by James Bryce (Viscount Bryce), Macmillan & Co.

Essays dealing with this theme were written before the publication of Prince Lichnowsky's famous Memorandum. No statement against the German case could be more damning than that. But although there is nothing new, yet all of it is stated with such moderation, such a grip of the essential facts, natural to a historian who has also been an administrator, and with such a desire to be fair to the other side, that Lord Bryce's defence of England's policy must carry conviction even to the lazy cynic who thinks that the best way to decide between two parties in an issue is to decide against both.

In his analysis of the political theory and practice of the German state also Lord Bryce says only, albeit with his own distinctive *flair*, what has been said times without number during the war. But the curious thing about this English condemnation of the Prussian philosophy of the state is that it came a great deal too late. It was only when England was at war with Germany that English writers began to criticise and condemn Prussia and Trietschke. Till then they were the intellectual fashion in England, a fashion to which Lord Bryce also succumbed as in his references to modern Prussia in the "Holy Roman Empire." The German successes of 1870 made representative intellectuals like Morley and Meredith bow the knee to Bismarck. There was only one man in England before the war who believed that the Prussian danger "was the greatest danger that remained to be encountered by the Anglo-Saxon race." But then Lord Acton was hardly a representative Englishman. However that may be, Lord Bryce's dispassionate condemnation of the German theory of the state is sufficient *lustrum* for the English admiration of Politics made in Germany which was so fashionable in the days before the war.

The Essay on the "Principle of Nationality" contains a clear account of the essential elements of nationality and ought to prove useful to those who wish to thread their way through the maze of questions that are clamouring for settlement. The break-down of the Central Empires has allowed a number of nations with a claim to statehood to spring up, of whom the man in the street had never heard, Croats, Slovaks, Slovenes, Letts, Lithuanians, Ruthenians and so forth. Lord Bryce recognises that the principle of nationality cannot be applied *ad libitum*. If every little people, whatever its political antecedents or aptitudes, is to be made into a state, then Europe would have its hand full—it would not only have to make national states, but it would have to keep

them. But we do not find in the essay any recognition of the fact that in Bohemia, Hungary, and other non-German parts of the Central Empires there is a considerable German fringe, and that this German fringe constitutes a powerful element in any Hungarian or Czecho-Slav state that may be created, and that these German settlers monopolise the industry and commerce of these countries. The creation of an independent Hungary, Czecho-Slavonia, Jugo-Slavia will not put a term to the problems of Central and Eastern Europe.

Lord Bryce as a Jurist and pacific statesman would like the coming of an era of perpetual and universal peace, and he entertained the idea of a "League of Nations to enforce Peace" even as early as the first months of the war. He bases his belief in the success of a scheme to enforce international peace on the case with which national peace or the King's peace as it is called in the British Empire is enforced. Just as "law and order have been established within every civilised country" so, he argues, ought law and order to be established between nations and states. It is astonishing how such a learned historian and practical statesman as Lord Bryce could have made use of this false analogy. Are nations as equal to each other as individuals in a state, do they share the same aspirations, benefit by the same policy, acknowledge the same culture and civilisation as do individuals in a state? Not till nations have been ground down to something like the position of Individuals in a state, can the analogy between nations and Individuals, between International Peace and National Peace be pressed with any profit to political thought. Lord Bryce however makes a good point in this essay when he acknowledges that "it is idle to construct a system of international law without Force behind it." And this Force he finds "in a Combination of Nations, a League for securing Peace, able to make its will to Peace prevail against the will to violence of bellicose nations." But who is to judge between the League of Peace and the bellicose nations? Or have the members of the League of Peace received a charter of perpetual grace which has washed them clean of the original sin of nations?

These questions are the best kind of complement one can pay to Lord Bryce's writings. This book like his other works testifies to his great historical knowledge, his political sobriety and that *justesse* of outlook which is the finest flower of scholarship.

SANKAR'S VEDANTA

BY

LALA KANNOOMAL, M.A.

It may be said without exaggeration that Sankar's philosophy has been misunderstood to a great extent—more especially by the English educated men. The fault does not lie with Sankar but with the readers who have not taken pains enough to study his philosophy in the original. Sankar's vedanta is an idealism in a sense not understood by Western philosophy. The idealistic philosophy of the West considers mind to be a reality and the world outside to be a projection of the mind. The contrast there is between the mind and the world. Having taken mind to be a reality, Western philosophy strives to prove that the world outside is only its projection, and goes to the length of asserting that there is no objective world. The mountains, the rivers, the land sceneries, the forests, the palaces and the thousand and one phenomena that confront us in the outside world, dissolve when philosophically examined, into a multitude of ideas, whose abiding place is the mind. Berkeley says there is no heat in the fire but in the mind within us; there is no smell, there is no taste, there is no sound, there is no visible object outside us. The existence of the world consists in the perceptions that reside in our mind. Hume goes even a step higher and does not believe in the doctrine of necessity—the law of causation. All the primary and secondary qualities of matter have been placed into the mind, and what appears to an ordinary man, a physical object has been reduced to a mere illusion—a figment of imagination, in which only the unimpaired believe.

English educated men have interpreted Sankar's idealism in this light. The doctrine of Maya is an ample *raison-d'être* for this interpretation. They try to show that Sankar considers this world to be a mere illusion—as having no existence outside the mind. They seem to understand that just as the ultra-idealist of the West considers the objective world to be a mere projection of the mind, having no reality in itself, so Sankar also assigns no reality i.e., the objective existence to the phenomena of the world. But this is not Sankar's point of view. He believes in the outside existence of things as contrasted with the ideas of the mind, and in fact, advances a series of arguments in favour of the realistic world. His commentary on the second chapter of the Vedant Shrutras may be referred to in this connection. It was the Buddhist philosophers who did not believe in the outside world just like Western

idealistic philosophers. They were called Vyagradees. Sankar took up cudgels against them and knocked down their position with the sledge hammer blows of his arguments. Although Sankar takes up a bold position in favour of the realistic world, he is not a realistic philosopher in the sense in which these words are generally understood. He is the idealistic of the ultra-idealistic philosophers. His idealism does not recognise mind to be real in opposition to the external world. To him the whole external and internal world is unreal. The only reality which Sankar believes in, is Atma—the underlying principle of all consciousness, existence and bliss. Every thing else is unreal. The whole psychological apparatus is unreal. According to the Hindu philosophy, the psychological apparatus consist of Buddhi—the principle of understanding, manasa—the principle of all perception, memory etc., and Jnan Indriyas—the organs of sense, Karma Indriyas—the organs of action and the five-fold Pranas—the principle of breathing. All these psychological factors constitute what is called in Vedanta, Sukshma Sharir—the subtle body which, in contact with the Atma which is passive, is man's soul or ego for all practical purpose. It is this soul—the Jiva which migrates from birth to birth and assumes responsibility for all moral actions. Sankar does not recognize even this Jiva, to be real as compared with the real Atma that is eternally behind it.

Sankar's idealism begins with this subtlest Jiva and ends with the grossest particle of matter. To him all these internal and external phenomena are unreal, but his unreality is not an illusion. It means phenomenal existence in opposition to the real existence which he assigns only to the Atma.

Just as mind and its phenomena exist in their own unreality, so do the objective world and its multitudinous appearances. Both these unrealities are common only in so far as they are not of the nature of the reality of the Atma but are different from each other in as much as they are two separate existences. Western idealism asserts that the objective world is unreal and the subjective world is real. Sankar says both the worlds are unreal—only the Atma is real. Western idealism does not recognise the separate existence of the objective world—it having arisen out of the mind, Sankar recognizes its separate existence opposed to the existence of the

subjective world. From Sankar's point of view, the unreality is of two kinds—the unreality of the mind and the unreality of the objective world. Both have their separate existences which do not dissolve into one. Sankar calls the unreality of the mind and the world by the name of Maya, which is indescribable, being both existence and non-existence—existence from the point of view of the worldly phenomena which exist to all practical purposes, and non existence from the stand-point of the Atma which really exists impervious to all changes to which the external and internal phenomena are subject. As far as the sweep of the chain of cause and effect goes there is Maya—that is phenomenal reality, which, if looked at from the point of view of the eternal and absolute reality of the Atma, is an illusion—a figment of the imagination, but looked at from the worldly point of view, is solid reality not to be brushed aside. People have asked for the cause of the Maya. The answer has always been ambiguous, simply for the reason that all causes are included in the Maya. The law of causation does not go beyond the periphery of the Maya and to ask for the origin of the Maya is to beg the question. Such a question is absurd.

Another question is whether the Maya is eternal. The answer is that the Maya is the world, and is eternal in the same sense as the world is. It has also been questioned that since the existence of the Maya has been recognized by the Vedant, is it not relevant to say that instead of there


being only one—Reality as the Vedant declares, there are two realities—one the Atma which is also called Brahman, and the other, the Maya which is real for all practical purposes. The answer to this question is that there is only one Reality, the absolute Reality which is Brahman, the other is unreality not reality; so there are not two entities, but only One, and that One is Brahman or Atma.

Sankar's Brahman or Atma is the ultimate principle of existence, consciousness and bliss which pervades the whole creation and without which there is no creation. While it is not of the form of any created object, it is the main basis on which the existence of every created object depends. It is the fount of light, the source of knowledge, the origin of consciousness, the Matrix of all existence, the fountain head of all happiness. There is nothing that it is not; there is nothing that it is. It is beyond all expression, it is beyond all thinking, it is beyond all that appears. Brahman is the *neplusultra* of all knowledge, the last rockbed of existence, the infinite fount of joy. While severally one it appears as manifold as the creation. While really absolute it appears split up into as varied objects as the universe contains. There is nothing higher than it; there is nothing nobler than it; there is nothing more real than it. The aim of the Vedant philosophy is not to reach but to become Brahman, by throwing off veils of the nescience that cover it.

EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY

MR. P. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, B.A., L.T.

 NE rises from a perusal of Mr. Sharp's reports on Education in India with mingled feelings. Statistics go to show, what would perhaps strike one as very satisfactory at first sight, that during the years 1912—18 the expenditure on education has increased by many lakhs of rupees, the number of schools by thousands and the number of scholars by the million, and yet the distressing fact remains that even now only 3.22 per cent. of the population is under instruction as against 17.38 per cent. in Scotland and 16.52 per cent. in England and Wales. One cannot hide from oneself the depressing thought that, things going on as at present, there is perhaps no chance in the near or distant future of a literate India in the sense of a literate America

or Europe. The very large mass of children yet to be brought into schools, the huge sums of money that will have to be spent and the apparent disinclination of the Government to launch on any bold measures of educational reform—these tend to confirm our fears. One looks in vain in the reports for any helpful suggestion as to how this serious problem has to be faced and solved.

Mr. Sharp draws, of course, pointed reference to the top-heaviness of Indian education by comparing the percentage of pupils and students in Secondary Schools and Colleges in this country to the total population with the corresponding percentages in other important countries of the world and comes to the conclusion that

"while the lower classes in India are largely illiterate, the middle class is, at least numerically, educated to a pitch equal to that attained in countries whose social and economic condition is more highly developed."

The middle class find that higher education pays and loudly make known their wants. The lower classes though no longer hostile are lukewarm and seldom clamour for a type of instruction which brings no immediate and tangible reward.

This statement would imply that the middle classes have not been particularly anxious to advance the interests of mass education and that the lower classes do not care much for it. The fact, however, is that private agencies in India, drawn mostly from the middle class, have done good work in the matter of elementary education for, according to Mr Sharp himself, out of a total of 11,000 primary Schools in this country, 8,660 are under private management and 14,000 of these receive no aid whatever from Government. Again, if the lower classes do not clamour for education, it only shows that they are human and are in no way different from, or superior to, the corresponding classes in other countries of the world. The history of education in all the civilized countries of the world points to the apathy and indifference of the masses to all popular education, and if they realize the goal of it at all, it is only after they have been forced through it at last. Even now in spite of so many years of universal education in England and in spite also of the demands of the representatives of labour that the age of compulsion must be raised, do we not hear of large numbers of the labouring classes complaining that the new Education Act with all its guarantees meant financial loss to the families of the adolescent acts as a great hardship and inflicts a heavy strain on the parent by depriving him of the wages of his adolescent children?

It is indeed high time that the Government did something very substantial to remove the charge so often levelled against them of want of interest in the matter of the general enlightenment of the masses in this country. When a responsible member of Government like Sir Sankaran Nair who must be trusted carefully to weigh his words before giving public expression to them puts it on record that

'it is the universal belief, and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to support it, that Primary English education for the masses and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons,' the Government must rub their eyes and look about themselves indeed! The unfortunate thing

is that the Government themselves have to admit the indictment although they may not be willing to admit the validity of the grounds on which such indictment is based. The Resolution of the Government of India of 1913 'indicated as an aim the doubling of the number of Primary Schools and pupils in the not distant future,' but such an advance has not yet been made.

"The number of Children undergoing elementary instruction is now 6,748,101 which is equivalent to 28 per cent of the population being 45 per cent of the male and 9 per cent of the female population. Discouraging statistics figures are they are still more so when it is remembered that 90 per cent of the children are congregated in the lower primary classes. [Sharp] Higher education in India runs in this groove and the development of special Vocational Schools is far behind hand. [Sharp]

The greatest deterrent to the expansion of industrial education is the slow growth of industries and the shyness of capital in supporting them. Were industrial employment assured, students would readily come to technical and technological institutions would multiply. [Sharp] There has been no regular financial programme for educational expenditure in the past. [Sharp] Quinquennial Report (p. 12, 16)

The critic naturally asks, why all this? What has been Amos that the Government should have blundered so? Surely, it is not for want of experience in tackling educational problems such as those they are confronted with in this country. The course of elementary education in England has run on much the same lines as here. Neither can it be said that India is a country with no educational traditions of its own where it is difficult to get education spread. If within less than a generation the backward Philippines have been made literate, surely education in India cannot be an insuperable problem except perhaps for the will to action on the part of the Government. Nor can it be laid at the door of the people that they are unwilling to co-operate with the Government in the matter, for according to the latest returns, out of a total expenditure of Rs 1,128 lakhs on education in India private funds contributed 514 lakhs or 45.5 per cent, whereas in 1915 out of a total expenditure of 7,850 lakhs of dollars, private funds contributed only 375 lakhs or 4.8 per cent.

It is indeed pathetic—the confession of the Government of India that their educational policy 'has at times been lacking in foresight and perspective,' and that they 'admit the errors of the past, and ask for time to repair them.' One would have thought under such circumstances they would be willing to transfer the whole of education to the charge of Indian Ministers in

the new era to be inaugurated and leave to them the task of repairing the admitted errors of the past. This indeed seems to have been the view urged by the committee that considered the question in 1917, from whose report the Government of India quote the following :

"At first sight this abandonment of control, by the central or provincial government of a department so vitally fundamental to a National Scheme of education, would appear to be fraught with grave dangers. Nor are all these wholly illusory. It is quite possible, even probable, that at first efficiency will be sacrificed to other considerations and that the popularly elected body will vote money for the less essential objects and neglect the provision for training and inspection. But unless an opportunity for mistakes is given, nothing will be learned. Experience will, we believe, beget greater wisdom, and that in no long time, once it is realized that education is the business of the people, then the people will see to it that the elected representatives procure them efficient teachers in their Schools. Again it is only thus that education can become really national, and if the demand arises, as we believe it will arise, an elected Council of this kind will be able to raise money for education from sources that never could be tapped by a Government of the existing official type."

Dr. Slater on "South Indian Villages"*

BY

MR. K. M. PANIKKAR, B.A., (OXON).

IT was one of the standing complaints of Indian educationists that subjects which had purely an Indian interest, however vital for the development of Indian Nationality and the progress of Indian culture, find no adequate place in the curricula of our universities. Till very recently this was undoubtedly true. Indian history was a secondary subject and no proper facilities existed anywhere in India for an intensive study of it. Indian economics were *tabu* as far as the University authorities were concerned and they even went to the extent of forcing down our throats the absolutely inapplicable principles of a system of national economics which the peculiar conditions of England had given rise to. The university authorities seemed to have forgotten the very existence of economic phenomena in India, apart of course from the principles of Free trade, imperial preference, excise duty and the rest.

With the growth of Indian influence in the Universities all these have changed and new ten-

And yet the Government of India think there is a 'compelling case for retaining Secondary and University education in the hands of the official and more experienced half of the provincial governments.' And if one looks into their reasons for the recommendations, one has to confess that at the back of their mind there lurks the fear that if transferred to the Ministers education may spread in a manner disconcerting to their views of guardianship and rule. The only answer to people holding such a fear is that contained in the words of a Governor-General of India in the middle of the 19th Century :

"Similar objections have been urged against our attempting to promote the education of our native subjects, but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections! . . . All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity."

dencies have asserted themselves separate chairs for Indian economics have been established and students have been encouraged to study economic principles in relation to the main facts around them. The result has been that during the last few years we have an increasing mass of accurate information about the economic conditions of rural India. Such a collection of statistics and information is absolutely invaluable both for a proper understanding of Indian life and for the gradual development of a school of scientific Indian economics. Real India is rural India and therefore it is in relation to agricultural conditions that we in India have to study economics.

The essential preliminary to the establishment of a proper system of national economics for India is the scientific collection of facts with regard to the life and labour of the people who live in the non-urban areas. Without a vast amount of authenticated facts on this matter with regard to every part of India, nothing in the nature of an Indian school of economics is possible. Thus the first stages of Indian activity in economic study is bound to be an intensive survey of local facts, in fact a fragmentation of the main

*Some South Indian Villages By Dr. Gilbert Slater Prof. of Economics, Madras University; Published by the Oxford University Press 1918.

field of economics. This principle has been well recognised of late in India and the last two years have seen such notable contributions as Dr. Harold to Otauns's "Land and Labour in a Deccan village" Juck's "Economic Life of a Bengal District," Prof. Mukherjee's "Foundation of Indian economics" and more important than these to us in Southern India Dr. Gilbert Slater's book on "Some South Indian Villages."

The work under review is a collection of essays by selected students on the economic life of their native villages. The essays are written after a pattern supplied by Dr. Slater in which sufficient care is taken to bring out the main facts. For this purpose he prepared a question at once elaborate and comprehensive dealing with all the phases of the economic life of the village. This gives the work a certain uniformity and arrangement which are most useful for purposes of reference. In a work like this meant as ground work for further study, arrangement of facts is almost everything. One who is for instance studying the system of wages in South India has now only to turn to the sections dealing with it in these Essays, and has not got to wade through the whole book before they come across their necessary bits of information. We congratulate Dr. Slater on the plan and arrangement of the work.

It is when we come to the conclusions drawn by Dr. Slater that we feel bound to dissent. Dr. Slater shows a fatal facility to draw conclusions based on insufficient grounds. Thus he asserts on the basis of his experience of a few villages that Indian labour is extraordinarily inefficient, and estimates that one day's work by a British agricultural labourer is roughly equal to a week's work by an Indian ryot (P. 17). We may be permitted to observe that Dr. Slater's experience is too slight and the bases of his observation too meagre to justify any such wild assertion. Dr. Slater may be a thoroughly sound authority on English agricultural economics and he may even be credited with some knowledge inevitably superficial of the working of some South Indian Villages. To make such a wild and sweeping assertion as that a day's work by a British agricultural labourer is equal to a week's work by an Indian ryot without in any way indicating the grounds on which he takes his stand or the process of thought by which he came by that conclusion, is only to take away from such a book as the one under Review its essentially scientific character and give to it the appearance of a prejudiced Anglo-Indian production.

But after all to the really scientific students such rash statements, which are by no means rare either in the introduction or in the conclusion do not count for much. We are not concerned as to what Dr. Slater thinks or what opinion he holds of Indian labour on Indian Village. The value of the book to the student lies in the fact that in these essays we have for the first time the true picture of South Indian Villages set in correct economic perspective. We may not agree with Dr. Slater either that "low wages, low efficiency and high abstinence form the ground plan of the pattern" or that "social and religious conditions and customs contribute to such a state." But the facts of economic life are there reproduced with accuracy and colouring and the intelligent reader need not necessarily take Dr. Slater either as a guide or as an interpreter.

Sensitive Plants.

"Sir Jagadis Bose, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, announces that he has discovered that plants receive and respond to the long ether waves used in wireless signalling."—(Reuter.)

The lilies in the garden,

The daisies in the corn.

They know all men's secrets

As soon as they are born.

If you would learn the history

Of the European Powers,

Don't go to the newspapers.

Go to the flowers.

The Rose has sent an answer

To many an S. O. S. ;

The Olive got the Peace news

An age before the Press ;

The Cactus knew the tamper

Of the Great Four in a week ;

And the private views of Parliament

Filter through the Leek

The lilies in the garden,

The daisies in the corn.

They knew all men's secrets

Before the men were born

They didn't come through wireless,


But through still stranger powers :

The universal secrets

In the keeping of the flowers.

Daily Herald.

Mr. Montagu on the Government of India Bill

 **THE Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in moving the Second Reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Commons on the 5th June, said :—**

I beg to move :—

"That the Bill be now read a second time."

The House having now somewhat approximated, but by no means reached its ordinary aspect on Indian Debates, I rise to discharge the highly important task, a task of which I fully realise the responsibility, of asking this House, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to read a second time the Bill which has been printed and circulated. I desire to avoid going into details upon this necessarily complicated and technical measure. I have flooded the House, in response to requests, and in order to give information to it as far as I possibly could, with a series of elaborate documents, and these will obviate, because I will assume that the House has mastered these documents, a large amount of technical discussion.

Answering Criticisms

But in view of certain criticisms I want once again to repeat the origin of this Bill. When I took office two years ago much work leading up to the preparation of a Bill of this kind had already been done. Despatches containing schemes for reform had passed between the Government of India and my predecessor, and out of their proposals and his criticisms of them had emerged this principle, that to my predecessor no reform of the Government of India would be acceptable which did not involve the transfer of responsibility from these Houses to the people of India. I took up the work where the Chancellor of the Exchequer left it, and the pronouncement of the 20th August followed, a part of which was that my acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India had been authorised by His Majesty's Government. No sooner was that pronouncement made than I appointed a very important India Office Committee, presided over by Sir William Duke, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, a member of my Council and an Indian Civil Servant—I repeat all his qualifications because it is suggested in some quarters that this Bill arose spontaneously in the minds of the Viceroy and myself without previous inquiry or consideration, under the influence of Mr. Lionel Curtis. I have never yet been able to understand that you approach the merits of any discussion by vain efforts to approximate to its authorship. I do not even now understand that India or the Empire owes anything more or anything less than a great debt of gratitude to the patriotic and devoted services Mr. Curtis has given to the consideration of this problem. But this Committee, presided over by Sir William Duke, sat at the India Office from the 20th August until I left for India, accompanied by Sir William Duke, Lord Donoughmore, and Mr. Charles Roberts, on the 20th of October. We held repeated conferences in the enforced leisure of a long sea voyage, and discussed the problem almost daily on board-ship up to the time when we reached India, where we were joined by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, and Sir William Vincent, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Spontaneously, as a necessary consequence of all these deliberations, as a necessary

consequence of the terms of the pronouncement of the 20th August, and as a necessary and inevitable consequence of an unprejudiced study of the question, we reached the conclusion upon which this Bill is based, a conclusion reached after listening to innumerable deputations, after six months of Conference with non-officials and officials, after continuous discussion with the Government in the provinces, and at Delhi with the heads of all the local Governments. From the time I returned to London, a new India Office Committee, presided over by Mr. Charles Roberts, and containing a large number of those Civil servants who have taken part in this discussion, and whose services I have had the privilege to command, have sat upon and discussed all the criticisms that have reached us on the Bill. Sir William Duke, Sir James Brunyate and Sir Thomas Holderness were members. Sir James Meston, the present Finance Member of the Government of India, was here last year and helped in the deliberations of this Committee. In recent months it has been assisted by Sir Frank Sly, Mr. Feetham, Mr. Stephenson, and Mr. Muddiman.

The Drafting of the Bill.

This Committee has been concerned in drafting the Bill, and in considering all despatches and telegrams and criticisms upon the scheme originally proposed.

After this prolonged discussion and deliberation of almost exactly two years in extent, I now ask with some confidence for the Second Reading of the Bill, which I do not hesitate to say has been as carefully prepared and considered in all its aspects as it is possible to consider a measure of this kind.

A General Agreement.

I ask for the Second Reading of the Bill to-day for two reasons. First of all there is so much general agreement on all sides in India and here as to its provisions, so much general agreement and such important points of difference on methods side by side, that I do not believe there is any way of getting on until we examine the details of the measure in a Committee representing Parliament. Second Reading points, as I think I shall show, are points on which there is general agreement, both in India and here. There are very important differences—differences which I do not wish to minimise—as to methods, and you will never get to a discussion of those methods infinitely technical, until you have a small body constituted which will take evidence and consider the alternative merits or demerits of the different plans. It is our intention, if the House gives a Second Reading to this measure to-day, to ask that it should be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, and that Joint Committee should consider all the questions that are involved. I cannot emphasise too strongly that it is the Government's wish that that Committee should discuss the matter not only from the point of view of detailed examination, but from the point of view of the examination of alternative methods. Let it have free scope. Let the House appoint a Committee to go into the whole question, and, as I have said before, so recently as a fortnight ago, although I believe from the bottom of my heart that you dare not and ought not to do less than we propose in this Bill, I shall be glad, and the Government will be glad, to take the advice of the Committee on any alternative method which really and actually promises at least as much.

A Vast Problem.

I would only add one thing. We have so many responsibilities in this House, so many important questions needing consideration, that perhaps India looms quite small to many Members; but this problem to 315,000,000 of people eagerly awaiting, so far as they are politically educated, the decision of this House—to India this subject is all-important. Let no man join in this Debate, let no man accept the incalculably responsible task of helping—and we want help, it is a difficult enough problem to require help—of helping on the Committee unless he is prepared to go there constructively, and not destructively, to help on as perfect a plan as can be devised, and not with the intention to delay or thwart legislation, which, in my mind, and in the minds of the House, I hope, it is absolutely essential to carry out.

An Impatient India.

The second reason why I would urge the assistance of the House in the passage of the Second Reading to-day is the impatience—I think the legitimate impatience—with which India is waiting a start upon the policy enunciated now two years ago. That policy was announced, and this Bill was drawn up with a view to meeting existing conditions in India. Believe me, my experience of India, my experience of the Government of India now extending over something like six years' of office, make me confident that there is no more fallacious platitude, no more obvious fallacy than that which is on the lips of so many critics of Indian affairs,—that it is a country which never changes, a country which undergoes none of the emotions which other countries experience. One old Indian friend of mine, who has been engaged upon public affairs in this country, who has been absent from his own fourteen months only, and who returned to it the other day, told me when last I saw him that he thought politically it was a different place to fourteen months ago. The War, the causes of the War, the objects of the War, the speeches of those who conducted the political aspects of the War have had their effect from one end of India to the other, and have even reached, as the documents which I published themselves show the Government of Madras.

The Pronouncement of August 20th.

The pronouncement of the 20th August promised that substantial steps in the direction of responsible Government should be taken as soon as possible. There is no use for pronouncements that are not fulfilled; there is no use for pronouncements which take geological epochs to fulfil. Doubts are already beginning to appear. It is suggested already—unworthily suggested, wickedly suggested, but still suggested—that we made the announcement and declared the intention of His Majesty's Government in order to secure loyalty from the Indian peoples during the War, and that now we have achieved victory we are not going on with our purpose. I only mention that to show that, in my opinion, as in the opinion of the Governor of Bombay, delay, inexcusable delay, unnecessary delay, would be fatal to our purpose. For that reason after two years' consideration of this problem I venture to suggest to the House that I have shown no undue haste in bringing this Bill before the House of Commons. First it used to be said, "Oh,

you must not introduce the Bill until the opinions of the local Governments have been published and we have had an opportunity of reading them." I promised the opinions of the local Governments, and the opinions of the local Governments have been published in accordance with that promise. To a very large extent they are irrelevant, because, despite the letters which have been published and the arguments they have used in them, they have produced, at a subsequent date, an alternative plan, about which I shall have something to say later on. But they are published. Now, when they are published, comes the new argument, "You are hurrying on the Second Reading of the Bill, when we have not had time to read the papers." So, first you say, "Do not take the Bill because we want the papers." Then, when the papers do appear, you say, "Give us time to read the papers." In other words, for the man who does not want to do something, the day on which you ask him to do something is always the wrong day.

Two White Papers.

I have published also, in order to avoid discussion to day, two White Papers. One White paper explains, as clearly and as concisely as I could do it, the actual effect of the Clauses of the Bill. The other White Paper shows what the existing Government of India Act, passed in 1915, will look like if these Amendments are made in it, for this Bill has been drafted with a view to automatic consolidation and the Government of India Act, 1915, embraces a very large number of Statutes. It is suggested that when this Bill has been passed by the Houses of Parliament it shall be automatically included in the existing Act, and will itself disappear as a separate Act. In order to see the effect of that process—the best form of legislation, I venture to think, when you have a previous Statute—I have published and circulated a copy. That, I hope, will avoid the necessity at this stage of going into details. A few more words I must say as to the form of the Bill. In the first place, it may be said—it has been said—that we propose to rely so much on rules and regulations under the Bill that the Bill itself is only a skeleton. I need not remind the House that there are many precedents for that procedure, in fact, in almost every Statute referring to the Government of India, I think that procedure has been adopted. But I would also remind the House that deliberately, of intention, in accordance with the terms of the pronouncement of the 20th August, this Bill does not pretend to give to India a Constitution that will endure. It is transitional; it is a bridge between Government by the agents of Parliament and Government by the representatives of the peoples of India. It must be in such a form that it shall be not static, but fluid—that alterations can be made in it from time to time, and that you should not form a rigid Constitution by Statute which could not be altered except by trespassing at intervals upon the overburdened and over-mortgaged time of this House. Therefore we have resorted to the plan of precedent, of asking that details shall be accomplished by rules. Let me hasten to add that this is one of the points upon which I approach this problem with an open mind. If there is anything in which it is suggested should be done by rule which the House would prefer to be done by Statute, let us by all means, in the Committee stage, incorporate it in the Statute, although,

let us try at the same time to avoid rigidity, which I believe, would be fatal to our purpose. I would add also that it is not our intention to prevent the control by Parliament of these rules and regulations. The Bill provides that they shall be submitted to both Houses. The principle which it is intended to embody in these rules it is intended should be submitted to the Joint Committee which it is proposed to be set up, and the policy of the rules, if not the actual wording of the rules, will therefore be carefully considered at the same time as the Bill itself. I regard that as essential. It has always been said that the Morley-Minto Report was largely by the rules made under it. I am not at the moment prepared to argue whether or not that is so, but I want on this occasion to avoid any possibility of that charge being levelled. Therefore I hope that Parliament will not lose control of the Bill until the policy which is to be embodied in the rules has also been laid down by Parliament.

The Bill

I come now to the Bill itself. What I would like to do, if I may, is to start afresh and try to take the House with me, if I can and if it is not too ambitious a project, in realising that if you start from the place where the authors of this Bill started, the form of the Bill and the recommendations of the Bill are inevitable. Where did we start? We started with the pronouncement of the 20th August, 1917. I propose to ask: Is there any body who questions to-day the policy of that pronouncement? It is no use accepting it unless you mean it; it is no use meaning it unless you act upon it; and it is no use acting upon it unless your actions are in conformity with it. Therefore I take it that Parliament, or at any rate this House, will agree that the policy of the pronouncement of the 20th August must be the basis of our discussion—the progressive realisation of responsible government, progressive realisation by degrees, by stages, by steps—and those steps must at the outset be substantial. That pronouncement was made in order to achieve what I believe is the only logical, the only possible, the only acceptable meaning of Empire and Democracy, namely, an opportunity to all nations flying the Imperial flag to control their own destinies. [An Hon. Member: "Nations!"] I will come to nations in a moment. I will beg no question. The Hon. Member raises the question of nations. Whether it be a nation or not, we have promised to India the progressive realisation of responsible government. We have promised to India and given to India a representation like that of the Dominions on our Imperial Conference. India is to be an original member of the League of Nations. Therefore I say, whatever difficulties there may be in your path your Imperial task is to overcome those difficulties and to help India on the path, of nationality, however much you may recognise—and I propose to ask the House to consider them—the difficulties which lie in the path.

Supposing for a moment there are those who consider that Empire has justified itself when you give to a country satisfactory law and order, adequate peace, decent institutions, and a certain measure of prosperity under the defence that you have provided; supposing, in other words, there are people who believe that you have fulfilled your mission when you have run the country as an estate, and not as a country at all; even then, approaching it from the other point, there

are large proposals in this Bill which command assent from them. There are the proposals for devolution, the proposals for decentralisation. I have heard no critic in these two years who has not told me that it is absolutely essential to get greater freedom for the Government of India from the India Office. I have hardly met a critic who has not told me that it is absolutely essential for the local Governments to get more freedom from the Government of India. I think that is agreed. I do not think that anybody questions that, from the point of view of administrative convenience, if on no higher grounds, Government by dispatch, with all its cumbrous machinery, all its necessarily delaying methods, all the difficulties attending, upon considering and reconsidering plans and projects over thousands of miles of land and thousands of miles of sea, all that ought to be got rid of. I ask Parliament to assent to this proposition, that you cannot get rid of it unless you substitute something else for it. Now and to-day you cannot have a government more bureaucratic and less dependent upon Parliament, without being dependent upon, anything else, than you have at present. The only possible substitute for government by dispatch is government by vote. The only possible way of really achieving devolution and making the unit, when you have chosen the unit, responsible for the management of its own affairs, is to make the Government of that unit responsible to the representatives of the people. If you simply say, "Let us have an irresponsible Government in a province, and let the Government of India not interfere and the Secretary of State not interfere, and Parliament not interfere, you have a policy which is merely the enthronement of bureaucracy and the very negation of the progressive realisation of responsible government.

Unit of Government

Therefore, I go a step further. In order to realise responsible government, and in order to get devolution, upon which there is general agreement, you must gradually get rid of Government by the agents of Parliament and replace it by Government by the agents of the representatives of the peoples of India. In other words, you have to choose your unit of Government, and you have got in that unit to create an electorate which will control the Government. What is the unit that you are choosing to be? Some people would say, let us be content with the unit of the local Government area—the Parish Council (I am not using terms of art, but terms which have significance for this country), the county council, the rural district council, the municipalities—in other words, that you should give responsible Self-Government in the area of local Government. That is already being done under the terms of the Joint Report, but that is not enough, for two reasons. The first is this: The policy of complete local Self-Government was adopted by Lord Ripon in 1883, and we are now proceeding to carry it out, after a delay of something like thirty-five years. It is not enough to answer the new conditions arising out of the world War by fulfilling a promise made thirty-five years ago, and therefore that is one reason why you must give something more than local Self-Government. But there is another reason. You are not writing on a clear, clean slate. You are writing, and rightly, in continuation of chapters which have been written before. You are building on foundations that already

exist. It is in the province that you must look for your unit, because it is in the provinces that the great educational results of Lord Morley's Reform Bill have been achieved. He made the Legislative Councils representative to some extent of the people, with a very small electorate and practically no powers beyond powers of criticism. But it is the existence of those councils which has awakened the appetite for Self-Government, and have added to the appreciation of Self-Government in India, and it is therefore to my mind, absolutely inevitable that we should proceed to devote ourselves to taking the Morley-Minto Councils a stage further in their development. Therefore it is to the provinces that we go, and the provinces are beginning to be the units of local patriotism in India. I do not say that as time goes on you will not substantially modify the size and boundaries of your provinces. Some of them are very artificial. But when you do, it should be in conformity with the wishes of the inhabitants of the provinces, and not by executive action.

If I have carried the House with me in the suggestion that the province is the unit in which we shall start a progressive realisation of responsible Government, what are the difficulties that we have to face? They were suggested in the Joint Report. I will emphasise them again. It does India no good purpose to attempt to avoid them, but they are not arguments against our purpose. They are arguments which we must overcome. The difficulties are these. Under the system of education which has been given to India by British rulers, education has not been spread wide. You have a very small fraction of the population highly educated and a very large proportion of the population not educated at all. You have secondly great differences of race and religion and great difficulties arising out of the harsh customs and precepts of caste. I cannot help believing that there is no better way of getting over these difficulties than by representative institutions. There is no greater stimulus to education, there is no better way of promoting community of action or of overcoming the acerbities of caste than by setting to the population a common task to do together, to work out the prosperity of their country. Many of those who write on India assure us of the insuperable obstacles presented by caste. It can only be a gradual process to get rid of these harshnesses and acerbities to which I refer. But every step you take in this direction brings you nearer to the day when the population will not suffer as a consequence of differences of caste. It has begun. It is idle to say there is no difference of recent years in the conditions. When you realise the fact that men of all castes find themselves in the same third class railway carriage, the way in which soldiers write to me that men of all castes mess together, the work which is being done by the members of the higher caste in helping the conditions and devoting themselves to the social problems afforded by the lower castes, you will realise that those problems are on the way to being solved. The other day I came across a case of a co-operative society run by a committee consisting of Brahmanas, non Brahmanas, caste Hindus, and Panchamas. They met to discuss this movement of co-operation, which has grown enormously in India, under a tree of three levels—the Brahmanas on one terrace, the non-Brahmanas a little lower down, and the Panchamas a little lower still.

They discussed the business of the co-operative society in that way. Do you imagine that that is going to endure? Some one will have a difference with someone else in discussing the management of affairs and will talk to him. There is no better way of promoting democratic customs than by working them through democratic institutions.

Train the Electors.

Despite all these difficulties I therefore say the essence of the problem is to train the electors. I, desire to express, on behalf of the Government of India and the India Office, and, I hope, of this House, our appreciation of the excellent work done by Lord Southborough's Committee. An electorate has been formed, that is to say, proposals have been made to put 5,000,000 voters on the register. But you do not form an electorate by that mere process. You have to get them to vote and you have to get them to understand what a vote means. You have to get them to appreciate the results of a vote. There is only one way of doing that, and that is to make the vote of some value. If a man is asked to vote, and then nothing happens as the result of it, nothing that he can see, nothing that he can appreciate, nothing that he can either reward or punish by the transference or maintenance of his vote, you will never train an electorate. Therefore it is a necessary step for the training of an electorate that you must give it power through its representative. If the result of a vote is that a certain person is elected, if he cannot only criticise but get things done, if he can do things, if he can be held responsible for the things he does, then the man who wants to turn him out will soon undertake the task of training the electorate to a realisation of the importance of a vote. And therefore in order to train your electorate, which is the only way in which you can transfer the power from this House and its agents to the people of India, you have to give the electorate which you create men responsible to it to carry out its demands.

If I have carried the House thus far, the next step must be that you have to choose a part of the provincial function which at the outset you will entrust to the representatives of the people. Anyone who has followed me in what I have said about education, about caste, and about religious differences, will realise that it is not right to entrust them with everything at the same moment. There are some things, such as the maintenance of peace and order—I will take the definition which Lord Chelmsford and I suggested in the Report—things in which mistakes are irretrievable, things in which the electorate at the outset should not be able to enforce its demands, things like Land Revenue which you should keep from the control of the representatives of the people. Immediately you say that, if there is anyone in the House who has gone so far with me I do not know whether they realise it, but they have swallowed the awful, terrible, much criticised principle of diarchy.

An Hon. Member Say "duality."

Mr. Montagu Duality. I have endeavoured to lead them, as I was led myself, to realise that the only way to achieve our purpose was to reserve for the present, and for the present only, certain functions of government under the control of the agents of this House, and to transfer other functions to the representatives of the people. That is what Mr. Feetham's

Committee proposes to do. That is what the India Office Committee, and that is what the Government of India and ourselves in discussion in India came to the conclusion was inevitable—to separate the functions of government, to transfer some, to reserve others, and to proceed by gradually taking the functions that are at present reserved and transferring them. Having decided that certain functions are to be transferred and that other functions are to be reserved, the question next to be decided is, What is the form of Ministry that you will set up to conduct them? Is it to be one or is it to be two? I submit with great confidence to the House that immediately you try and preserve one Ministry, always acting together and sharing responsibility for all acts, you obscure the lesson of responsibility. Let us take a particular reserved function—say police—and a particular transferred function—say education. You say, "It is our intention that the people shall have their way at once in education. It is our intention that, as far as police is concerned, for the moment those who administer it shall carry out the wishes of the Houses of Parliament as the trustees of the Indian people." If the man in charge of education and the man in charge of Police are both equally members of the same Government, each sharing responsibility for the acts of the other, both equally responsible for police and education, the one or the other may at any moment have to carry out a policy of which he does not approve. The man responsible for this House may have to carry out an educational policy of which he does not approve. The man responsible to the Indian electorate may have to carry out a police policy of which he does not approve. If you separate the two functions, if you separate the Government into two parts, when a man who is responsible for education goes to his constituency, he says "It is quite true that I have carried out a certain education policy. That is quite right. I am answerable for that, and I am prepared to defend it. With regard to police policy I am not responsible. I am there only in a consultative capacity, with no direct responsibility at all. Your only way of modifying the police policy is so to show the House of Commons the excellence of the way in which you have used your educational policy, so that in ten years' time they will transfer to you the police policy too, but at present my responsibility ceases with the transferred subject." By that means, it seems to me, you can make clear, both to the electorate and to the individual who exercises power on behalf of the electorate, the extent of his responsibility, and in no other way. The logical sequence to that form of argument would be that you would have two Governments completely separate in the same area, with separate funds, separate finances, separate Legislatures, separate executive staffs. I would suggest most respectfully to the House that that is impossible, and for this reason. I cannot reiterate too often that the basis of this whole policy is its transitional nature. You want to lead on to something else at the earliest possible moment. If you have two Houses, with two staffs, two purses, the net result would be that the people concerning themselves with transferred subjects would never have anything to say on reserved subjects. But if reserved subjects are to become transferred subjects one day, it is absolutely essential that, during the transitional period, although there is no direct responsibility for them, there should

be opportunities of influence and consultation. Therefore, although it seems necessary to separate the responsibility, there ought to be every room that you can possibly have for consultation and joint deliberation on the same policy, and for acting together for the purposes of consultation and deliberation, as the Bill provides, in one Government.

Colonel Wedgwood :—And criticism?

Mr. Montagu :—And criticism. This procedure would be absolutely indefensible if it were not for the fact that it was transitional, and if it were not for the fact that at stated periods it is proposed to hold a Parliamentary inquiry into its working, with a view to further stages. By that means there is a certain method of progress. By that means everything that happens will come under review, and the attitude adopted by each part of the Government to the affairs of the other part will be one of the prime factors in the decision of the Commission that reviews.

I have dealt now with the local governments and the way in which the scheme is evolved. I know it is a very hard thing. I know that it is more than difficult to explain so complicated a procedure, particularly for one who has been saturated for two years past with this sort of argument and discussion. But I have endeavoured as shortly as I possibly could to portray the arguments once again. They are portrayed in the memorandum which I have issued, and the Government of India's dispatch, which have led up to this Bill. I do not think the time has yet come for a similar movement in the Government of India. I think that there we must take the step of one stage only, namely, to make the Legislative Assembly more representative, to give it greater power of influencing and criticising, but not, at this moment, of responsibility; and we must make the Government of India itself more elastic in its composition, less stereotyped, by altering certain of the statutory provisions which govern its executive formation. We must also add to its power of dealing with its own work, because we relieve it of the necessity of controlling a large number of provincial functions. In so far as the Provincial Government has got to defer to its Legislature by Statute, that is to say in transferred subjects, you have a Government which is responsible to the electorate. Therefore there is no necessity to control it by the Government of India, and you get the devolution which the men who want to perfect administration desire. Therefore the Government of India will not be concerned, generally speaking, with transferred subjects, and the Secretary of State will not be concerned with transferred subjects. Therefore, this House will not be concerned with transferred subjects. Therefore, so far as transferred subjects are concerned, we shall have parted with our trusteeship and surrendered it to the representatives of the people of India. There is much more to be done with the Government of India. We have to release it from unnecessary administrative control by the India Office, and for that purpose, incidentally to this Bill, I am awaiting the details of Lord Crew's Committee's Report, but so far as that is concerned, most of its recommendations, except as regards the composition of the Council, will be administrative and not statutory. At the same time, as was mentioned in the Joint Report, there is very much reason to believe that the secretariat system wants reconsideration and overhauling. I think it is understaffed, and I do not think it is modelled for

the transaction of the complicated business which falls to the office at the present moment. The House will be glad to learn that Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, one of the most experienced British Civil Servants, has been good enough to accept my invitation, given to him on behalf of the Government of India, to visit India to consider the secretariat arrangements in the Government of India, and Sir George Lloyd has also invited him to consider those of Bombay.

Colonel Wedgwood: Does that include the staffs of Ministers who deal with transferred subjects, or will they arrange their own staffs?

Mr. Montagu: Ultimately, of course, the Ministers will arrange their own staffs, but I want them at the moment to take over their Departments as going concerns. The question of the secretariat, however, is for the Government of India primarily, and nothing else.

Alternative Schemes.

Before I sit down, there are some very important matters with which I must deal. The first is that of the alternative schemes which have been presented and which have been rejected in this Bill. There is the Congress and Muslim League scheme. I will not detain the House with the details of that. It was prepared before the pronouncement of the 20th August, 1917. It does not attempt to realise responsible government, but it leaves an irremovable executive at the mercy of a legislature which can paralyse it but not direct it. I do not believe that this House will ever agree to set up a constitution in India which will leave an executive, that is not removable, at the mercy of a legislature which cannot control it. Much more formidable is another alternative proposal, which comes from the heads of the majority of the local governments. Although I cordially agree with the Government of India in rejecting this proposal, I hope the House will believe that I do not under-estimate its importance. It is the work of no arm-chair critics. It is the work of the most experienced administrators in India. It is the work of men who are entitled above all others to have their opinions carefully weighed, and, although I believe them to be wrong, and desire to show why I believe them to be wrong, and that we shall have to argue this in Committee, yet it is with no sense of disrespect to them that I challenge their conclusions. It is a powerful array. The Government of Madras had no part or share in the elaboration of this alternative proposal. Yet the Governor of Bengal, Lord Ronaldshay, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Edward Gait, preferred the scheme of the Bill and the Joint Report. That is the position. But although I do not want to discredit them, I want to suggest that really their views are accidental in this sense, that it must not be assumed that whatever the composition of those Governments and whoever had been their heads, the same results would have ensued. For instance, the Chief Commissioner of Assam prefers the scheme of the majority of local governments. But the late Chief Commissioner of Assam, who left only a few months previously—he came home about a year ago—would have preferred, I know, the scheme of the Joint Report and the Bill. The present Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces prefers the alternative scheme of the local governments, but his predecessor would have preferred the

scheme of the Joint Report. A great deal depends upon personality.

But although these gentlemen are entitled to give a very weighty opinion, they are not unprejudiced. Where men have grown up under a system they do not like to see it altered. Their proposal is the existing system with another man added to the Executive Council. Nothing much worse than the Morley-Minto scheme—an alleged unity of Government, because one-half of the Government is in their own words "necessarily influenced by the opinions of the Legislative Council," and the other half not. And there is no certainty of control by the legislature because on all subjects, if the Governor certifies it is in the interests of his province, he can override it. It is the same system with just another Indian member added to the Executive Council.

The Place of the Civil Servant.

Let me put it to this House. After all, the Civil Servant in India is not very different from the Civil Servant in this country. Whoever heard of a political reform in any office in this country coming out of the Civil Service. This House is the place for political reform. You will never get it carried out by the Civil Service. As time goes on, that service must carry out the wishes of those who dictate the policy. It must be first in this House, and ultimately in India, that that policy with the Civil Service is to carry out must be dictated to it.

Colonel Yate: Why did you send Sir Llewellyn Smith to make reforms in India? Is he not a Civil Servant?

Mr. Montagu: I am very much obliged to my Hon. and Gallant Friend. His intervention in Debate is always valuable. He has given me the opportunity of pointing my argument. I am using a Civil Servant to advise me on administrative changes as to how the Secretariat can carry out most efficiently the orders and wishes of its political superiors. That is exactly the function of a Civil Servant. And this is what ultimately, when India is a self-governing country, I hope to see the position of the Civil Service. It is quite true that in what I have said about the local governments' alternative plan I have included Lord Willingdon, because, although he is not a Civil Servant, and although he has a plan of his own, he would, I am certain, have preferred the plan of the majority of local governments to the plan of the Bill. But then Lord Willingdon prefers to rely upon those qualities which he possesses, which made him an astonishing success in the Government of Bombay. He brings all the qualities that ensure for him great popularity and all the qualities which made him in this House a successful Whip. He says, in effect, under a Governor such as Lord Willingdon a more elastic arrangement would be far preferable to the arrangement of dyarchy, of the Bill.

Under the scheme as we propose it to this House, if in any province a governor can so influence his advisers and there are governors and governors, and lieutenant-governors and lieutenant-governors—if the circumstances of a particular province make it possible, there is nothing in the Bill which would prevent a governor trying to discharge all the reserved functions as if they were transferred. He can call his Government together and say, "I do not believe much in this dual form of Government. Let us see if we

cannot get on together. Unless I am driven to it I will use none of the powers given to me under this Bill. We will always consult together. I will do my best to work the scheme in deference to the wishes of the Legislature on all subjects, and I will only use my exceptional powers on reserved subjects if I am compelled to." Perhaps if he is lucky he will get through his term of office without being called upon to use them. Therefore, under my scheme, Lord Willingdon would get all he proposes in his letter. But suppose there is another Governor, who says, "I am not going to consult you. I like the good old way. I believe that good Government, or what I think is good Government, is far better than Self-Government, than the scheme under the Bill. I know what is better for you than you know yourselves." Under the schemes of the Bill, whatever the personality of the Governor, the transferred subjects are guaranteed to the representatives of the people. Under the alternative scheme, under the wide use of certification of the local Government majority, nothing is guaranteed to them at all. The time, I submit, is not one in which you can be content that certain members of your alleged united Government should be "necessarily influenced by the opinions of the Legislative Council." What you want, if you are to launch India upon this road, is that the Government on certain subjects must respond to the wishes of the people. In other words, unless you have that, and more than the local Government suggest, then there is no progressive realisation of responsible Government.

Lastly, I come to the scheme of the Indo-British Association. This is a body which gets very angry when I suggest that it does not intend to carry out the pronouncement of the 20th August in any adequate way, and it has done great harm in India by leading people to suppose that it has more influence on the decisions of Parliament than I hope it is ever likely to have. What are its proposals? "Financial delegation as between the Secretary of State and the Government of India." As a matter of administration, they are in agreement with the Bill and with the Joint Report. But that does not lead to any progressive realisation of responsible Government. "The reorganisation of the India Office intended not only to remedy obsolete procedure, but to obtain more recent knowledge of India." They are in agreement with the Joint Report on a matter of administration. They are suggesting the work on which Lord Crewe's Committee is now engaged. But that does not lead to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government. "Decentralisation in India as between the Government of India and the Provinces in domestic matters and the transformation into a federal system." Once again they are in agreement with the Bill and with the Joint Report. But that in itself does not lead them any nearer to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government. Then there are two points about municipal and local Government and elementary education. These are not constitutional points at all. And then there comes their one controversial and constructive programme. "In every Province place one or two districts in charge of a wholly Indian official staff and extend that, if it proves satisfactory, into a division and finally into a whole Province." That scheme is a scheme of bureaucrats for the consumption of bureaucrats intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy. "Let me, if I am in charge of

a Province, be not controlled in any sense by my Legislative Councils." I have got somewhere—I will refer to it if I am challenged—this qualifying statement "that the powers of the Provincial Government are to remain unimpaired." They are not to be interfered with by the Legislative Council or by the Government of India or by the India Office. In other words, the Lord Sydenhams of the future can remain upon their throne, untrammelled by control from above and undismayed by criticism from below. How is that to lead to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government?

Brigadier-General Croft: Was he a successful Governor?

Mr. Montagu: I do not want to express an opinion on that. His record is available. I am not concerned with the authorship. It does not matter who is the author. I am only concerned to test the programme and see whether it fulfils the policy of the progressive realisation of responsible Government. And when I find that the association puts forward a policy which pretends to carry out the pronouncement but which more or less involves bureaucracy, I am entitled to criticise with all the strength in my power. What is the use of ousting a British Civil Servant and replacing him by an Indian Civil Servant? The district officer is the very backbone of the administrative machine. I venture to predict that the Indians themselves would be last to wish to see the complete disappearance of the district officer, but we do no good by establishing an Indian bureaucrat instead of an English bureaucrat. Of the two bureaucrats, having regard to his training, I infinitely prefer at the present moment the English bureaucrat. If that is the best alternative scheme addressed to this House and if we really desire to carry out the pledges made to India then it is far better to carry the Bill as it stands than to pay any attention to this scheme. We shall never get on with all the work that we have got to do in India unless we have settled, as this Bill will settle, the constitutional question and its interminable discussion. I say it "will settle." What I mean is that I hope we shall receive from the Joint Committee an agreed Bill, that all these alternative schemes will be considered in far more detail than is possible this afternoon, and that somehow or other a Statute will pass, as a consequence of the Second Reading this afternoon, which will launch India on the road to complete Self-Government. There is so much other work to do in India that if we can once get a growing constitution for it to win for itself that goal which we have pronounced, we can turn our attention to the spread of education—to the perfection or at least to the improvement of education—we can turn our attention to the development of her great resources and her great industries, we can consider the reorganisation of her defences. But before we can do anything and in order to make these things possible it seems to me to be essential to start her on this road of Self-Government.

I implore this House to show to India to-day that Parliament is receptive of the case for self-government and only seeks an opportunity of completing it by the demonstrable realisation of the success of its stages. There is too much race prejudice in India at the present time. It is beyond this House to correct it. It does not exist only in India; it exists in South Africa too. But Parliament can help to

correct it in the Constitution. If we hold on to power in India and stand fast to the policy of subordination race friction will continue and ought to continue. If we surrender our trusteeship to the great provinces of India as speedily as they are ready to take it over, then Indians will have something better and more worth doing than fiercely and impotently to criticise those who are at present the agents of Parliament.

Perorations on Indian affairs have a tendency to great similarity; at least the perorations of my speeches on Indian affairs always seem so. I cannot, however—and I say it once again—believe that Parliament is going to afford any obstacle to the partnership of India in the British Empire. We have recently been so sympathetic to the national aspirations of Armenians, of Czechoslovaks, or Serbs, of Croats, and of Slovenes. Here is a country desirous of achieving nationality once again. I repeat, an original member of the League of Nations, developed under our protecting care, imbued to a greater and greater degree with our political thought. Let us pass this Bill and start it, under the aegis of the British flag, on the road which we ourselves have travelled, despite all the acknowledged difficulties of area, of caste, of religion, of race and of education. If you do that, if you pass this Bill and modify it until it becomes a great Statute, I can say—we can say—as I should like to say with the authority of the House to the peoples of India, “The future and the date upon which you realise the future goal of self-government are with you. You are being given great responsibility to-day, and opportunities of consultation and influence on other matters in which for the present we keep responsibility. You will find in Parliament every desire to help and to complete the task which this Bill attempts, if you devote yourselves to use with wisdom, with self-restraint, with respect for minorities, the great opportunities with which Parliament is entrusting you.” That is the message which it seems to me—I say with all deference—this House should send to the Indian peoples to-day, when you are starting to fulfil the pronouncement of the 20th of August. That message cannot be sent unless the House is determined to pass without delay, and with every desire that it should be improved before it is passed, a Statute which means the beginning of self-government, responsible Government, in the Indian Empire.

In replying to the Debate Mr Montagu spoke as follows:—

By leave of the House, I may say a word in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Wedgwood). Assuming that this House, as nearly every speaker has admitted, has accepted the announcement of 20th August, 1917—never mind if it was obtained in a way to which my hon. and gallant Friend objects—then every single point that has been raised in the Debate, to the whole of which I have listened, is a Committee point. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Melton (Colonel Yate) condemned in strong terms the plan which I prefer, which I think essential, just as he prefers that of the local Governments. That is a question which can only be settled by discussion before the Joint Committee, and I give the assurance that this Committee will not only be perfectly free,

but I will do my best to supply all evidence that they can possibly want. There are deputations of Indians and Europeans in this country who have arrived specially for this purpose. Sir James Macdonald, the financial Member of the Government of India, is on his way home to express the views of the Government of India. We shall also have in this country very shortly Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others who represent the views of some of the local Governments who differ from us. We cannot really get on with these matters until this kind of evidence is before the Joint Committee. I never meant to question the great Indian experience of many members of the Indo-British Association. They include among their number a man who stands out as the most eminent Indian Civil Servant of his time, Sir John Hewett. What I did say was that by their interpretation of the pronouncement of 20th August, 1917, in my opinion they had done great harm by putting before the world a policy which did not accord with that announcement. I do venture to say that I have as much right to rely for advice upon those devoted Civil Servants still in the service who have helped the Governors up to this time as I have to rely on those whose chief claim is that they have ceased to be Civil Servants. Lord Morley is reported to have said

“It cannot be easy for any man to waken up to new times after a generation of good, honest labour in old times.”

This is really what seems to me to be the matter with those to whom I have referred. It is not their experience exactly, it is that they have a natural prejudice for the institution under which they have won their spurs and the gratitude of the whole Empire. As to what my hon. Friend (Mr. N. Maclean) said, he also raises Committee points. There is the question of transferred and reserved subjects. That is a Committee point.

I must add a few final words in replying to other criticisms. I can assure hon. Members—I am surprised that the hon. and gallant Member for Melton fathered the ridiculous story—that there has not been any attempt to prevent the presentation to this House at the earliest possible moment of papers and documents. The dates on which these papers appeared were of vital interest because I wanted to get this Bill forward and, I was pledged not to proceed until I had got the papers. As soon as I could get the papers printed I placed them before the House.

Again, I beseech the House to let us have the Second Reading. I should not, however, be doing my duty if I sat down without a word in reply to the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland, (Mr. Spoor), who is a new comer in Debates on Indian affairs. In the discharge of my duty as the representative of the Government of India and of those public spirited Englishmen who are working to-day in India, I must enter the strongest possible protest against his description of the past and the present in India. We are not exchanging a regime of tyranny at all. We have given to India the best government for one hundred years past and more, which devoted Englishmen in the most selfless task in the history of the world could give to that country. We are engaged now merely on the higher task of substituting for good government self-government. That does not mean any stigma on government methods in the past in India.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR ON THE REFORMS

The following is the minute of dissent by Sir C. Sankaran Nair, to the Government of India's Despatch of March 5, 1919 :—

The policy of His Majesty's Government has been announced to be 'the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. Some critics are apparently of opinion that this means the complete, though gradual, transfer of control from Parliament to legislatures in India. The words that India should be 'an integral part of the British Empire' appear to me to forbid such an interpretation. As long as India remains an integral part of the British Empire, the paramountcy of Parliament must be recognized and maintained. Limitations may possibly be placed upon the exercise of the powers of Parliament by practice and well-understood conventions. In fact 'the control of Parliament' may have one meaning in certain colonies and another meaning elsewhere. But the legal right of Parliament at any time to interfere with the Government of India must, for various reasons which it is unnecessary here to enumerate, be beyond doubt. What in my opinion 'responsibility' implies is the subordination of the executive to the legislative council composed of the representatives of the people. For this purpose, it makes no difference whether they are governments nominated by the legislative council or not. The essential point is that they must carry out the will of the legislature in every respect.

The proposals made by my colleagues tend to the diminution of Parliamentary control not for the purpose of transference of such power to the legislative councils of the country, but to the executive governments in India. What the Indians desire is not that Parliament should surrender in favour of the executive governments its power of control, but that it should delegate it to popular assemblies in India when it should think it proper to do so. During the period of transition, Parliament or any authority in England which faithfully represents Parliament might interfere with the exercise of any delegated authority by the legislative assemblies in India at the instance of the executive authorities or otherwise. I do not think that well-informed moderate, Indian opinion will raise any objection to a real intelligent control by Parliament in

Indian affairs. So far as I know, they rather invite it. This difference of opinion will be found to explain a great deal of the differences between many of the proposals put forward respectively by the Government of India and by the Congress Party. The India Office, with the Secretary of State as at present constituted, does not faithfully represent Parliament.

Responsible Self-government not Foreign to Genius of People.

2. Another criticism in opposition to this announcement and the steps proposed to be taken under it is, that it is hopeless to introduce into India a Government responsible to the people of the country, as any system of government other than that of absolute monarchy was unknown in India and is entirely foreign and repugnant to the genius of the people. Those who advance this objection apparently ignore the influence of education, environment, association, political evolution, time spirit, etc. Besides as a matter of fact non-monarchical forms of government are not foreign to the genius of the people. I shall confine myself to the testimony of European writers. According to Professor Rhys Davids 'the earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence'. He also says: 'The administrative and judicial business of the clan was carried out in public assembly at which young and old were alike present in their common Mote Hall at Kapilavastu. A single chief—how and for what period chosen we do not know—was elected an office-bearer, presiding over the sessions, and if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of Raja, which must have meant something like the Roman Consul or the Greek Archon'. The Greek writers refer to tribes who dwelt 'in cities in which the democratic form of government prevailed'. (Ancient India, Alexander's Invasion, McCrindle, page 292). There is also a reference to another tribe 'where the form of government was democratic and not regal'. Various other tribes who opposed Alexander are referred to as living under a democratic form of government (see Arrian Anabasis. McCrindle, page 154). Diodoros speaks of Patala as a city 'with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the

command in war is vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a Council of Elders rules the whole State with paramount authority.* The latest authority that I know of on the subject is Mr. Havell.† He says: 'The common belief of Europe that Indian monarchy was always an irresponsible and arbitrary despotism is, so far as concerns the pre-Muhammadian period, only one of the many false conceptions of Indian history held by Europeans.' 'It will be a surprise to many readers to discover that the mother of the Western Parliaments had an Aryan relative in India, showing a strong family likeness, before the sixth century B. C. and that her descendants were a great power in the state at the time of the Norman conquest.' (a) 'The liberty of the Englishman was wrung from unwilling rulers by bitter struggles and by civil war. India's Aryan constitution was a free gift of the intellectuals to the people; it was designed not in the interests of one class, but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and consideration for the commonweal permitted'. Megasthenes refers to the assemblies in Southern India also controlling and even deposing kings. How long these forms of government subsisted, it is now not easy to say. It certainly prevailed on the West Coast of India among the Nairs at the time of the Portuguese invasion. The Portuguese writer speaks of the 'Parliament' which controlled the Kings (cited in Logan's District Manual of Malabar). The Jirgaḥs on the North-West of India which, in the British territories now consist of the nominees of the deputy commissioner or commissioner, are the representatives of the old tribal assemblies which settled questions of war and peace and other important questions of government. Across the frontier the Jirgaḥs still exercise in some places those rights. The political conditions in India were not favourable for the survival of democratic institutions. That the spirit of popular government had not died when

* I omit all references to the Vedas, Mahabharata and the other Indian, including Buddhistic, authorities which are all referred to, along with what I have cited above, in two forthcoming works by K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. Bhandarkar respectively which will be shortly issued by the Calcutta University; and some of them also by Pramathanath Banerjee in his 'Public Administration in Ancient India'.

† E. B. Havell, 'The history of Aryan Rule in India' Harrap and Company (1918).

the British Government took possession of the country is however clear.

3. It can scarcely be denied that in the ordinary villages a democratic form of government prevailed when the British took possession of the country. 'Neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self-government more scientifically planned, nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses, than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion.* The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons accurately describes how the village republics had survived invasions, convulsions and monarchy after monarchy. (On this question Sleeman's Travels and Max Muller's 'What India can teach us' may be referred to. These village assemblies administered justice—both civil and criminal. The supreme government dealt with them and not with the inhabitants of the villages. They apportioned the revenue or tax among the inhabitants. They owned the public lands, and not the government. They consisted of elected members. We have got the election rules, containing the qualifications, disqualifications etc., in detail of the electors of long long ago preserved in inscriptions.† But they were incompatible with the revenue system of the British Government and with their administration of civil and criminal justice. The old village officials were converted by our government into government servants and became, according to popular view, government tyrants. The village entity was not recognized and in some provinces was destroyed by legislation. The common lands became government lands. The so-called village organizations which are the creation of British legislation or administration bear no resemblance to the ancient assemblies. It is impossible for any one who has even cursorily studied the history of village assemblies to maintain that the spirit of popular government has died out among the people.

4. Every Indian lawyer knows the caste assemblies which settle caste disputes, often involving ownership to properties of great value. The argument from administration of justice also seems to be a conclusive answer to those who maintain absolutism as an essential feature of Indian polity. We now administer the Hindu

* (a) Intro XIII.

† See "Ancient India" by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, with an introduction by Vincent A. Smith, page 169

laws of inheritance and certain other laws which are inseparably bound with the law of inheritance. Yet they are not laws which, so far as we know, had the sanction of any sovereign. They were framed by great law-givers, not kings, and those laws were applied by caste or village assemblies to cases of individuals that came up before them. It is not right to say that any system other than that of absolute monarchy is repugnant to Hindu genius.

5. Besides, apart from the ideas and traditions which Indians have inherited with their respective civilizations, they have also imbibed the ideas of representative institutions under British Rule. For the last thirty-five years they have been more or less familiarized with elected or representative municipal boards and district and taluq boards, congresses and conferences. They have been praying for the introduction of representative legislative councils. And there is no form of Government which appeals more to the thoughtful among Indians to-day than a Government where the representatives of the people would sit to decide questions which affect the people.

It is important to note the growth of Indian public opinion on this question in order to judge what measures of reform are needed in the present condition of India and what are likely to satisfy that opinion.

My colleagues have not attached due weight to these considerations and have accordingly proposed various modifications which would make the Reforms Report scheme inconsistent with the announcement of the 20th August and utterly inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. To show this, I shall first state the proposals in the Reforms Report, and before dealing with the modifications proposed by my colleagues, draw attention to the conditions of the problem as they have developed during the last thirty years, which, in my opinion, have not received due consideration.

The Scheme.

The Government in the Provinces

6. The proposals in the Report may be divided into three broad divisions (i) Certain departments of government, say local self-government, etc., are to be placed under the control of Indian 'Ministers' who will be responsible to legislative councils in the provinces composed of a large majority of members elected by the people and therefore entitled to be called themselves their

representatives. Those departments are to be administered by the Minister under the general supervision of the Governor of the Province.

(ii) Other departments, which will consist of what are called 'Reserved' subjects, are to be administered by an Executive Council composed of one official, preferably an English Civilian, and one Indian appointed on the recommendation of the Governor. The Minister and the Legislative Council are to exercise considerable influence in the administration of the 'Reserved' subjects as the entire body, consisting of the Executive Council and the Ministers are to form one united government deliberating jointly in all important matters, though the decisions are to be taken only by the executive authorities in each department; there is to be only one common budget for both, in the settlement of which in cases of differences of opinion between the Minister and the Executive Council, the Governor is to have the deciding voice. The budget so settled may be modified by the Legislative Council in any way they like, subject to the power of the Governor to restore any provision in the budget which he might think it necessary to do in the interests of the 'Reserved' subjects. And finally no taxation in any instance is to be imposed without the consent of the Minister. It will thus be seen that these provisions give the Minister and the Legislative Council considerable influence in the administration of the reserved subjects; and the Executive Council is thus, though indirectly, made amenable to the influence of the Legislative Council in various important respects. In view of what I consider the retrograde proposals which are now being put forward by the Government of India, these proposals about reserved subjects are very important. Periodical enquiries are to be made by Parliamentary Commission for the purpose of removing subjects from the 'Reserved' list into the 'Transferred' list. The success of the Minister and of the Legislative Council in dealing with transferred subjects might not in itself constitute an adequate ground for the transfer of any of the reserved subjects which would ordinarily be of a very different kind. It is only the nature of the advice offered by the Minister and the Council and the influence brought by them to bear upon matters relating to the reserved subjects that would furnish the Commission with satisfactory reasons for their fitness for administering subjects so far withheld from them. These provisions, therefore, as to unity of Government—the influence of the

Minister and the legislature over the reserved subjects—form an essential part of the scheme of the Reforms Report. From the Indian point of view, their importance is still greater. The reserved subjects will naturally consist of various and important subjects in which great administrative and other improvements, according to public opinion, are necessary. These provisions will enable the Legislative Councils and the Minister to insist upon the various necessary and beneficial reforms, with the result that if those reforms are not carried out, the Commission of Enquiry will be able to hold the executive council responsible for the short-comings of the administration and will feel justified, accordingly, in transferring the government of those subjects to the Minister and the Legislative Council.

(iii) There is a third class of subjects which are under the control of the Government of India, who are to be responsible only to Parliament. They have no responsibility in any sense to the Legislative Council; but the Indian element is to be materially increased both in the Executive and the Legislative Councils so that they might materially influence the decisions of the Indian Government.

It is also a feature of the Report that the Government of India are to retain within their control as few subjects as possible *i.e.*, those which are necessary for peace, order and good government of the country. Therefore as large a devolution to the provincial governments as is compatible with this obligation of the Government of India is to be carried out. It will be seen that this follows necessarily from one of the main conditions of the problem *i.e.*, that under the existing system reforms are difficult, if not impossible.

Principles of the Scheme Accepted.

7. I accept these principles and also generally the scheme in so far as it refers to the provinces. I shall have to suggest a few modifications but they will be strictly consistent with these principles and, in fact, are only intended to carry them out a little further in their application to the provincial Governments, but as will be shown presently, my colleagues have considerably modified the scheme. According to the scheme as modified by them, there is really no responsibility left so far as the transferred departments are concerned, and so far as reserved departments are concerned the influence of the Minister and the Legislative Councils has been eliminated. The justification for their proposals is the assumption made by them, that those to whom powers would be transferred according to the scheme are an

oligarchy who may use them to the detriment of the masses, that the demand for reform emanates only from a small and comparatively insignificant class, that political progress will be accompanied with loss of efficiency and that the administration which has hitherto been conducted according to British standards and ideals will gradually acquire what is called an Indian character. In the reforms report also there are indications that these views may have influenced its authors in restricting the scope of reforms. With reference to this the following facts have to be borne in mind.

History of the Reform Movements.

8. The Indian National Congress was started in the year 1885 to divest the Government of India if possible of its autocratic character and to make it conform to English standards and ideals. For this purpose it was hoped that the representation of grievances to the Indian and the British Government by themselves and by elected members in the Legislative Councils would secure their redress. The first Congress demanded an enquiry into the working of the Indian administration on account of the deterioration of the condition of the people. The second Congress, which met at Calcutta in 1886 and which was really the first Congress composed of delegates from the various parts of India, after passing a resolution of congratulations to Her Majesty, passed the following resolution:—

‘That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy and views with grave apprehension the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.’

It will be observed that representative institutions were demanded in order to deal effectively with the increasing poverty of India. It is also remarkable that many amendments were proposed putting forth palliatives for the poverty of the masses like the permanent settlement, wider employment of Indians, encouragement of indigenous trade, etc., but they were all rejected, and the above-mentioned resolution was carried.

The official report of the third Congress recorded that ‘the Indian community despair of obtaining any material alleviation of the misery they see around them, until they can secure a potential voice in the administration.’ And it was added:—‘It is this conviction, more than

anything else, that is giving such an intense earnestness to their efforts in the direction of representation.' Accordingly, when General Booth of the Salvation Army, commending 'to the attention of Congress the claims of the millions of India's starving poor', suggested certain schemes, the seventh Indian National Congress passed a formal resolution that the relief of the millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition constitutes the primary *raison d'être* of the Congress, cannot be secured by any palliatives; and said, 'it is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, associations, public or private, are working with a yearly increasing earnestness.'

9. Among the reforms which the Congress from that time up to the present have been pressing are compulsory primary education in the interests of the masses, technical education for industrial development, local self-government, mainly in the interests of sanitation, etc., separation of judicial and executive functions for better administration of justice, reform of the land revenue system, abandonment of the theory that land forms the private property of the Crown to be dealt with by the executive at its pleasure and the recognition of national ownership of land by bringing what are called the revenue settlements under the control of representative Legislative Council, a far larger admission of Indians into the public services without racial distinction. These are some of the most important of the reforms which have been put forward.

These and other reforms were pressed upon the attention of Government by Indians whose capacity was undoubted, who subsequently rose high in the Government services and with ability which left nothing to be desired. There was agitation not only on the Congress platform but elsewhere also. Subsequently in the Legislative Councils the elected members continued the process but all this was scarcely of any avail. The result, on the other hand, was a stiffening of the Civil Service opposition to Indian progress mainly on the ground that English ideals are not suited to India. Gokhale said that unanimity in expressions of good-will, various proposals of reform by individuals, general opposition to every particular proposal, indifference, if not refusal, to carry out

the clear intentions and orders of the British Nation have characterised the attitude of the Civil Service. The Indian politician who has taken any part in Indian public life or who has any experience of the real Government of the country, came to the conclusion that under the Indian Civil Service who form and carry on the real government, no real progress, which in the present circumstances of the country is indispensable, can be expected. The result on the part of the constitutionalists is a demand for reforms of the character now put forward. The grievances due to the alleged mis-government and the apparent hopelessness of their redress under the existing conditions are responsible for sedition and revolutionary movement; latterly the natural desire for self-government and the forces that have been let loose since the war have reinforced the claim for reform. This general demand had not its origin, as stated in the Reforms Report, solely or mainly in the desire, however natural, of the English educated Indians for an increasing share in the administration or for self-government, though no doubt there were a few advanced thinkers who might have put forward Home Rule even thirty years ago. Reform was at first regarded simply as a means to improved administration according to English ideals and is even now so held by a considerable section. Matters have now, however, assumed a different aspect and the association of Indians in every branch of Government and self-government are regarded as an end in itself and the only panacea for the evils complained of.

The opponents of this movement maintained that the Congress was started by the Bengalees and the Brahmins of South India, and that India as a whole was not with them. The Mahrathas were invited to declare that they had nothing to do with these Bengali and South Indian agitators. We know now the answer. The Mahomedans were warned that the Government might tolerate the agitation carried on by certain classes, but they, the Mahomedans, will not meet with the same tolerant reception. No efforts were spared to inform them that the Congress was hostile to them. The exigencies of controversy alone can now represent the attitude of the Mahomedans as hostile to reforms. Indeed their advanced section asks for reforms more far-reaching than any that the Hindus claim. Anti-Congress politicians were certain that the races like the Sikhs and other Punjabis at least are bound to be opposed to Home Rule. It is doubtful now whether there are stronger adherents to Home Rule than those

in the Punjab. At the last Congress in Delhi it was the determined attitude of the Punjabis that forced the Congress to demand reforms far in excess of those in the Reforms Report. The Non-Brahmans and the depressed classes have awakened to a sense of their political helplessness and to their wretched condition, and no longer content to rely upon the Government which has left them in this condition for the past hundred years, clam a powerful voice, in the determination of their future. It is enough to say that they want half the members of all the Executive Councils, including the Viceroy's, to be Indians, and an elected majority in all the Legislative Councils, without the checks provided by the Grand Committees and State Councils, their interests being adequately protected by what is called communal representation. The demands for a large measure of reform varying from Home Rule to the demands of the depressed classes as stated above have now become general.

After the Mutiny, Sir Snyyed Ahmed pointed out that it was absolute ignorance on the part of the Englishmen of the real condition of the country that was responsible for the Mutiny, and he advocated the appointment of Indian members to the Legislative Councils to give the English rulers information of the needs of the country. The men nominated by the Government proved utterly useless for the purpose. Nomination was found to be an absolute failure. The Congress then claimed a representative element in the Legislative Councils in the hope that if the authorities were kept well-informed by the authorised representatives of the nation, the condition of the masses of the country would be vastly improved. Lord Lansdowne introduced an elected element into the Councils, but there was no real improvement. All their efforts for more than fifteen years proved abortive. They were told that they did not know the conditions of the country themselves; that the officials knew better; and against their strong protests measures were enacted and a line of conduct pursued which led to the growth of sedition in the country. Lord Morley then enlarged the Legislative Councils to provide real representation of the various classes of the people so that the same reproach might no more be levelled that the Councils did not represent the real voice of the nation. He provided for resolutions to be moved in the Council so that the Indians might be able to formulate their views for the consideration of the officials, and the officials might be enabled to give their reasons in reply. He also provided, what is equally important, for

the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils so that they might press acceptance of the popular views upon their colleagues. The experiment has been tried also for a sufficiently long time, only to prove its futility; and not only the Congress and popular leaders of the country but all thinking men in India have come to the conclusion that the existing machinery is insufficient for the peaceful and good governance of the country.

The Reforms Report, therefore, is not only quite right in dwelling upon the political consciousness of the people quickened by the recent events in Europe which demand great political reforms, but it has minimised very much the intensity and volume of that political consciousness. The Report is also quite right in pointing out the growing discontent and the widening gulf between the officials and the non-officials due to the inutility of the Legislative Councils. I think, however, that it has not brought out sufficiently that this is due to the official attitude. I have not thought it necessary to dwell upon the other reasons which have been assigned for reform, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to initiate or to carry out any progressive policy under the present constitution of the governments in India which has been explained in detail in the Report, as this is generally admitted to be the case.

I have referred to the reasons for reform which have been advanced in the Report and they made out a case for a great change, but in the opinion of the political leaders reform is imperative for another reason. It is required in the interests of peace, order and good government, *i.e.*, efficient government according to English ideals. The present system has proved inefficient. The plague disturbances in the Bombay Presidency would not have been allowed to take place under any democratic or popular government. The Tinnevely riots and the murder of Mr. Ashe in the Madras Presidency were due to the latter's interference with Chidambaram Pillai's effort to improve the lot of the mill-hands and with the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. This again would not have been possible under the ordinary conditions of good government. The occurrences in East Bengal which were the immediate cause of seditious and revolutionary movements also would have been practically impossible under a popular government. The Punjab unrest in 1907 had its origin in a legislative measure which was vetoed by the Imperial Government on account of the opposition of the sepoys and the military

classes. The bills now before the Legislative Council to deprive a person of the protection of the ordinary courts of law and of the safeguards which, in civilized countries, have been found necessary to protect the innocent, and to place personal liberty, freedom of the press and speech under the control of the executive, is proof of the necessity of radical reform of a system responsible for a situation which has in the opinion of Government rendered such legislation necessary.

The troubles consequent upon the division of society by races, castes and creeds, far from being any impediment in the way of reform calls imperatively for great political reforms, and there is very good reason to believe that if the leaders of the various communities are left to compose the differences themselves such conflicts will be far rarer, if they will not entirely disappear.

Great constitutional reforms are also essential in the interests of the masses of this country. The educated classes have failed in their endeavours to bring about any substantial amelioration in their condition. Not only have the Government not taken the necessary steps, but they have not supported the efforts of the educated class.

Further, the various reforms that are long overdue also call for a change in the constitution that would render their realization probable. Promises made as regards the admission of Indians into the public services without racial distinctions have not been kept. Reforms in the land revenue administration which are indispensable were promised by the Government and the promise has been withdrawn. The separation of judicial and executive functions was promised by the Government of India. It has not yet been effected. The orders of Lord Ripon and of Lord Morley about local self-government have been practically disregarded. The wishes of the King Emperor as regards education have not been carried out. Steps necessary for the revival of industries have not been taken. In all these, we have now passed beyond the stage of promise and without actual performance no weight would be given to our declarations.

It is under these conditions that the Congress and the Muslim League and the non-official representatives of the Legislative Council formulated their demands for representative Legislative Councils, for responsible government by the subordination of the executive to such Councils and for a far larger infusion of the Indian element into the Executive Councils so that the latter might not be in a position to entirely disregard the popular demand, and it was in reply to this

demand that the British Government have promised self-government by instalments, substantial steps being taken at once to carry out that promise.

Thus, it is not true that the reforms advocated will result in the transference of powers to persons who are not interested in the welfare of the masses; and it is also quite feasible to transfer power to the masses themselves. The demand for reform is universal and such reforms will not result in the application of the British standards and ideals to the Governments in India. With reference to the official view, that they best understand and protect the interests of the masses and that the transfer of power to the educated classes may result to the detriment of the masses, I would draw attention to the recent events in Champaran and Kaira, see appendix (A). They are also instructive for other reasons.

Bearing all this in mind, I proceed to consider the modifications suggested.

Transferred Departments: Control of Services

First, to deal with the 'transferred' subjects, i. e., the subjects which are presumed to be under the control of the Ministers and the Legislative Councils. According to the Reforms Report, though a Governor does not occupy from the outset the position of a purely constitutional Governor, he is to refuse his assent only when the consequence of acquiescence would clearly be serious. I am not sure whether this is accepted by my colleagues (para. 101). If it is not and if they contemplate any further interference on the part of the Governor, I am unable to agree with them. The new proposals which they have made seem to contemplate such interference. I have no doubt it will be admitted that the Ministers and the Councils will not be able to carry on the administration with any fair degree of success unless they have a loyal service or services which in their opinion are competent to carry out the duties which are entrusted to them. Of course at the commencement as rightly pointed out in the Report, to require Ministers to inaugurate their services for their own departments would doom the experiment to failure; and the Reform Report therefore places the machinery of the public service, as it exists to-day, at the disposal of Ministers, adding also that adequate protection must be given to those services. The Government of India now give adequate protection to those services by various provisions to which it is unnecessary here to draw attention. But instead of only placing the public service at the disposal of the Ministers when the new scheme

is inaugurated, they would go further and would compel the Minister to accept such officials to carry out their policy. The consequence would be that though the Minister may be saddled with an officer, who is so opposed to the opinions of the Minister and of the Legislative Council that he will not loyally carry out the policy determined upon by them, the Minister is to be compelled to retain him although both the Governor and the Minister may want to get rid of him and appoint another person who, they think, would properly carry it out. Thus, for instance, if the Governor and the Minister want to appoint a sanitary expert from England for carrying out certain sanitary arrangements, they are not to have that liberty, but they will be compelled to appoint a man in the ordinary services. Similarly, if the Governor and the Minister wish to appoint an agricultural expert as the head of certain settlement of agricultural operations in preference to the Civil Service officer who will be ordinarily appointed to it under the rules of the service, they are not to have that right, but they will be compelled to accept a person who would in the ordinary course occupy that position.

We have provided that the appointments of these officers can only be made by or with the sanction of the Secretary of State and subject to any rules that may be made by him. I would, therefore, propose that it should be open to a minister to appoint, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, or request the Secretary of State to appoint any person outside the service for any post under him. The intervention of the Secretary of State should be a sufficient safeguard in such cases.

14. This question becomes of very great importance when we regard their relations with the Governor. According to my colleagues, the permanent heads of departments and the secretaries under a minister should have access to the Governor to bring to his notice any case which they consider that the Governor should see. In fact, the secretary or the permanent head of a department would be entitled to appeal to the Governor against any decision of the Minister overruling him. My colleagues also expect that the Governor would direct all cases of particular types and all cases of major importance to be brought to him as a regular practice. The result would naturally be to weaken considerably the position of the minister in relation to his subordinates. In fact, he might be reduced to a figure-head by the Governor and the Secretary. I do not think that this could have been contemplated by the

authors of the Reforms Report, and I do not think it right. No secretary or head of a department should have any access to the Governor for this purpose. No one should come between him and the minister. It is one thing for a Governor to tell the member himself that he would like to be consulted on cases of certain type, and it is a very different thing to allow a secretary to bring to him such cases for decision in appeal against a minister.

Legislative Control.

15. There is another drastic change proposed by my colleagues. They are of opinion that if any proposal contained in a bill dealing with transferred subjects affects the peace, tranquillity, etc., of a province, or the interests of a specified reserved subject, the Governor should have a right to refer that bill to a grand committee. In actual practice this might practically eliminate the control of the legislative council over even the transferred subjects, because almost all bills referring to transferred subjects may be brought by a Governor, whose order according to my colleagues should not be open to appeal, under one or other of these conditions. To take a concrete instance: If a minister wishes to introduce any measure dealing with sanitation or education, the Governor might refer it to a grand committee on the ground that its alleged unpopularity might possibly provoke disorder. We may, therefore, assume that the Legislative Council will in law be as impotent in future in transferred departments as hitherto, and as they will be in the reserved departments in future. This is opposed to the Reforms Report and I am unable to accept it.

16. Further my colleagues would give power to the Governor and the Secretary of State in certain events to transfer *all* departments from the minister to the executive council. It will be noticed that the Governor has the power to dissolve the Legislative Council; but even after this if he finds the Legislative councils and all ministers opposed to him, they would give this right of transfer of *every* department from the minister, presuming that the Governor must be right and all the councils wrong. They want this as the only possible safeguard against a deadlock, which might be fatal to the administration of a province, as a deterrent to factious and irresponsible action; this view is based upon a gratuitous assumption that actions of the legislative council and the minister will always be factious and irresponsible when such actions are opposed to the opinion of the Governor.

Striking at the Root of the Reform Scheme.

I do not think it should be in the power of a Governor or the Secretary of State—who will be only his mouthpiece—to strike thus at the root of the reform scheme. This proposal is entirely opposed both to the letter and spirit of the Reform Report, which views such proposals with disfavour; the Report would not give such power over the legislature to any executive government and would allow the same, if at all, only after an open enquiry by an impartial parliamentary commission. If two consecutive legislative councils, composed as they would be under the scheme, come to conclusions directly opposed to that of the Governor, the presumption in my opinion, would be exceedingly strong that the Governor was wrong and their views should be given effect to. To give, in such circumstances, this power is to go against the principles of constitutional government and will be taken as indicative of a spirit incompatible with constitutional government. For any sudden emergencies, there is the power of ordinances, if necessary, by the Viceroy. I would not, therefore, allow this power, more especially when it is proposed to confer upon the Government of India certain powers of interference, the exercise of which would adequately meet all possible contingencies.

17. It is proposed to give the Government of India the power of interference even in the case of transferred subjects for the following purposes:—

(i) to safeguard the administration of Government of India subjects;

(ii) to secure uniformity of legislation where such legislation is considered desirable in the interest of India or of more than one province;

(iii) to safeguard the public services to an extent which will be further determined subsequently;

(iv) to decide questions which affect more than one province.

18. Again, my colleagues propose that if the decision taken in the reserved department requires in the opinion of the Governor, certain action in the transferred department which the minister objects to take, the Governor must be armed with the power to issue orders in the transferred department. It makes no difference in this view that the Governor can pass an order in similar circumstance in the reserved department. The result of this will be further to curtail the powers of the minister.

Control of Finances.

19. The new proposal about the allocation of the resources available for the purposes of the executive council and those available for the purposes of ministers completes the subordination of the ministers to the executive council. The main sources of revenues, like the land revenue, in the provinces will be under the control of the executive council while all the departments of expenditure, like education, local self-government including public health and public works, will be under the control of the minister. These are the departments which stand in need of development. In normal circumstances, therefore, the revenue which they require will have to be made good to them by the executive council. This places the ministers practically under the control of the executive council. The minister or ministers will not be able to raise money even by taxation without the consent of the Governor, and, as I have already pointed out, it will almost invariably be the case that the bill is one which the Governor would be entitled to refer to the committee for legislation. According to my colleagues their proposal will give the ministers a direct interest in improving the sources of revenue which are placed in their charge, but the sources of revenue which are capable of expansion will be, according to the proposals, placed, not in their charge but in the charge of the executive council. There will be, therefore, no resources to be developed except perhaps excise revenue which it should not be our policy to regard as a source of growing revenue. Further I do not accept this theory that all inducement must be held out to a department to increase its revenue for its own benefit. My colleagues further state that the official government should not have the power to refuse funds for the work of the popular half of the government, but according to the proposals the minister will never have that power as the final decision for taxation rests with the Governor and not with the minister. I do not accept the view which seems to result from the proposals of my colleagues that we should punish the people of the country for any dereliction of duty on the part of the minister or the executive council.

20. The cumulative effect of all these provisions is to place the minister and the legislative council in relation to transferred departments not only in a position of no real responsibility but virtually in subordination to the executive councils. The scheme, therefore, of my colleagues is

directly against the Announcement of the 20th August, as it means altogether a negation of responsibility, and should not therefore be accepted. The departments of which the minister will be placed in charge are bound to suffer under the proposed arrangement; and I have shown in my review of the present situation that they are not likely to receive any favourable treatment at the hands of the executive council.

In so far as this part of the scheme is concerned, my criticism, therefore, is that while the policy decided upon by His Majesty's Government requires definite responsibility to be laid upon the ministers for certain acts of the government, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy would allow such responsibility only under the general supervision of the Governor; my colleagues would practically get rid of all such responsibility by converting the minister into a subordinate executive officer, and the real legislative council into a subordinate body—subordinate to the Governor and the executive council, the latter being without any responsibility for the consequences,—though my colleagues in terms disclaim any intention to create an inferior government under the superior provincial Government.

21. I shall now take up the question of 'reserved' subjects. I have already referred to the provisions of the scheme relating to reserved subjects, which show the nature and the influence or power which might be exercised by the minister and legislative councils (see paragraph 6). The subject is so very important that even at the risk of prolixity or repetition I take the liberty of referring to them again for the purpose of explaining the objections that I advance to the proposals which are now being formulated by my colleagues.

According to the Reforms Report, no taxation, when it becomes necessary even in the interests of reserved subjects, can be imposed in a province without the consent of the minister who is supposed to represent the legislative council. The first essential, therefore, of a popular government is thereby secured. Again, the entire budget both for the transferred subjects and for the reserved subjects, is to be settled by the executive government as a whole. The minister has, thus, a powerful voice in the settlement of the budget; he is not a mere outsider tendering advice which may be acted upon or not according to the will of the executive council, because unless he is in a position to justify the budget proposals, even as regards the reserved subjects, he will not either undertake new legislation or be able to persuade

the legislative council. At the same time he will not have a controlling voice so far as reserved subjects are concerned, because a final decision is to be taken by the executive council alone. Furthermore, even as to reserved subjects, in cases of any disputes between the minister and the executive council with reference to and provision of the budget, the question has to be decided by the Governor, who is also responsible for transferred subjects and who is to act in view of the fact that taxation, if any, can be undertaken only with the consent of the minister. The influence of the minister, in these circumstances, will act on the reserved subjects in the direction of thrift and retrenchment. Similarly, the minister will have the experience and advice of the members of the executive council with reference to his transferred subjects, and he will have to pay serious regard to that advice in determining the relative proportions to be divided among the transferred and reserved subjects; and the influence of the executive council members will, therefore, be exercised in the direction of thrift and expenditure so far as transferred subjects are concerned. Then, again, this is a very important provision: the entire budget has to be submitted to the legislative council, whose resolutions on the budget will be binding even so far as the reserved subjects are concerned, unless the Governor restores the budget on specific grounds (paragraphs 221, 222, 256 and 257).

The proposals that I have referred to above give the minister and the legislative councils very considerable influence in the most important question of finance and everything that depends on it concerning the reserved subjects. They are satisfactory and based on sound principles. All this influence of power proposed to be bestowed upon them in the Reforms Report will be eliminated if the modifications suggested by my colleagues are accepted.

Modifications Proposed by the Indian Government.

22. They propose to omit the very important provision that the resolutions of the legislative council on the entire budget to be submitted to them will be binding on the government unless the Governor exercises his special right of restoring the provision in the budget on any specific ground. The Government of India now would treat every budget resolution only as a recommendation. To my mind, this is a grave departure from the scheme of the Reforms Report. It is said that a Governor would find himself in a very inconvenient position if he had to over-rule a legislative council, and a continuance of that

course, if the legislative council persists year after year in carrying a resolution with reference to any particular measure, would be almost impossible. The very object of the provisions is that in the absence of any strong reasons to the contrary, the opinion of the legislative council should prevail : and I think this departure from the scheme outlined in the Reforms Report detract considerably from its value.

Separate Purse.

23. My hon'ble colleagues have followed this up by further modifications which practically get rid of all popular and Indian influence.

Instead of one joint budget and one joint purse for the whole government they will create separate purses for ministers and executive council members, respectively, with the result that the budget for transferred subjects will be settled only by the Governor and the minister, and the budget for reserved subjects will be settled only by the Governor and the other members of the executive council. Taxation for the administration of transferred subjects will be left in the hands of the ministers ; and similarly, taxation for reserved subjects will be left entirely in the hands of the executive council members. The rule that the resolutions are binding, unless disallowed or vetoed by the Governor, is not accepted by them. The council's resolutions are to have effect only as recommendations.

The result of all this is that so far as the reserved subjects are concerned, neither the minister nor the council is to have any real voice in the settlement of the budget. This is avowed to be the real purpose of the new proposals. Real popular influence in the settlement of the budget is, therefore, entirely gone. The minister or popular assembly is not to have the final voice in taxation as the executive council member alone presents the bill for taxation, and if the legislative assembly does not pass it, it will be open to the Governor to get it passed over their heads by grand committees or otherwise. The influence of the minister on reserved subjects in the direction of thrift and expenditure also is removed. I think it substantially reduces the value of the Reforms Scheme. I am, therefore, unable to accept any of these modifications in the original proposals which are now suggested.

24. The advantages of this system are said to be that the ministers as well as the executive council will know what their available resources are, what opening balance will be at their credit and consequently what range of expenditure they may provide for and at what point they must face

extra taxation. It will secure to each department the benefit of any improvements which can be expected in the revenue departments. It will, therefore, be an inducement to expand and develop the sources of revenue, as the fruits of their labours will not be shared by the other departments. It is also said that each may also borrow for its own purposes. Assuming that there are administrative conveniences in the separation of revenues, these administrative conveniences should not be allowed to weigh for a moment against the outstanding fact that you thereby get rid of the popular influence altogether on the finances of the reserved departments. To this great objection I find no answer forthcoming except that it is desirable that all the reserved subjects should be removed entirely from the influences of the ministers and of the Legislative Council. I cannot agree to this. On the other side, there is the objection advanced by the Congress that under the arrangement proposed in the Reforms Report the transferred subjects will only get 'the crumbs from the table,' and the unwelcome task of taxation is always imposed upon the minister, even though such taxation might have been necessitated by the needs of the reserved subjects. This argument has been availed of by my colleagues in order to support the scheme of a separate purse. It would be extraordinary if an argument intended to strengthen Indian influence should lead to its elimination. I have already referred to the safeguards provided by the scheme. No taxation can be imposed without the consent of the minister, who can ear-mark the proceeds of taxation. No responsible member of an Executive Council is, therefore, likely to press the claims of the reserved subjects too far, and in particular in view of the enquiry by a commission after a few years ; and even if he does so, the final decision rests with the Governor, who is interested in the administration both of the transferred and of the other subjects. Apart from all this the Legislative Council will review the budget and a responsible Governor has to restore the provision of the budget in favour of the reserved subjects by overruling them. It is impossible, therefore, that the transferred subject will suffer, and I feel strongly that this argument should not weigh in favour of a separate purse, which will operate far more against popular influence than the existing provision. The apprehension expressed by Indian politicians is really due to the phraseology in the report. To remove the same, instead of stating that the supply of the reserved subjects will have priority over that of the transferred subjects. I

would simply say that the executive government as a whole will apportion the revenue between the transferred and the reserved subjects. If the ministers and the council members do not agree, the Governor has the right to decide. The effect is absolutely the same, as in the scheme the supply for the reserved subjects can be determined only by the Governor if the minister does not agree. The proposal of my colleagues that the consent of the Governor is necessary to taxation is a part of the scheme in the Reforms Report whenever there are differences of opinion. After apportionment of the revenue, the necessity of taxation might be considered, the indispensable condition being that provided for in the Report—that there should be no taxation without the consent of the minister. As to who should introduce the Bill into the Council is a matter which might be left to the Governor. Ordinarily, the member whose department needs the fresh taxation proceeds will no doubt introduce the Bill.

25. I have assumed that there are administrative conveniences in this separation of revenue. It is admitted by my colleagues that the proposals in the Reforms Report have not met with any criticism in India. It will not be right in the circumstances therefore to make any alterations. They point out that any substantial increase in reserved expenditure will be at the mercy of the ministers, although ministers may have no responsibility for the consequences of refusing the budget provision, but this is an impossible contingency as in the case of any dispute between the ministers and the executive council the decision is left to the Governor. In order to support their argument they have to assume that the Governor under his exceptional powers might insist on expenditure on reserved subjects being provided for in the budget leaving ministers with inadequate funds for the transferred subjects. We are not warranted in making any such assumption, and if the Governor is inclined to exercise his power in that direction he can do it even otherwise. What is to happen if the Governor under the powers of supervision and control which he has over the minister—powers which my colleagues desire largely increased—were to cut down the funds available for the minister even if they were not wanted for reserved subjects? Such assumptions would render the working of any constitution an impossibility.

Further, the income derived from the sources of revenue which form part of the reserved list will, after providing for the administration of those subjects and of Law,

Justice, and Police, leave a large surplus which, with the normal growth of revenue, will be adequate to meet the growing expenditure. I doubt whether any taxation or borrowing for the needs of those departments has been found necessary in the past or will be required in the future. The annual discussion my colleagues would avoid by settlement of revenue for a period of time. This will interfere with the legitimate exercise of their power over finance by the Legislative Council; such settlement may lead to taxation and borrowing when otherwise it would be unnecessary, and lead to unnecessary friction and criticism divorced from responsibility. Generally I have to state that my colleagues have, throughout their report, made assumptions which are calculated to show the apparent necessity of a stringent control over the ministers. All the difficulties suggested by my colleagues presuppose non-interference under any conditions on the part of the Governor with the minister and an absence of any provision enabling the Governor to decide in cases of dispute between the minister and the members of the Executive Council. It appears to me that the provisions in the Reforms Report scheme form a sufficient answer to all the objections advanced.

My colleagues are also of opinion that one more official, who will be ordinarily a civilian, should be appointed to the Executive Council. In the Report the transference of some of the functions of government to ministers was held to make it 'impossible' to retain an Executive Council of more than two members, one of whom was to be a European and the other an Indian. And this reduction of the European element from two to one was regarded as equivalent to an increase in the Indian element. My hon. colleagues, however, support their proposal on the main ground that the Governor—a new man from England—will be left with only one European adviser as a member of his Council. And it is also said that work can be found for one more member. It does not appeal that the conclusion that was arrived at the time the Report was framed that there will not be sufficient work for three members of the Executive Council is unfounded. Before 1911 there were only two members. At present there are three. A good portion of their work will now be transferred to the ministers. I am satisfied that there is no reason, on the score of the work, for the appointment of one more member. A stronger objection is that involved in the second reason given in the Report. It will materially reduce the relative strength of the Indian element in

the Executive Council. An Indian member will have no chance as against two English official members. For consultation and advice, the secretary in the department, who will or may be present, will be available. Neither the *adlati* nor any additional member is required. In reserved subjects, therefore, with the modifications proposed by my colleagues with reference to budget and taxation, this addition of one member will practically get rid of the influence or power accorded to the Indians or representative Councils in the Reforms Report. In the interests of good government, is it advisable or necessary to depart from the scheme?

First, let us take the budget and consider the restrictions on the provincial governments imposed by the general standing orders and the Secretary of State. The sanction of the Secretary of State is required to the appointment of any English officer drawing a certain pay; to create any new post which would ordinarily be filled by gazetted English officer; to create any new post over a certain monthly pay; to give any honorarium exceeding, I believe, a thousand rupees; to make any grant of land except under very special conditions. The right to purchase motor cars was so much abused that now they cannot be purchased for public business without the sanction of the Secretary of State. These are only some of the orders; there are many more of the same kind. All these indicate not only the nature of the restrictions that are imposed upon the provincial governments but also the close supervision which is deemed necessary for the exercise of their powers. There is no reason to think that no such restrictions would be necessary in the future. We propose by these schemes to give the local governments enhanced powers of appointment—powers by which they may appoint officers drawing very high salaries, over even a thousand rupees. We propose now to give them powers to carry out schemes, without reference to the Government of India or of the Secretary of State, which involve lakhs of rupees. If it was necessary for the Government of India or the Secretary of State to exercise this close supervision over the local Governments in the interests of the taxpayer, that supervision can only be relaxed on the ground of increasing popular control. Lord Curzon has remarked, and so also, I believe, almost every administrator who had to consider this question, on the growing tendency in every department to increase the emoluments and to increase the establishments. Far, therefore, from

getting rid of the control over the budget by the Legislative Council, it appears to me that the relaxations by the Government of India and the Secretary of State of their power of control, and the additional powers which it is proposed to confer upon the local governments require not only the powers conferred upon the minister and the Legislative Council by the Reforms Report, but additional powers. Restrictions were placed upon the powers of the Government of India in the appointments of Englishmen because it was felt that otherwise the Indians would have no chance at all.

Similarly, take the questions of industrial expansion, the separation of judicial and executive functions, increase of taxation by recurring settlements without the consent of the Legislative Councils. All these are really financial questions, and, under the scheme proposed in the Reforms Report, the popular assembly will have considerable influence in shaping the policy of the Government with reference to all these. The proposals of the Government of India will leave the legislative councils and the minister without any such voice in the settlement of these questions. It is, therefore a considerable departure from the Report. My colleagues, I am afraid, do not realize the strength of the feeling for reform due to questions referring to these matters.* They ignore altogether the very important considerations which arise therefrom. There is no split in the Congress Party or so far as I can see among Indians on the broad lines of policy that should be pursued on the matters above referred to. The addresses presented to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy draw prominent attention to these grievances.

I cannot help thinking, in these circumstances, that if these restrictions are removed we may expect great waste of public funds in the future and great and alarming discontent. I would, therefore, as already stated as against the new proposals of my colleagues, not only support the scheme in the Reforms Report so far as taxation and budget are concerned, but would go a little further in the same direction by enacting that the Governor's power of restoring any provisions in the budget in the interests of the reserved subjects should not be exercised so as to confer any benefits on the services which they would not obtain in the ordinary course, and the Governor should not be allowed without the sanction of the Secretary of State to restore any provisions

* See paragraphs 3 to 12 above.

in the interests of reserved subjects with reference to any matter for which the sanction of the Secretary of State is now required. It should be remembered that in the case of transferred subjects the council has got the powers of removing the minister, and a corresponding power does not exist in the case of the reserved subjects.

Peace and Order.

28. Leaving now the question of the budget, let me take the equally important question of peace and order. If sedition had its origin in Bombay, it would be noticed that this was due to the harsh administration of the plague regulations by a collector, which would have been impossible if the Indian element was powerful in the government of the country. Similarly the course of maladministration by the Government of Eastern Bengal which was responsible for the growth of real Bengal sedition would also have been practically difficult. Under the law which we have recently passed and under certain regulations which were passed at the commencement of the last century to meet certain exceptional classes of cases, it would be open to an executive Government in a province to deprive a man of his liberty and of his freedom of speech without the orders of the magistrate or any other judicial tribunal. The press may also be deprived of its freedom by executive action, the ordinary courts being deprived of their jurisdiction. The Governor of a province has the power of depriving a person who attacks him of his liberty of person and of his property without affording him a public opportunity of proving his allegations before the ordinary tribunals of the country. Under this law no Indian paper would venture to indulge in criticisms distasteful to the head of a province. Any agitation against the civil service or bureaucratic form of government would scarcely be possible under the civilian head of a province. The Home Rule agitation, or in fact any constitutional agitation may be suppressed without the interference of a judicial tribunal solely at the instance of an executive government. In these circumstances, it seems to me to be imperative that the Indian element and the popular element should be powerful in the Government of a province. Otherwise we will certainly perpetuate all those evils due to the inutility of the Councils which, as forcibly pointed out in the Report, are responsible for the widening gulf between officials and non-officials.

Grand Committees.

29. It is proposed to constitute grand committees out of the members of the legislative councils in order to legislate on 'reserved' subjects when the Governor considers such legislation 'is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province, or any part thereof or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects.' So far as the 'reserved' subjects are concerned, it is said that such exceptional means of legislation are required on account of the poverty, ignorance and helplessness of the great majority of the population, who cannot for the reason be left to the mercies of a legislative council who will not adequately protect their interests. Further it is said that the masses themselves will not take any part in political life, and therefore all such questions concerning the revenue, those arising from the relations of the landlord and tenant must be retained by the executive government. It is also said that such power is necessary in order to defend British commercial interests and other questions concerning industries, etc. All questions that arise between classes and creeds also should not be left to the ordinary legislative councils. I have pointed out already that it may well be doubted whether in the interests of the good government of the country such exceptional powers are necessary. Our electorates are becoming wider: all kinds of interests and views divergent among themselves are going to be represented; and if in these circumstances, the government cannot secure any majority, the probabilities of their being in error are great. The grand committee as constituted is obviously intended as a check on a popular assembly, and is in itself therefore an undesirable institution. It creates an undesirable antagonism between a local executive and a local legislative council, and if there are other means of attaining the same object in view it is undesirable to retain it. I think the safeguard of the Imperial Legislative Council for all affirmative legislation and the powers of veto possessed by the Governor and the Viceroy to negative any Act which is passed by the local legislative council, and the power of ordinance for urgent occasions would be amply sufficient. This would secure a careful consideration of a measure rejected by the local legislative council before its introduction into the Imperial Legislative Council.

The objections to legislation by the Government of India are stated in paragraph 248 of the Reform Report. The first objection advanced is

that such legislation will strike at the root principle of provincial autonomy, according to which the provincial governments must be autonomous in their own legislative field. Provincial autonomy was promised by Lord Hardinge's Delhi Despatch of 1911 for the purpose of increasing popular control. We, therefore, do not want the so-called provincial autonomy if it is intended thereby to increase the power of the executive government over the legislative council. On the other hand it is a principle recognised by the Reform Report that the control now exercised by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State over subordinate governments can be relaxed only in proportion to increasing popular control. It is quite right, therefore, that where a provincial legislative council has passed a measure, the Imperial Government or the Secretary of State should interfere as little as possible; but that the local executive government should be able to get passed through a grand committee a measure which has been rejected by the Legislative Council goes against all these principles. There is, in that case no question of real provincial autonomy. It must be borne in mind that the grand committee though technically a part of the legislature is brought into existence and will always be utilized to register the decrees of the Executive Government and may, therefore, be regarded as its agent for enacting measures rejected by the Legislative Council. The provincial government becomes independent both of the Provincial Legislative Council and of the Imperial Government; whereas, the proposal I put forward retains the power of the Imperial Government, for it can hardly be doubted that legislation by a grand committee will practically put an end to legislation in the Imperial Council.

The other objection that is advanced that the Government of India would be very reluctant to undertake responsibility by legislation is, in my opinion, rather a recommendation than an objection as a Legislative Council should be over-ruled only in very exceptional cases. The Government of India cannot be accused 'of ignorance of local condition' as they will be acting only on the advice of the local Governments and after full consideration of, the discussions in the local Legislative Council.

Disregard of provincial wishes is a common factor whether the legislation is by the local Executive Government or by the Imperial Legislative Council. The Imperial Government in such a case would be an arbitrator between the local Executive Government and its Legislative Council.

The 'ungrateful' task has to be undertaken by somebody, and it is much better that it should be undertaken by a Government far removed from local excitement. The reason that such legislation is unpopular and controversial is only an argument for subjecting it to examination by a government which is not subject to local temptations of prestige, power and increased revenue. The Imperial Government will be able to attach due weight to the circumstances that may be urged by the local Government and the arguments which induced the local Legislative Council to reject the measure. I also disagree with the proposal to reduce the elected element in the grand committee.

We are all agreed that the heads of provinces should in future, be Governors instead of Lieutenant Governors (paragraph 218), but my colleagues are of opinion that the existing practice of appointing only civilians in accordance with the rule which requires twelve years' service in India for a Lieutenant Governorship must be or will be followed for a long time to come. I regret I cannot share in this view. The primary consideration that should weigh with the Secretary of State in making the appointment is the fitness of the person to carry out the duties not, as hitherto, of an autocratic head of a province but of a constitutional ruler. The civil service generally have shown their hostility to the proposed reforms. They have expressed their strong opinion of the unfitness of Indians to hold high appointments or to carry out the duties which will devolve upon them as Parliamentary leaders. There will be many persons therefore among them who are not likely to work in harmony with Indians or to view with sympathy their political progress, which must curtail the privileges hitherto enjoyed by their own service. The Secretary of State should certainly, therefore, take the question into consideration when he makes the appointment. 'It may indeed be questioned whether the life spent in the Indian civil service is calculated, except in rare cases to stimulate that part of political talent which consists in the study and guidance of political opinion, or in the framing of the large legislative proposals which are from time to time needed in actively thinking political communities.'*

This fact also will have to be borne in mind. Those civilians who are in sympathy with Indian progress or who can be trusted to work smoothly with the political machinery of the future under the altered conditions and who are not prejudiced by

* Mr. H. A. L. Fisher: "The Empire and the Future."

the feelings of hostility to the proposed reforms evinced by many of them may be appointed as heads of provinces. I do not think, therefore, that the confident expression of opinion by my colleagues as to the continuance of the practice hitherto existing is justified.

31. The same question arises with reference to the qualifications of a member of the executive council. It is intended, according to the Reform Report, that one member should be an Indian and the other an official with qualifications of 12 years' service under the Crown which is now required by law. I do not understand the Report to lay down that this should be retained as a statutory qualification, though no doubt in practice the qualification will be insisted upon. At present the appointment is in practice limited to the civil service. One can easily conceive cases where a Governor might require the presence in his executive council of a person of outstanding abilities in some particular line either in India or in England. There is no reason why the Secretary of State should be debarred from nominating him. My colleagues are of opinion that there must be a statutory provision that one member should be an Indian and that the other should have the existing qualification. I doubt whether this is necessary.

32. The only other point which I have to notice has reference to the right of a legislative council to make rules for its own conduct of business. Every council ought to have such a right, and no reasons have been shown why we should insist upon the consent of the president. The rights and privileges of a president or of a vice-president, in so far as they do not refer to the ordinary conduct of business, should not of course be interfered with.

The Government of India.

33. The first question has reference to responsible government. I recognise that it has been laid down in the Report that there should be no responsibility in the Government of India as in provincial governments, that is to say that there should be no Indian minister responsible to the legislature. This can be defended only on the ground that many of the departments of administration have been transferred to the provincial government and that those retained by the Government of India are far too important to be handed over to responsible Indian Ministers before the experiments have justified themselves in the provinces. These, of course, are subjects which concern peace and order and the good government of the country, foreign states, Army

and Navy, and also questions in which the interests of England or her people are greatly involved. There are, however, questions which only concern the internal administration of the country and which have been recognized as fit for transfer to a minister and the legislative council. In all those cases, therefore, in which the Government of India retain a right to interfere with the transferred subjects, there should be no objection to introducing responsibility in the central government. Indeed responsible government seems to be necessary in order to carry out the principles indicated in the Report. It is proposed to allow powers of interference to the Government of India in the transferred departments of the provinces, for instance, to secure uniformity of legislation where such legislation is considered desirable in the interests of India or of more than one province. It is also desired to retain in the Government of India power to decide questions which affect more than one province. *Ex hypothesi*, these are subjects which ordinarily should be dealt with by ministers in accordance with the will of the local legislature; and if it is proposed to remove these from the legislative council for reasons which have nothing to do with their capacity to deal with questions of that character, it is but reasonable that in the Government of India also the decision of such questions should be left to the legislature and an Indian minister. If necessary an Indian member of the executive council may be an Indian minister for this purpose. Supposing there are certain subjects which are not now transferred for temporary reasons, and of which we contemplate transference in the course of three or four years, I cannot see any reason why in such cases also responsible government should not be introduced so far as such subjects are concerned. Responsible government in the provinces demands responsible government in the Government of India in the same subjects, as otherwise provincial responsibility will be diluted.

The Council of State.

34. The next important question refers to the Council of State. I have very strong objections to the power given to the executive government to pass laws through the Council of State without a previous discussion in the legislative assembly. The Governor-General can exercise his power of issuing ordinances which will operate for six months. If any discussion is necessary, he can introduce the Bill into the legislative council to ascertain the popular view. If it is a matter in which the Governor-General in Council has made up his mind, then, of course a discussion is useless

and unnecessary and an ordinance can at once be issued. Now with reference to the Council of State itself.

A Council of State as a second chamber representing interests not properly represented in the Imperial Assembly, I understand, and I raise no objection to it. A Council of State for the purpose of securing delay and for greater deliberation of subjects also might be necessary and I would not raise any objection to such a council either. But this Council of State is constituted for neither of these purposes. Its avowed purpose is to carry out the will of the executive Government when they cannot carry it out on account of the opposition of the legislative assembly. It is, in fact, an unreal council. Rather than constitute such a council, it is much better to lay on the executive council itself directly the obligation to pass the law. It will not then be exercised so frequently as it would now be with a State Council to give the measure that it passes an unreal appearance of popular support. It will belittle the importance of the legislative assembly and thus create an antagonism between it and the State Council and the executive government.

There is another serious objection. It is undesirable to give the executive council unrestricted freedom of action in matters in which popular opinion is decidedly against it. Disastrous consequences have attended such freedom of action; and as long as the Executive Government have that power of action, they are bound in the discharge of their responsibility to act upon it if they take a view contrary to that of the legislature. Again, there are great questions of administrative reform which should be carried out and which have not been carried out on account of the opposition of the bureaucracy due to their apprehension of loss of prestige, etc. I have referred to many of them already. There can be little doubt that a Council of State would check reforms as in the past in all these directions. I think, therefore, that the Council of State as constituted will prove an obstruction. At the same time, I recognise that in the Reforms Report it has been laid down that in matters referred to above, there should be no responsibility to the legislature. A *via media* appears to be to direct that in all cases Bills should first be submitted to the legislative assembly; and on their failure to pass such Bills, all the papers should be laid before the House of Commons to whom the Select Committee would no doubt submit their report; and it is only after such

sanction is obtained that further step should be taken to proceed with the measure, either by the Executive Council or the Council of State.

Two further courses have been suggested: to confine the Governor-General's or Viceroy's power of certification to certain definite subjects or to curtail the power of certification to those Bills which have not been rejected by a certain percentage of the members of the Legislative Council.

I am clearly of opinion that the power of the Council of State, if it is not to be dropped, should be curtailed.

Budget

It is now proposed to delegate larger powers to the Government of India. It is obvious that if hitherto the interference of the Secretary of State has been necessary in the interests of the Indian taxpayer, and that it has been necessary will appear from the various orders which restrict the Government of India's power of expenditure ---then the Secretary of State should be allowed to forego the exercise of his own power only with the development of popular control; otherwise, there is no justification. That the powers hitherto exercised by the Secretary of State were necessary in the interests of the taxpayer will appear from an examination of the instances in which such power has been exercised. It will also appear from a consideration of the rules themselves and the occasions and the reasons which led to the passing of such rules. It appears to me therefore that all resolutions on the budget by the Legislative Assembly should be given effect to in all those instances in which it would not now be within the competence of the Government of India to incur any outlay without the sanction of the Secretary of State; at any rate, if full effect is not to be given to it, the power to over-rule the Legislative Council in that respect should not be given to the Executive Government in India but should rest only with the Secretary of State.

I do not agree with my colleagues in discarding the provision about appointing members of the assembly to positions analogous to that of Parliamentary Under Secretaries or the Standing Committees. At present, or under the new scheme, there is no means of non-official members acquiring that knowledge which can be acquired only by holding an office. The knowledge of Indians in the public services will not be available to non-officials for criticism of Government proposals. The ministers will have intimate knowledge only of the transferred departments and that also only in the provinces. These Under-Secretary-

ships and Standing Committees will enable the non-officials to acquire that information which they would otherwise lack. In the earlier stages of discussion, it was generally admitted that these would form a good training ground for future administrators. It is undesirable, therefore, to drop them.

In the Imperial Council also, as in the provincial councils, I think it should be left to the council to frame their own rules.

37. If there is any demand in which the associations who have addressed the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and all classes are unanimous it is in the request they make that half the members of the Executive Councils, both provincial and Imperial, should be Indians. The Congress and the Moslem League as well as the Sikhs and the non-Brahmin classes of Madras want it. The reasons are obvious. Every body feels that without the infusion of an adequate Indian element into the executive councils, the reforms that are essential for the better government of the country will not be carried out. Again, there are

various questions, particularly those affecting finance that are settled by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State in consultation with one another which require a strong Indian element in the executive council. In all those questions, without adequate Indian influence the Government of India will easily yield to the Secretary of State. Various influences will act upon the Government of India which require adequate Indian influence to counteract them. Indian influence is also required to prevent the executive government of India from being unduly autocratic or unsympathetic towards popular movements. I would, therefore, propose the addition of one more Indian member to the two members proposed by the Government of India. If this is not accepted, I would suggest the appointment of an Indian minister to exercise the Government of India control over the transferred departments in the provinces. He may be called in for consultation but not for decision.

C. SANKARAN NAIR.

Delhi, 5th March 1919.

Lord Willingdon on "Unitary Government"

Soon after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Government of India addressed a circular letter to the Provincial Governments for an expression of their views on Indian Constitutional Reform. The Local Governments accordingly submitted their opinions, some separately and others in groups. The Lieutenant-Governors of the United Provinces, Punjab and Burma and the Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and Assam submitted an alternative scheme to that of the Joint Report. The Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa while preferring the general plan of the scheme propounded in the Joint Report "to any other scheme which has been devised" suggested a more cautious advance on constitutional experiments. Sir George Lloyd, who had just then assumed the Governorship of Bombay rightly urged "that time is a factor of vital importance in the consideration of the whole question of reform." "I am convinced," wrote His Excellency, "that delay is a greater danger even than an imperfect scheme and that those of us on whom must fall the heavy burden of putting reform schemes into actual operation, will be better able to work an imperfect scheme with the goodwill and confidence of all concerned than to operate a more perfect scheme—if one can be devised—when confidence and good will has been broken and alienated by disappointment and delay." But it was reserved for the Government of Madras to indulge in a wholly destructive criticism. Their memoranda on the reform proposals are on the whole the most reactionary of all the documents bearing on the subject—an unenviable distinction to be sure! But the Government of Bombay under Lord Willingdon offered a welcome contrast. His Excellency's sympathetic attitude towards Indian aspirations and his marked interest in political reform for India make his criticism altogether invaluable. It will be seen that Lord Willingdon's scheme, though differing in procedure from that of the Joint Report is conceived in the generous spirit characteristic of him. In fact even those who are not for his scheme and who whole heartedly subscribe to the scheme of the Joint Report will read His Excellency's criticism with the care it deserves. And as Mr. Montagu has already stated that it will be within the province of the Joint Committee not only to recommend modifications in his own scheme but also to consider the relative merits of diarchy and "unitary executive" there is no doubt our readers will read with interest Lord Willingdon's suggestive contribution to the literature on the reforms. [*Ed. I.R.*]



WHILE this Government is anxious to support as far as possible the main principles of the scheme they find it necessary to point out certain defects.

The question of administrative and legislative devolution is dealt with in paragraphs 212 and 213, and upon these subjects this Government has only two suggestions to offer. First, in the opinion of this Government, the demarcation of the Imperial and Provincial spheres, both legislative and administrative, should be effected by statute and not by any species of constitutional practice. As regards legislation in particular it would, in practice, be inconvenient that the powers of the Provincial and Imperial legislatures should not be clearly and unmistakably defined, and it is further important that that definition should be a statutory definition in order to avoid any possible doubt as to the competency of the respective legislatures and to escape the possibility of legislation by one body encroaching on the sphere of the other body. In the second place I am to suggest that although the question of the relaxation of the control of the Government of India in the administrative sphere can be dealt with at any time, and need not therefore necessarily be decided now, yet in the opinion of this Government some relaxation will undoubtedly be necessary in view of the greater powers which it is proposed to give not only to the Provincial Governments but also to the Provincial Legislative Council. The Governor-in-Council is inclined to doubt whether it is correct to say that a general relaxation of the control of the Government of India would be opposed by Indian opinion, as is suggested in paragraph 213 of the report. The Governor-in-Council has reason to believe that the contrary is the case. It is, however, unnecessary to enter into the details of this question, as it is one that can be dealt with independently of the proposed reforms.

The next matter which calls for discussion is the Provincial Executive, which is dealt with in paragraphs 214 to 224. On this most important and difficult question the Governor-in-Council, I am to say, regrets that he is unable to accept the proposed scheme of Government as one which is likely to work satisfactorily in practice. The Governor-in-Council is aware that the proposal is intended to meet a period of transition only. But it is not possible to say with any approach to certainty how long this period of transition is likely to last, and it is therefore not easy to accept for an indefinite

period a scheme which is open to serious objection. That such a scheme as is proposed could not be accepted as permanent is recognised in paragraphs 233 and 354 of the reports. But whatever the transition period may be, the work of administration has to be continued, and in the opinion of this Government it is unsafe to accept a form of Executive which is admittedly open to serious criticisms merely because it furnishes a convenient stop gap. This Government, I am to say, fully appreciate the ingenuity of the proposed solution, and the advantages which it offers in theory in the way of future development on settled lines. But administration is a practical business. It is proposed to substitute for a form of Government which, whatever its defects, is well tried and has in the working produced results which are far from negligible, a machinery which is wholly untried and which is, it is believed, without precedent in the history of the world. Therefore, I am to say that the Governor in Council considers that the burden of establishing the practicability of the new form of Government lies very heavily upon those who advocate it. I am further to point out that criticism directed against the existing form of Government or the development of that form which is found in paragraph 217 of the report is open to the obvious answer that the form of Government criticised is at least, one which can be seen at work, while no such answer is possible to any criticism of the new scheme. Further, when it is admitted, as in paragraph 217 of the report, that an extension of the existing form of government would not have been unfavourably received in India, it is surely not unfair to argue that the merits and the validity of the new proposal should be established by those who advocate it beyond all reasonable criticism. Also it is, as every practical man must admit, difficult if not impossible to forecast what difficulties may arise in the working of machinery so novel and so complicated, and therefore it is impossible to feel that such criticism as is attempted can be exhaustive. Of the existing form of government we know the best and the worst, but of that which is proposed the virtues and defects can only be conjectured. On these general grounds, the Governor in Council is most reluctant to make a leap in the dark which the proposal implies. He prefers most strongly to adhere to that which is known and can be trusted and to proceed upon that basis rather than to risk a doubtful experiment. He considers that the new scheme is obnoxious to criticisms which are at least as cogent

as those which can be suggested against a development of the Executive Government upon the present lines and therefore the burden has not been discharged by those who are endeavouring to substitute the new scheme for the old.

In addition to these general considerations, there are certain special criticisms which the Governor in Council wishes to offer for the consideration of the Government of India. What he finds it impossible to accept is the proposed division of the Executive Government into two portions. He regards it as a fundamental principle that the responsibility of the Executive Government, or Cabinet, or whatever it may be styled, shall be one and undivided. He considers that the suggested division of functions contains the seeds of friction which will, in all probability, lead to a complete deadlock, and he doubts whether it is in fact possible to divide the functions of government in the manner proposed. Yet, such a division is essential for the successful working of the scheme. It is proposed that the subjects with which Executive Government have to deal should be divided into two portions known as the reserved and the transferred subjects. The report seems to assume that it will be easy to classify the functions in question and allot them to councillors on the one hand or Ministers on the other, in accordance with a pre-conceived plan. It is necessary to point out that this presupposes that each Member of Council under existing conditions exercises independent control as regards the subjects allotted to his charge. This, however, is not the case. Apart from cases in which it is necessary to obtain financial sanction, which will be dealt with hereafter, the whole theory of Government by Council postulates that in all cases other than those of secondary importance, the orders of two members of council will be obtained. It is in fact this feature of Government by council which renders it in the eyes of the Indian public distinctly preferable to that by a single Head. So long as the public feel that orders in all matters of importance receive the concurrence of at least two Members of the Government, particularly if one of those Members is an Indian, they feel confident that questions or issues will have been considered in all their aspects, and that justice will be done to all concerned.

It appears, however, to be assumed that it will be possible to divide the functions of government into two separate compartments, with reference to one of which the Councillors will act and the Ministers will advise, and with reference to the other the Ministers will act and the

Councillors will advise, and it is assumed that the number of cases in which their functions will overlap will be comparatively few in number and such as can be easily settled in the event of the difference of opinion by reference to His Excellency the Governor. But is it possible to demarcate the various functions of government into two distinct spheres, and to lay down that questions arising in one sphere shall be dealt with by one part of the Government and those arising in the other sphere by another part? A reference to the records of Government will show that there is scarcely a question of importance which comes up for discussion and settlement in any one of the departments of Government which does not require to be weighed carefully in the light of considerations which form the province of another department of Government. The primary duty of the Government as a whole is to preserve peace and order, to protect the weak against the strong, and to see that in the disposal of all questions coming before them the conflicting interests of the many different classes affected receive due attention. And it follows from this that practically all proposals of importance put forward by the Minister in charge of any of the departments suggested for transfer in Illustrative List No. 11 appended to the Report will involve a reference to the authorities in charge of the reserved departments. It is more correct to say that, so far from questions on which the functions of the two portions of the government overlap being few in number as is implied in paragraph 221 of the report, there are few, if any, subjects on which they do not overlap. Consequently the theory that, in the case of a transferred subject in charge of a Minister, it will be possible to dispense with reference to departments of Government concerned with the control of reserved subjects is very largely without foundation.

It is undesirable to burden this letter with detail. But a reference to one question which is at present attracting the attention of this Government will show that this statement is fully justified. Take, for instance, the question of introducing free and compulsory education. At first sight it would seem to be impossible that this question should impinge to any material extent on the functions of those departments which are intended to be reserved for the Executive Council. It would seem to be in its nature so entirely educational that, except in so far as financial provision is required, no other department would have to be consulted. But, as the discussions in Council have shown, there are a

number of points in which other departments are concerned. In the first place it is clear that the introduction of compulsory education must, if experience in England is any guide, be accompanied by a large increase in the number of prosecutions of parents for not sending their children to school. It is possible that the enforcement of this policy in manufacturing areas, where the children earn good wages in the mills, might lead to discontent on the part of the mill-hands and consequent disturbance. The matter must therefore be considered from the police point of view. Secondly, the disposal of this large number of prosecutions might involve a great strain on the magistracy. This would have to be considered from the point of view of the judicial department. Thirdly, the compulsory attendance of children at schools in rural areas, particularly at harvest time, might reduce the supply of labour in areas where that supply is inadequate, and render it impossible to gather the crops as they ripen. This might seriously affect the ability of the ryot to pay his assessment, and would therefore have to be brought to the notice of the revenue department. Such instances are by no means rare. It cannot, in the opinion of the Governor-in-Council, be too clearly recognised that the functions of government must remain under one authority, and that any attempt to divide them on stereotyped lines can only result in confusion.

I have dealt so far with the impossibility of allocating responsibility for separate subjects to individual members of the Government, due to the necessity for considering government as a whole. I am now to consider how far it is possible to impose complete responsibility on the Ministers and at the same time secure an uniform standard of financial control throughout the whole Government. In this connection I am to express a feeling of disappointment at the somewhat inadequate method in which this question has been dealt with in the report. The matter is discussed in paragraphs 221 and 256, and the assumption underlying those paragraphs appears to be that the ordinary procedure will be that the Council and the Ministers combined are to frame a budget which will thereafter be presented to the Legislative Council. In framing this budget as well as in passing it through the Council the Governor-in-Council will be entitled to demand that adequate provision shall be made for reserved subjects. When this is secured, and when the whole budget has been passed by the Legislative Council, the Ministers in charge of the transferred subjects will apparently be at

liberty to expend the lump budget grants placed at their disposal without control or check other than the somewhat shadowy veto of His Excellency the Governor. It is apparently contemplated that some friction may arise when these budget grants are fixed, but that as soon as the budget is settled, the possibilities of conflict between the Councillors on the one hand and the Ministers on the other will disappear. Each will have their own grants and the Ministers will be responsible to the Council (or to their constituents it is not clear which) for the manner in which they spend them.

It is difficult to believe that this is seriously intended. At the present moment, as is well known, all proposals put forward by various departments of Government have to be referred to the Financial Department for sanction. The latter department decides, in the light of standing orders issued by the Secretary of State, whether from a financial point of view they are expedient and whether they are within the powers of the Provincial Government to deal with, or whether they must be referred to higher authority for sanction. In other words, the Financial Department of the provincial Government, like the Treasury in England, is invested with the superintendence and control of all expenditure up to the time when it is made: the fact that there is budget provision merely indicates the acceptance by the finance department of the probability that the expenditure will be necessary but it does not imply actual sanction to its being made. Is it intended that when subjects are transferred to the control of the Ministers that the present system should continue?

The question is one of very great importance. In the English Cabinet the Finance Department, in other words the Treasury, under the control of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is of course a member of the Ministry, is charged with the superintendence of all revenue and expenditure. The position of the Treasury "may be regarded as one of perpetual conflict with servants of the State who want more pay than the Treasury thinks they are worth, with the departments of Government which want more money than the Treasury is prepared to ask for from the Parliament and Government, with the House of Commons, which contests the amount demanded and the mode in which it is proposed to be raised, and with the taxpayer." When the new constitution is established, and the Ministers in charge of transferred subjects appointed, who

is to perform the duty assigned to the Treasury in England? Is the Finance Department to be concerned with the transferred subjects or not? If the answer to this question is Yes, it is clear that the head of Finance Department, who is *ex-hypothesi* a Councillor, must control the method in which grants made for transferred subjects are expended. He must therefore become responsible along with the Ministers and responsible to a very marked extent. Thus the theory that the Ministers and Ministers alone are responsible to the Legislature becomes untenable.

If the head of the Finance Department is not to exercise any control, then it will be necessary to set up another finance department under the control of the Ministers whose duty will be to superintend the expenditure of grants made for transferred subjects. In the latter case there will inevitably be different financial standards for different departments under the same Government, and this must eventually lead to friction, waste, and maladministration. The result is that it is impossible in the opinion of this Government to contend that the proposals of the report will achieve their object, namely, delegation of responsibility to the Ministers. The essential indivisibility of the functions of government and the necessity recognised in all governments throughout the world of maintaining the unity of financial control at once renders this impracticable.

But there is still one feature more which in the opinion of this Government calls for serious criticism. It is proposed that the Ministers shall, if they require revenues beyond those allotted to them, after the provision of funds for reserved subjects, be at liberty to propose taxation for which they and they only shall be responsible. Now it seems to this Government that where taxation is concerned it is quite impossible to say that the Ministers shall be responsible and the Councillors shall not. The public would most certainly hold the whole Government responsible, so that there too the proposal in the report to transfer responsibility by compartments would prove a failure.

The odium of new taxation should rest upon those whose policy has made that taxation necessary. But this will not inevitably be the case under the proposed scheme. It is not improbable that the demands of the reserved subjects may compel the Governor-in-Council to allocate so large a portion of the available funds to those subjects as to leave no sufficient surplus for the

administration and development of the transferred subjects. The power to impose fresh taxation is vested in the Ministers alone, and they may be compelled to appeal to the Legislative Council to impose fresh burdens on the public to meet expenditure which is not required by any policy of theirs. This would place the Ministers in a false position, and inevitably give rise to undesirable friction. On this ground also it appears expedient that proposals for fresh taxation should emanate from the whole Government.

Finally, it is proposed that the Minister who is first appointed should be on his trial for a period of training, and at the end of this period his constituents should decide whether or not his policy has been such as to justify them in re-electing him to the Legislative Council. Now it is hardly necessary to observe that the electorates throughout this Presidency must be ignorant, and it will be necessary, if they are to arrive at a fair estimate of the virtues or defects of the retiring Minister, that they shall have a clear idea of what he has done. He may act on his own responsibility or in concert with another Minister, or as one of the entire Government, or against his will under the control of the Governor. I am to urge that it would be impossible for the public to distinguish between those cases. It will be difficult even for a highly educated person such as a collector to distinguish between the authorities responsible for the various orders which may reach him. It would be impossible for the ordinary agriculturist voter to know that the order directing him to vaccinate his child comes from the Minister whom he returns to Council because the latter is concerned with sanitation, and that another order under, the Police Act directing him to attend a roll call every day comes from an Executive Councillor with whose continuance in office he has nothing to do. The difficulties inherent in the introduction of an electoral system in rural areas in this Presidency are already considerable. It will be impossible to expect from the voters, 80 per cent. of whom will be illiterate, more than general ideas on the subject of what they consider right or wrong in the actions of their representatives. If before judging the latter they are expected to possess the knowledge of a correct classification, which at the present moment is not possessed by anyone who has not a close acquaintance with the work of the secretariat, it is obvious that their votes cannot be given intelligently, and that the theory that the Ministers will be responsible to their constituents is in practice an illusion.

I am further to point out that the convention insisted on in paragraphs 221 and 222 that the two portions of the Government should form, not two Governments but one Government, and that the decision should be loyally defended by the entire Government is likely to lead to difficulties more serious than appear to be recognised in those paragraphs. It is possible, it is even probable, that occasions will arise when the decision of that part of the Government which is responsible for the reserved subjects will not meet with the approval of the Ministers, and it is equally probable that the decisions of the Ministers with reference to the transferred subjects may not be approved by the members of the Executive Council. In such cases it would be extremely difficult for the Government to act as a whole in the face of the public. Where all the members of Government have a voice in the decision of any matter, as in the form of executive advocated by this Government, any member can fairly subordinate his own views to the decision of the whole body of which he is a member. He has had his say in the matter, he has recorded his vote, and if the decision goes against him, as a member of the Government he is perfectly entitled to uphold the decision of the majority. But here it is proposed that the Minister or member of the Executive Council, as the case may be, should support a decision of which he heartily disapproves and as to which he has had no deciding voice. In the form of government advocated by the Governor-in-Council the decisions are, in reality, the decisions of the whole Government and can be defended as such. In the opinion of the Governor-in-Council this is a most serious objection, which it is difficult to accept even for a period of transition.

I am now to invite attention to the formidable list of duties which the new scheme will impose upon the Governor. It will be for him to decide *inter alia* (a) who should be selected as Minister or Ministers (paragraph 218), (b) whether the allotments for reserved subjects should be insisted on or not (paragraph 254), (c) whether a subject belongs to the reserved or transferred sphere (paragraph 221), and to decide in cases where a subject trenches on both spheres, (d) whether legislation should be certified or not (paragraphs 252 and 253), (e) whether a Bill should be assented to or returned for consideration (paragraph 254), and (f) whether the proposals made by a Minister as to a transferred subject shall be vetoed (paragraph 219). The majority of these duties are imposed upon the Governor owing to the suggested division of the two spheres

of Government, and in the opinion of this Government the burden, in practice, will be intolerable. Every one of these decisions may give occasion for friction between the Governor and the Minister, or possibly between the Governor and the Legislative Council. An occasion for political agitation may arise out of all or any of these matters. The last duty in particular will impose upon the Governor the necessity of keeping a close and constant watch on every order issued in the transferred sphere.

It may be objected that it is proposed to issue for the guidance of the Governor an instrument of instructions such as is contemplated in paragraph 219. Without the text of the proposed instrument it is difficult to criticise in detail, but the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that it is impracticable to provide in such an instrument instructions which can be exhaustive, having regard to the diversity of the difficulties which can be foreseen, and when allowance is made for the unforeseen difficulties, the impracticability of the proposal is even more obvious. If the instrument is not exhaustive it ceases to be of much value. In the nature of things it cannot be exhaustive, and it will merely serve to fetter the discretion of the Governor in circumstances which cannot have been anticipated when it was drafted. If, therefore, the control of the Governor is to be the ultimate safeguard, as it will be in many matters under the proposed scheme, there should be no endeavour to fetter that control in the manner proposed. The above remarks, I am to say, contain the main criticisms which the Governor-in-Council offers for consideration with reference to this portion of the subject, but he would again insist that it is beyond human sagacity to forecast with accuracy the manner in which such machinery as this will work. There may be other and more serious difficulties which have not been foreseen and which time alone can bring to light.

The Governor-in-Council has so far set out what appears to him to be the principal objections to the form of Executive Government proposed in the report. I am now to set out the main lines of the alternative which he advocates as being suitable to the conditions of this Presidency.

I.—The executive should consist of five members including the Governor. There should be four members of Council of whom three should be Indians. Of these three, two should be chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Governor should have power to appoint a

fifth Member of Council at his discretion should necessity arise.

II.—There should be a largely increased Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority of about four-fifths.

III.—There should be no division of subjects either in the Executive Government or for the purposes of the Legislative Council.

IV.—There should be standing committees, both financial and for the other departments of administration.

V.—Resolutions of the Legislative Council on matters of administration should be commendatory only.

VI.—The budget for the year should be prepared by the Executive Government and presented to the Legislative Council not later than January in each year after consideration by the Financial Standing Committee. All items in the budget, both on the income and the expenditure side, should be discussed and passed by the Legislative Council with such alterations as they may deem necessary. The Governor will have a right of veto as a result of the exercise of which the original estimate shall be reinstated.

VII.—Legislation by the Legislative Council should also be subject to the veto of the Governor in cases in which he considers the peace, order and the safety of the State is at stake.

VIII.—As regards Government Bills reference is invited to the proposal explained in paragraph 25.

With regard to the proposal to give the Governor discretion to appoint a fifth Member of Council I am to point out that the considerations set out in paragraph 266 of the report, as to the burden of work imposed upon the members in charge of the departments of the Imperial Government, apply with equal force to the case of the Provincial Governments. The increased size of the Legislative Council and the creation of standing committees will entail a great strain on the members of Government. That strain is already heavy and may well become impossible to endure in the near future. No doubt the scheme comprises the addition of one Member of Council but it is quite possible to conceive that a time may come when even this increased executive will be unable to cope with the increase in work. Therefore it is provided that the Governor should have discretionary power to appoint a fifth member,

I am now to set out the advantages of this proposal. In the first place it leaves Government free to act together on all subjects and to present an united face to the outside world. Secondly, it avoids the complications inseparable from an attempt to divide the functions of Government. Thirdly, the system of financial control is simple and efficient. The budget will be discussed and passed by the Legislative Council, and their resolutions will be binding in all cases except when His Excellency the Governor considers that peace, order, and the safety of the State require the exercise of his veto. Fourthly, the Legislative Council, which has a largely increased elective majority, is placed in the position in which it can demonstrate during this period of training its fitness to exercise still greater powers. Fifthly, the individual members of this Council will enjoy the same opportunities as the report affords them of association with the Executive Government on advisory committees, and of dealing at first hand with important questions connected with the budget and the various administrative departments.

It has been suggested that a scheme of this nature is defective in that there is no direct responsibility on the part of the Legislative Council, and that this will encourage members to indulge in an increasing extent in irresponsible criticism. To this the Governor in Council entirely demurs. He contends that the proposal connotes full devolution of responsibility on every member of the Legislative Council as regards the whole sphere of administration, whereas the proposal in the report imposes responsibility on the Legislative Council through the Minister or Ministers as regards the transferred subjects only. The veto of the Governor is common to both.

I am to urge strongly for the consideration of the Government of India that the training imparted in this way will be far more effective than any which can be secured by the scheme put forward in the report. The advisory committees will be able to study the various questions placed for their consideration from all points of view. There will be no artificial barriers placed between the various classes of subjects, and there will be one single financial controlling authority. It may be anticipated that occasions will seldom arise for the exercise of the Governor's veto.*

* For full text of the Memorandum the reader is referred to "Indian Reforms" page 138. Price Re. 1. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

Islam and the World's Thought.

Mr. Zia-ud-din Ahmad Barni, writing in the May number of *The Theosophist* points out that catholicity is Islam's first contribution to the world thought. A Mussulman makes no distinction between one prophet and another, so far as his prophethood is concerned, and further does not limit salvation to the so called Mussulmans alone, but to all who are rightdoers. Again Islam is the greatest democratic force the world has ever known. The differences of caste and colour vanish away into its "ever-widening thought and action" Islam has no submerged classes or untouchables as they are called. Conversion to Islam carries with it enfranchisement; and Islam retains up till now something at least of that practical democracy which its founder had preached and practised in the olden days. Though Mussulmans frequently preached war and extermination of non-Muslims, the spirit of intolerance was quite at variance with Islamic principles which are characterised by catholicity of spirit and broad-minded toleration.

Its greatest contribution is the encouragement which it has given to Science and Art. The Prophet taught on the score of education, "go in quest of knowledge even into China. Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave. The acquisition of knowledge is a duty incumbent on every Muslim, male or female." Again he says: "The ink of the scholar is more valuable than the blood of the martyr." The Arabs under Moawiyah collected the sciences of the Greeks and showed great interest in them, and under the Abbassids learning reached its highest pitch. Spain under the Ommayyads made much progress in all branches of knowledge. Mussulmans made the first telescope and built observatories in many places; they evolved an altogether new architecture and taught scientific agriculture and they developed the Greek system of medicine. In India the Mussulman Emperors built like giants and finished like jewellers.

Another great contribution of Islam is that it has placed great ideals and glorious traditions before the world in general and Muslims in particular. A Mussulman is to build his character on these. The men of Islam have always rushed joyously to martyrdom and have an exceptionally firm trust in God and His will. Above all Islam never degenerates and will again begin to mould the souls of men and light in their hearts, a simple faith in God and a love for service.

The Indian Budget for 1919-20.

The Journal of the Indian Economic Society for March 1919 includes an article by Mr. C. S. Deoli on the merits or otherwise of Sir James Meeson's first Budget.

The peculiar features of 1918-19 are that the current revenue and expenditure have departed widely from the Budget estimates presented in March 1918. Sir James Meeson remarks: "After the strain and artificial conditions of recent years it is not easy to speculate how far the rebound will go or what directions it will take and the only thing that is certain is that we must incur a large expenditure to recover the ground which has been lost in a period of severe economy."

It is high time that the system of voting supplies for different services is introduced in India. The ways and means problem involves a double process (1) that of finding funds sufficient to meet the probable calls on them and (2) that of our resource which means the process of distributing the cash balance between the paying centres including the Home Treasury. In India the problem of resource is the chief difficulty. In 1919-20 the Government hopes that this problem will not recur in the acute form recently experienced, as they propose to undertake a large capital outlay on Railways which will utilise the large resources we possess in London. It is rather unnatural that the most important financial centre should be outside its limits.

The main currency question is the *managed* rupee which stabilises the gold price of the rupee for purposes of foreign exchange.

The Provincial Revenues are taken at close £37 millions and the expenditure a little over 38½ millions, the deficit being met by drafts on their large accumulated balances. There is no ship-building programme and Government has devoted an extraordinary large sum to the Railway Capital Programme, the present mileage of which is enough to go on.

It is a matter of satisfaction that Local Governments have been informed to incur more expenditure on (1) The extension of education in directions where it has been specially hampered by war economies (2) The development of industries (3) The repair of actual damage to public institutions and services and (4) Capital outlay on the development of forests, agricultural experiments and the like.

The Expansion of Europe.

Mr. W. R. Shepherd explains in the March issue of the *Political Science Quarterly* the interaction of European and non-European in the development of modern civilisation during the past five hundred years. The vast field of action which the European has made his own comprises two distinct areas; (1) that inhabited by aboriginal folk having little or no civilisation at all and (2) that occupied by certain peoples of Asia who had attained much earlier than the Europeans themselves a high degree of civilisation, which is in some respects quite superior to even the European. Through a reciprocal rubbing away of their rougher points of contact, the two great divisions of mankind have become conscious in ever increasing measure of the duty of laying aside narrow-mindedness and the overvaluation of self, the duty also of bearing forth to humanity at large their gradually awakening mutuality of esteem.

The diffusion of European civilisation itself is subject to a double limitation. Firstly, viewing the breadth and depth of its application, the process has little more than begun. Secondly, even the most hopeful of enthusiasts for European culture can hardly expect that the various types of Asiatic civilisation will eventually become transformed into European or fail to perceive that European culture itself must be more and more influenced by Asiatic ideas and institutions. From their mutual contact, a universal civilisation will not be the outcome. European relations to backward countries are regarded partly from the standpoint of a more or less evident imperialism and partly from that of the *white man's burden*—the former inherited from the period before the 19th century and the latter a product of subsequent growth. Just as the one suggests exploitation, the other conveys the idea of the duty of importing the blessings of the European civilisation, both implying contempt for an assumed inferior.

The history of European colonisation should not be confounded with that of the expansion of Europe. Expansion includes colonisation and vastly more. It is the interpenetration of Europeans and non-Europeans all the world over in all departments of human activity. Two concepts are inherent in its interpretation. One is that dependencies, other than mere seaports and restricted hinterlands, are the germs of new societies and new nations. In this first concept there are two

sides. The Europeans in the dependencies have the natural environment of the locality into which they have transplanted themselves. The environment for the native peoples is that artificially established for them by Europeans. This mutuality of environmental operation works in two ways. The second concept is that whatever Europeans have done overseas and overland beyond their own frontiers forms an essential part of the history of their particular nations. It reveals both the impress made on the civilisation of Europe by what the Europeans carry back from their distant ventures and the manner, in which this undergoes a change amid new conditions of existence.

As a historical concept European expansion involves two movements, the outgoing and the incoming. Operating in each movement are two interacting factors, the one that has been given and the one that has been received.

The transit of European ideas and institutions and the reaction on European life and thought may both be considered from several standpoints. U.S.A. is engaged in the work of European expansion on its own account; while Japan plays an important part in the expansion of Europe, though in a mediate sense; and the latter is both the product of the expansion of Europe and an intermediary for its extension to China.

The whole topic, in its manifold aspects needs a great historian.

Women and Co-operation.

In the June number of the "Hindustan Review" Mr. K. S. Abhyankar contributes an article on "Woman and Co operation." The subject is a very interesting one, and the writer in dealing with it traces directly what part woman has played in the field of co operation. As a customer it is for woman to understand "the differences between pure goods made under fair conditions and cheap and nasty articles produced under quite other conditions. If the local store is stocked with, let us say, the soaps, cocoas and jams of private firms, instead of the soaps, cocoas and jams produced by the wholesale, it is chiefly because customers will have it so." Women can understand, the writer says, if they discriminate rightly that their interests as social beings lie in the spread of the co operative movement.

Then he discusses at length the history of the co-operative movement in England, Scotland and Ireland. In western countries, women are not

only house keepers, but purchasers as well. He describes the movement in England as "a self-governing organisation of women, who work through co-operation for the welfare of the people, seeking freedom for their own progress and the equal fellowship of men and women in the home, the store, the workshop, and the state." He pays a glowing tribute to Mrs. Acland, the first secretary of the Guild, to whose efforts are attributed the success of the movement. To-day in England women are share-holders, members of educational committees, delegates to co-operative congresses and what not. All questions affecting women's social and political life are discussed at various conferences. Then he treats about the history of the movement in Scotland and Ireland. The work done in Ireland is supplemented by an organisation called "The United Irish Women." Mr. C. W. Russel is a great believer in woman's co-operative movement. "Women" says he, "however they may err as individuals are concerned collectively far more than men about the character and well being of a race" Elsewhere Russel says "we cannot build up a rural civilization in Ireland without the aid of Irish women. It will help life little if we have methods of the twentieth century in the fields and those of the fifth century in the home."

The war has done incalculable service to the woman's cause by providing opportunities for her to distinguish herself in various walks of life.

The unit of co-operation is the home. The sense of corporate social existence is a thing which deserves to be brought home to the minds of Indian women; as they have not yet realized the possibilities of the co-operative movement. "Development needs freedom" is a favourite maxim as much of pedagogy as of politics. Nor is the truth of less force when applied to women. We can never exaggerate the fruits of emancipating her from the prison of the home, to play a part in social existence. Her present sense of perpetual dependence on others must vanish in the matter of co-operation. The writer advises us that co-operation on the part of women is all the more necessary since "an interesting development of the day is the breaking up of the joint family and the migrating to cities by small families." This is indeed wholesome, considering the benefits which would derive from a joint family without involving any serious disadvantage. But what about the "immemorial" social restrictions on womanhood? Will "man" play the better part by leaving out a path for woman-kind?

The English Public Schools

Mr. Alec Vaughn, writes in the March number of *The English Review* about the necessity for reform of public school education. The public school is not a jerry built affair that can be overturned and rebuilt in a few weeks; it has grown up round certain unconscious but clearly marked traits in the English temperament. It conforms to the character of the nation and any sudden attempt to rebuild it is bound to defeat its own purposes. A slow modification of attitude and method is the only way to effect any considerable reform. But the difficulties are very great. Schoolmasters are doing all they can to foster the conspiracy of silence woven round all save the most superficial activities of the school-world.

The truth is that the boy goes to the public school fresh and interested in his work; and for the first term that freshness lasts. The next term sees a slight falling-off. No one inspires the boy to take any interest in his work, athletic success is that which counts; and for athletic success he strives; he works at his play and plays at his work. With the exceptional scholar the situation is distinctly worse. He is trained like a *Prize Pomeranian*, fed with scholarship, leaves the tricks of the business and lives in a world of *dignum* and *enclitics*. From his class are drawn schoolmasters and Government officials. The public school provides no outlet for a boy's emotional nature. Only in rare instances does it touch his soul side. In its wider and humaner sense the spiritual life is starved. And the only remedy lies in finding for each boy some inner interest that will appeal to him as strongly as athletics.

The relations between the headmaster and the parents are very difficult. The public school system is competitive; and it is dangerous for any school to get a reputation of unorthodoxy. All that the Governors appear to want is a flourishing commercial concern and they put the headmaster there to give it to them. It is necessary that a system so conservative and competitive should be remedied. The only way to reform is through a patient modification of the existing system. Schoolmasters at present persist in their attitude of denial and self-complacency; and parents do not realise the facts that boys do not work at school, they are taught very little, that spiritual and intellectual life does not exist for them and that for want of something better they have made a god of games.

Welfare Work in Factories

Mrs. R. M. Grey, writing in the April number of *The Social Service Quarterly*, says that the out-standing fact established about welfare work by the War is that it pays and that America discovered this fact even before the War. Welfare work is not a drain and is actually a source of income. Many nobler motives have driven philanthropic work, but none is more cogent or of more universal application.

Welfare work supplies conditions under which all workers can do their best. They naturally divide themselves into conditions inside and outside the workshops. Under the first heading, workers should work only so long as their work is productive and they should have rest intervals sufficient to maintain their strength and interest at its maximum and sufficient food to produce the same result. Sanitary arrangements should be such as to encourage a high standard of personal cleanliness. Medical attendance must be available and must ensure that the helplessness of childhood is not abused and the next generation allowed to suffer.

Of all evils the out-standing one in India is excessive hours. Only men's appalling ignorance and callousness of everything outside their own lives could tolerate the present state of affairs. It does not strike the well-nourished, well housed, well-amused rich man, who finds himself quite fagged at the end of a six hours day, that there is something dreadful in the expectation that mill labourers, men, women, and too often children also, shall rise in the dark (because hooters are forbidden), stagger half asleep to the mill gates, snatch a little more sleep on the stones outside the gate, toil at a monotonous task from daylight to dark, with one short recognised interval for food, and several short unrecognised intervals for sleep or tobacco. They declare that the labourer is only working at half pressure all the time, that he has all sorts of ways of saving himself, that manual work is quite different from brain work; which is just another way of saying that he is human. And since he is human, the Indian workman will respond to the same treatment as other human beings. If his hours are shortened, he will feel fitter and will unconsciously or consciously work harder. Already in the few experiments that have been made in Cawnpore and elsewhere in reducing hours, it has been found that there was no decrease in output, but on the contrary a slight increase. It is quite certain that the very first thing Indian welfare workers will fasten on,

as the cause of inefficiency of the workers, and of consequent loss to employers, will be excessive hours

It is difficult for the welfare worker to confine himself or herself to indoor conditions only. In India, the illiteracy of the mill labourers is a great hindrance to welfare work. It is difficult to get men to take part in that most efficacious of all means of improving their status—the co-operative movement, if they are too illiterate to keep their own books. In some places, above all in Bombay, the housing conditions are such as to nullify any efforts that could be made to improve the physique of the men during working hours. Only when these three main evils, excessive hours, illiteracy, and bad housing conditions have been drastically reformed, will the welfare worker begin to get a real chance to make the life of the factory employees healthy and happy.

[In this connection the reader may be referred to an article on the "Menace of welfare work" published in this issue—Ed I.R.]

Co-operation in the Missionary Field.

In an article in the March number of *The International Review of Missions* Mr. J. H. Oldham describes certain aspects of missionary work in which a successful solution can be found only by common consultation and united action on the part of the various missionary societies. The first aspect is that of allowing all missionaries of all nationalities in a country. The question is important, because not only the work of missionaries of enemy nationality but also that of missionaries of a different nationality from that of the governing power, may under certain circumstances seem to call for government regulation. To entrust any considerable share in the work of education to missionaries of alien nationality who may not understand or fully sympathize with the educational aims of the government of the country, may present difficulties. Governments are being forced to pay increased attention to propaganda of all kinds and to watch and regulate it. The awakening of the national consciousness of peoples expresses itself among other ways in the desire to defend their institutions and their heritage against the inrush of western civilisation and this may result in an attempt to restrict Christianity as an alien influence threatening the integrity of national life. Even European governments may sometimes look on Christian propaganda as a disturbing influence on the social order making the task

of government more difficult. As a result of these and other causes, it is necessary that missionary bodies should unite, appoint joint committees to consult and act for them. These alone can take a broad view of the social forces which affect the lives of Asiatic and African people and help to relate missionary policy with what is best and most progressive in the policy of governments.

In other fields *e.g.*, in education, it is necessary that Christian bodies can retain their influence in the face of coming changes in only one way and that is by combination. The missionary societies must consult and act together, and the action of such joint effort in India has produced two very good fruits *viz.*, the Women's Christian College at Madras and a Commission for the study of the problems of village education. Large questions of a similar nature, affecting the work not of one society but of all, arise in connection with medical missions and with the provision of an adequate Christian literature.

The presentation of the missionary cause to the home church, the necessity that exists of the missionary cause striking its roots deeper into the national life—these can only be done by combining the gifts and resources of the various missionary bodies, and the work can be effectively accomplished only through co-operation.

Missionary co-operation must thus become a clearly recognised element in the policy of missionary societies.

The Aims of the Labour Party

Sir L. Chiozza Money, late Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping explains in the April number of *The English Review* the aims of the Labour Party. The Coalition Liberals under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George, are, he says, not so much the expression of a partnership of political opponents, as a fusion of men who in essential things have come to think very much alike. Nor indeed do the Free Asquithian Liberals differ in their appeals, very much in point of policy or promise from those made by the Coalition Liberals. The sons of rich Liberals and Radicals of two generations ago for the most part embraced conservatism as the expression of class feeling in politics. The capitalists joined the landlords politically and changed the orientation of the conservative party in industrial matters and carried the unfortunate opposition to Labour aspirations with which their fathers had associated the Liberal party. Simultaneously the Liberals and Radicals losing much of their class connections

largely accepted the earlier views of the Conservatives on industrial matters. Then came the almost purely political turmoils of 1885-1905 beginning with Gladstone's advocacy of Home Rule and ending with Chamberlain's advocacy of Tariff Reform.

As Protectionists the Conservatives preached their fiscal policy as a panacea for all social and industrial ills. As Free traders, Mr. Asquith's Liberal government of 1905-14 were content to concern themselves with Irish Home Rule, the House of Lords etc and a parsimonious Old Age Pensions Act. As to the profound underlying economic questions both parties had become largely neutral, and the birth of the British Labour Party was a direct consequence of this attitude. It appeared in some strength in 1905 and has now risen to a representation of 62 in the recent election—according to a system of proportional representation, its votes would have given it 133 seats. In the few years preceding the war Labour became both conscious and vocal as never before; and when the war broke out the Labour party was making marked progress in the constituencies. The conduct of the war compelled the Government to socialistic methods and to become the greatest industrial capitalist and ship-owner in the country. The Coalition Liberals, the Free Liberals and the Coalition Conservatives all avoid any reference to disturbing the existing structure of individualism, while the Labour Party stands for industrial democracy and the socialisation of industry. The experiences of the war make it the more remarkable that the power of Government in industry should be resigned in peace to private control. The war has proved beyond all doubt the national weakness and danger of the pre-war industrial system and that vital industries should not be left in the hands of capitalists whose first object is profits and of workers whose first object is wages.

The Labour Party, Sir Chiozza concludes, is insistent upon industrial democracy as a means to a far greater output of material wealth and an equitable distribution of the results of that larger output. It also sees in industrial democracy the only means of giving full citizenship and self-respect and a proper sense of social responsibility to the individuals of a modern industrial state. It aims to substitute democratic for the individual ownership of industrial capital, as distinguished from personal property in the real sense *i.e.* the things proper to the personal use and comforts of the individual.

On War

A writer in the *Postivist Review* for April, 1919, says that both Bacon and De Quincey regard war as being in a sense healthful and beneficial. Bacon rather insists on its advantage as affording exercise which braces the national constitution, while De Quincey puts his case even higher and claims that it ennobles and elevates the ideals and planes of living and thinking. Two extracts from them are given below.

"No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly, to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever: but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, noble courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt."—LORD BACON, "Of the True Greatness of Kingdom and Estates."

"War has a deeper and more ineffable relation to hidden grandeurs in man than has yet been deciphered. To execute judgments of retribution upon outrages offered to human rights or to human dignity, to vindicate the sanctities of the altar and the sanctities of the hearth these are functions of human greatness which war has many times assumed and many times faithfully discharged. But, behind all these, there towers dimly a greater. The great phenomenon of war is this and this only, which keeps open in man a spiracle—an organ of respiration for breathing a transcendent atmosphere, and dealing with an idea which else would perish—viz, the idea of a mixed crusade and martyrdom, doing and suffering, that finds its realisation in a battle such as that of Waterloo—viz, a battle fought for the interests of the human race, felt even when they are not understood."—DE QUINCEY, "On War."

Bacon however says that civil war within the nation is like the heat of a fever. We thus reach the idea that war is a disease and may admit that like a disease, it may, if not fatal, have beneficial and even ennobling results.

Wordsworth seems to have passed through two stages in his declared views on this point which show him at first more or less in agreement with Bacon and De Quincey, and afterwards, if he did not abandon them altogether, to be hesitant.

Among his "Poems dedicated to National Independence and Liberty" there is one which appears in "Part II," entitled "Ode. 1815." It was composed in 1816 amid conditions not wholly

dissimilar from those obtaining in the world to-day. As at first published it contained four lines which have been often quoted—De Quincey quotes them in his essay—and are well known:—

"But Thy most dreaded instrument
In working out a pure intent,
Is Man—arrayed for mutual slaughter,
—Yea, carnage is thy daughter!"

Many readers and admirers of Wordsworth appear, quite intelligibly, to have stumbled a little at this attribution of "carnage" as God's "daughter." And in 1845 these lines were eliminated, and the two following printed in place of them:—

"But man is Thy most awful instrument
In working out a pure intent."

Wordsworth was, however, always impressed with the truth that a war may be not only "just" but "necessary," as may be seen particularly in his fine tract on the "Convention of Cintra"—of which it has been said that if he "had never written a single verse, this essay alone would be sufficient to place him in the highest rank of English poets."

But it must be possible to find remedies less heroic than war for diseases of the body-politic.

Emanuel Swedenborg

Swedenborg was, until he turned fifty, a scientist of the most eminently practical kind, whose encyclopædic knowledge was always turned into utilitarian channels. His intellect was very wide and his mental activity was all-absorbing. Other persons besides Swedenborg have been encyclopædic, amassing vast stores of miscellaneous knowledge, but few, if any, have possessed at the same time Swedenborg's extraordinary capacity for utilizing the knowledge gained and turning it to practical account. His philosophy recognises the synthetical as well as the analytical method as requisite to arrive at true conclusions. Both are necessary in reflecting upon a tracing one and the same thing; for in order to do so there is required both light *a priori* and experience *a posteriori*. "He who is possessed of scientific knowledge and is merely skilled in experiment, has taken only the first steps in wisdom. For such a person is only acquainted with what is posterior and is ignorant of what is prior. Thus his wisdom does not extend beyond the working of the senses and is unconnected with reason. Whereas nevertheless true wisdom embraces both."

This Swedenborg, so writes the *Occult Review* for April, was a medium of communication between this world and the world of spirits. He became gradually led by his philosophical speculations to an investigation of the nature of the soul and its operation in the body and the mutual relations of the two. It was while continuing this pursuit that Swedenborg found himself in touch with another than the physical world which he describes in the Introduction to his work *Arcana Coelestia* (1749). He regarded that the Bible must be taken as a divinely inspired book, but in the allegorical sense. His doctrine of correspondences was merely the recognition of the allegorical relationship between the spiritual and the material. The Universe is symbolical throughout; and all material things are derived from their spiritual archetypes. His doctrine of Degrees is that the 3 degrees of the human mind correspond to the 3 kingdoms of nature i.e., spirit, soul and body, corresponding to animal, vegetable and mineral. He insisted that sex is a spiritual as well as a physical distinction, denied the virtue of celibacy and declared that true chastity resided in the perfect marriage relation. What is important to us however is that his spiritual communion was continuous for a number of years and this could not be considered the result of a monomania. Of his psychic gifts there is plenty of evidence quite outside the teachings of his celestial visitors.

Swedenborg's estimate of the status of the spiritual beings with whom he communicated, even if we accept their reality, need not be ours. Recent investigations and records of innumerable psychic experiences have tended to show what a miscellaneous crowd of spirits hover around the confines of this material world. Swedenborg's mistake has been made by many spiritualists of the present day, and sometimes with disastrous results. Swedenborg had not before him the evidence which we now hold to warn him of the necessity of testing the quality of his spiritual communicants. The experiences encountered overwhelmed him by their unexpected and apparently miraculous character, and his naturally sane judgment was at fault for want of a criterion by which to estimate them. Few of those who now accept the genuineness of psychical phenomena are prepared to question Swedenborg's exceptional mediumistic powers. To allow them to their fullest extent is by no means to accept the doctrine which was preached through his mediumship.

Co-operative Marketing

In a country so predominantly dependent upon land as India is, the most vital question is not for which crops the climate and soil are most suitable; but which crops will yield the highest net return to the cultivator. The second question is essentially a problem in practical rural economics. As communications have improved, the cultivators have become less dependent upon the local market and it has become possible to grow tea, coffee, jute, groundnuts and cotton for export. Where this is the case there is a tendency either towards the capitalisation of agriculture as exemplified by the big tea estates or towards dependence upon powerful middlemen. The individual cultivator is not in a position to study the requirements of distant markets and his own output is too small for his embarking on commercial transactions. So long as he grows staple crops he can without much difficulty secure something approaching a fair price; but where the crop is a speciality for which there is no regular market quotation, the producer is at the mercy of the middleman. The production of specialities is thus dependent upon the system of marketing; and it is the defective organisation for marketing that accounts for the small out-turn of high paying special crops and for the devotion of so large an area to less paying staple crops.

The *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* (March 1919) puts forward an urgent plea for the introduction of the co-operative method which alone can protect the small cultivator and secure for him all the advantages which his crop can earn. Now the small cultivator pours his produce into the nearest market which is not un seldom the worst. He knows nothing of the advantages of warehousing, storage for a better price, preservation to last over a glut, grading in order to secure a higher price for better produce, etc. The result is all round inferiority and waste. By co-operation the cultivator will be relieved of the necessity of growing food for his family on land that is better adapted to something else and will be able to concentrate his resources on the most profitable crop. In a country of small holdings this is of very great importance. Co-operation will gain all the advantages which a large scale efficient organisation can give. It will reduce among other things, cost of packing, commission sales, railway rates, losses from failure to recover the sale money and give the cultivator improvement in cultural skill.

Neutrality

Mr. R. F. Roxburgh, writing in the *Journal of Comparative Legislation* (for April 1919) traces in outline the development of the conception of neutrality, with particular reference to the changes it has undergone during the late war.

The conception gradually developed during the 18th century when the Swiss confederation, by its policy of holding a loop from wars between neighbouring states, afforded a constant example of neutrality in practice, however imperfect it may have been according to modern notions. Grotius did not use the term neutrality and established only two doubtful rules. In the 18th century, thought ripened into two rules, viz, a state, if neutral, should not give active assistance to either belligerent; and a neutral should not be guilty in permitting its citizens to give aid to either belligerent through acts over which it was supposed to have control.

The First Armed Neutrality was the earliest organised attempt by a group of neutral powers to extort from belligerents in the name of neutrality greater security for their maritime commerce. The attitude of U. S. A. during the years 1793—1818 marked the next step in the evolution of neutral rights and duties. Washington's proclamation of a determination to stand aside from European quarrels enabled the conception of neutrality to acquire important political and diplomatic significance on the American continent.

After the Napoleonic Wars, small states wedged between great powers were permanently neutralised; and the term 'neutralisation' came to be applied to certain arrangements made by convention with regard to various international waters. One of the ideas of the Congress of Vienna was that wars might at least be localised by making neutrality easy and belligerency difficult. The Crimean War, the Boer War, the wars of 1870 and 1898, and the Russo-Japanese War were each confined to a few belligerents; in all these the political power of neutral states was very great; and belligerents became bound by political expediency to acquiesce in neutral claims. Neutrality as a maxim of state policy seemed to possess high ethical quality when contrasted with the horrors of war.

Rules of neutrality were moulded by a long series of conflicts and compromises, determined primarily by reference to the relative political power of the contending parties, though under the influence of the dominant principles and personalities of the

time. The International Conferences at the Hague and in London in 1899, 1907, 1908-9, removed some of the uncertainties and reconciled some of the divergent practices in maritime law and advanced the cause of international peace.

In the course of the present war, access to the supplies of money, munitions and raw materials which could be drawn from neutral countries was seen to be a vital and perhaps determining factor in the struggle. In these circumstances, each group of belligerents resorted to a systematic propaganda in neutral countries against neutrality of thought. Neutral governments strove hard to fulfil their obligations, but as the belligerents were not restrained by the fear of bringing neutral powers into war against them the belligerents resorted to reprisals against one another. Moreover, the rules for belligerent and neutral conduct evolved by the previous international conferences proved to be inadequate and ill-adapted, and the Allied Powers fell back upon the admitted and historic rules of the laws of nations, so far as they were not actually bound by conventions.

The collapse of the neutral fabric, built with so much care during the past fifty years is due to the number and strength of belligerents in this war and the consequent weakness of the neutral powers and also to the great miscalculation of the German Government which adopted a policy of deliberate lawlessness in the false hope of escaping the consequences. As a maxim of foreign policy neutrality has lost its former ascendancy. This is due in part to the fact that so many peoples have felt it their duty to bear their share in the war, and partly to the realisation that modern war inflicts such hardships on neutrals as to make their condition hardly more tolerable than that of belligerents.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

WAR WORK OF INDIANS IN BRITAIN. By Mrs. Saint Nihal Singh. [“The Modern Review,” July 1919.]

HINDUISM AND IMAGE WORSHIP. By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., [“The Hindustan Review,” June 1919.]

A PRACTICAL SCHEME OF AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN BENGAL. By Mr. G. C. Dutt, I.C.S., [“The Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal.”]

THE PROPOSED REFORMS IN INDIA. By Mr. Charles Roberts. [“The United Empire,” June 1919.]

THE INDIAN COTTON COMMITTEE. By Dr. Harold E. Mann, D. Sc., [“The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly,” June 1919.]

The Maharaja of Bikaner on India at the Peace Table.

On his arrival from England at Bombay on July 17, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner accorded an interview to the *Times of India*. In the course of the interview, His Highness said:—

We had a most interesting and strenuous time in Europe though after yet another absence, this time of 8 months, I am very glad to return home and after a little rest which I now very badly need, I hope to be enabled to devote myself to the affairs of my State which since the outbreak of war I have necessarily not been able to attend fully. At the time of our arrival in England neither the Dominion Representatives nor we from India had any idea of the exact part which we were to play at the Peace Conference. In fact we did not know whether any of us would even be directly represented or not. But as you are aware, it was finally arranged for representation to the five representatives of each of the five big Powers, Great Britain, America, France, Italy and Japan, India and the Dominions should have separately the same representation at the table of the Peace Conference as some of the other powers. The British Empire had two representatives each from Australia, Canada, South Africa and India, whilst New Zealand had one representative. And to show that this was no minor point it will perhaps suffice to add that Powers such as China, Portugal and Rumania also had only two representatives each.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Owing however to the adoption of the panel system the Dominion representatives as well as those of India were eligible for inclusion among the five representatives provided for Great Britain over and above the number reserved for each part of the Empire, as already stated, when some members of His Majesty's Government were away from Paris. Besides our work at the Peace Conference we conducted much important business at the meetings of the British Empire Delegation. Thus both at the Peace Conference as well as in the deliberations of the British Empire Delegation, India had representation and voice on a footing of absolute equality with the Dominions. It will appear therefore that India took her full share in the Peace Congress, and its recognition by the world at large of her important position in the British Empire is a matter of sincere satisfaction. Just as the resources and the armed strength of our Empire—and we must not forget what the world owes specially to the all powerful British Navy very materially for the achievement of victory—so it will be a matter of pride to all residing within that Empire to know that the British Delegation had a considerable say in the deliberations and decisions of the Peace Conference. I do not know that I can tell you much that will be news to you or which would be of special interest to India.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

India's inclusion among the original members of the League of Nations, which, considering our present traditional position, was not as easy as it may appear to the ordinary man in the street, is also a step the

significance of which cannot be over estimated. And it is a matter of peculiar gratification to me to feel that it was left to me alone to conduct the final negotiations as regards her inclusion in the League during the unavoidable absence in England on urgent official business of both Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha. The membership of the League of Nations carries with it the responsibility of adherence to the Labour Convention. In this connection the Indian delegates had to urge the special circumstances of the Indian labour and industries and the peculiar social, economic and climatic conditions prevailing in this country which required specially to be safeguarded, and I am happy to say that our efforts here were also crowned with success. Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha and I had the honour of being appointed Plenipotentiaries, Commissioners and Procurators in respect of the Indian Empire by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, authorising and empowering us to negotiate and conclude any treaties, conventions or agreements which might ensue as a result of our deliberations and discussions at the Peace Conference. And in accordance with this authority the Peace Treaty with Germany contains the signatures of Mr. Montagu and myself as only two representatives each could sign on behalf of India and the respective Dominions, that being the limit as I have already said of our representation at the Peace Conference. The omission of Lord Sinha's name on this occasion was purely a matter of accident. He will continue of course to be one of the plenipotentiaries and no doubt will sign on behalf of the Indian Empire other treaties still to be concluded.

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

In connection with the terms of settlement with Turkey the most important duty of the Indian Delegates was to keep before and persistently to urge upon the British Prime Minister and the Council of the Allied and Associated Powers the sentiments and the feelings of our brother Moslems in India and throughout our stay in Europe this important subject continued to receive our special attention. As you will have already come to know Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha and I, accompanied by His Highness the Aga Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, and Mr. Yusuf Ali formed a special deputation for the purpose of putting the Indian Moslem case before Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and the Italian Prime Minister, a body commonly known as the Council of Four. This was brought about through the good offices of the British Prime Minister and the active support of Mr. Montagu than whom nobody could have worked more energetically or sympathetically and with greater effect in this direction. Although no final decision had been arrived at up to the time of my departure from Europe I would beg my Moslem fellow countrymen to believe that Mr. Montagu as well as Lord Sinha and I have to the utmost of our ability and energy constantly and strongly pressed the Indian Mahomedan point of view and that we spared no pains to acquaint all concerned with the true Mussalman sentiments regarding this important question.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Lloyd George on the Peace.

Replying to the debate on the second reading of the Treaty of Peace, Mr. Lloyd George said:

He looked to the League of Nations ultimately to repair and redress imperfections in the Treaty of Peace. The League would exist as a court of appeal to readjust crudities. Nevertheless he claimed that the Conference had redressed many old wrongs while he could not think of any new ones created. Moreover they had established guarantees and securities as far as human foresight permitted against the repetition of past horrors. They had disarmed and punished and had demonstrated to the world that national rights and liberties would not be trampled upon. (Cheers). The Treaty would be a lighthouse in the deep, a warning to nations and rulers of nations against the perils upon which the German Empire had shattered itself (Loud Cheers)

Mr. Asquith on Coalition Government.

A Coalition may be, and often is, a necessary instrument in time of war. It is in my judgment wholly unsuited to the constructive tasks of peace. For what is it? Assuming, as we are bound to assume, and as I am sure we readily assumed, that all its members are animated by honest convictions, what is it? It is a conglomerate in which the pebbles are imprisoned and isolated in an alien material, but those are the conditions under which the Coalition is carried on, and I express to you, for whatever it is worth, my own deliberate judgment when I say that we must return to healthy political and Parliamentary conditions, until we see once more an independent Liberal Party pursuing its own ideals by its own methods, and upon its own lines.

Marshal Haig on the Citizen Army.

Only by adequate preparation for war can peace in any way be guaranteed. It is the duty of every man to prepare himself beforehand for his country's defence. Let us not forget the lessons of the war. My message, as a man who has seen enough of war to make me determined to spend my utmost efforts to prevent its recurrence, is to urge that we should set up forthwith the organisation of a strong Citizen Army on Territorial lines—an organisation that will ensure that every able-bodied citizen shall come forward when the next crisis comes, not as a willing, patriotic, but militarily ignorant volunteer, but as a trained man. To meet whatever danger might threaten us we need to organise at once our democratic Citizen Army. (Applause in the Chamber of London.)

Sir George Lloyd on the Reforms.

Peace is to bring to India new responsibilities and with them possibly new dangers. The Reforms Bill is, I am glad to say, now before the Parliament, and I hope will be passed into law without any great delay. It is our task, both the task of my Government and of you, gentlemen, to guide India's national aspirations and enthusiasm, which, after all, the British people are responsible for awakening and it is our pride that we are so responsible out of the difficulty, and sometimes stormy waters of transition into the ample harbours of prudent and deliberate achievements. Just as in your armies a regiment that tries to move with forced marches becomes a rabble, so equally in our national development, you should remember that safety and solidarity of a State is perfected by steady advances rather than by forced marches. But this must not delay us in starting out on the march.

Sir John Rees on Brahmin Oligarchy.

The Brahmins and a few other classes had always been the, or, at all events, a predominant factor in the Government of India. It was suggested that there should, therefore, be special representation of the lower castes. But suppose it were seriously suggested here that the products of the public schools, the Universities, the education, and the upper classes generally should be ruled out from appointments in the public service, everybody would say we had gone mad. Our position must be that equal opportunities must be offered for all. He could quite understand that the Indian Civil Service did not like the proposed changes, but it was too late to resist them now. It was no use to stand up for autocracy and bureaucracy. These things had been swept away by the war wave, and no man who stood up for their reconstruction, could be called a practical politician. (Speech in London)

Mr. Runciman on Free Liberalism.

There was a tendency in Government circles to govern this country independent of Parliament. Members asked that they might be freed from Parliamentary control, just as the Prime Minister, before the election made his request that when he was returned, he would be returned without any of the disadvantages of criticism. There was a growing tendency to be little Parliament, and that was the gravest peril into which democracy could slip. . . . He would rather be outside the House of Commons as a free Liberal than be inside the House of Commons with his wrists shackled and his tongue tied.

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner.

i. LETTER FROM MR. MONTAGU.

On the eve of his departure for India H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner received the following letters:—From the Right Hon'ble Edwin Montagu, M.P., Secretary of State, 25th June, 1919:—

I cannot let you start on what I hope will be a pleasant and speedy voyage home without a word of farewell. We have now been working together for the best part of a year and I have to thank you for a colleagueship which I value and appreciate. You, Lord Sinha and I have worked together in Paris and in London for the welfare of India and you have earned the welcome which I am sure awaits you from those on whose behalf you have spent so many months in Europe. We have seen India welcomed by the Allies as a member of the League of Nations. We have seen India a party to the Labour Convention and we are to sign, on behalf of India, the Peace which Germany had accepted. We have taken a full share with the Dominions in the deliberations of the British Empire. These events cannot but lead not only to an assured status for India in the world but I trust to a progressive realisation of the partnership she has earned in the Empire. All the time we have had many an opportunity of discussing together those questions in which you are more particularly interested and you have been able to give me much assistance and advice with regard to the Native States. It is unnecessary for me to assure you that I mean to do my part in achieving the recommendations which the Viceroy and I made on this matter. I can imagine the pleasure with which you are returning to the State you love so well. Please accept my best wishes for its continued prosperity and my thanks for the great public services.

ii. FROM THE PREMIER.

From the Right Hon'ble D. Lloyd George, M.P., Prime Minister, 28th June, 1919.—

Now that you are returning to India I want to thank you for the services which you have rendered since you accepted my invitation last autumn and came to assist in our deliberations. It seemed to me obvious that the Indian Princes, whose share in our victory, both personal and from the resources of their States, has been so splendid, should be represented at the Peace Conference by one of themselves. You have devoted yourself to the interests of the Indian Empire and can return with the satisfactory knowledge that you have played a part much appreciated by your colleagues. I can assure you that the views expressed by you and the other members of the Indian Delegation on matters of particular interest to India will continue to be carefully considered. I look forward to the part which is to be played by the Indian Princes in the affairs of the Indian Empire when we have achieved these reforms in the Government of British India which the Bill now before Parliament contemplates.

The Maharaja of Alwar on Reforms.

On the occasion of laying the foundation stone of a Council Hall at Jamnagar by the Maharaja of Alwar, His Highness made an interesting speech, in the course of which he said:—

Some people maintain that we have no connection with British India; nevertheless I cannot conceive how as Indians we can remain interested spectators of what is going to happen outside of our very doors. As Indians we cannot but rejoice at the prospects that are before our countrymen of making a substantial advance, as we hope it will be, towards the ultimate goal of political salvation which has been laid before us by the great people in whose hands lies at present the destiny of our country. As Indians we cannot but hope and pray that that advance may be rapid and on sound and progressive lines. What the exact path is going to be may not be our direct concern. As to the exact method some of us may agree with it, others may not. There must be details on which some must always disagree for that is only human nature. I certainly can claim to be no great student of democracy and so cannot presume to preach the precepts of a doctrine with which I myself am not thoroughly familiar, but what I can claim, however for the sake of our order, is to pray that whatever line may be chalked out for India's destiny my mother country will rise at no distant date to that position which will enable her to be placed on a position of equality with the other great dominions within the British Empire.

The Late Ruler of Bhavnagar.

The State of Bhavnagar has been in mourning owing to the death of the Maharaja. Great sympathy is felt for the Maharani of Panna, who is the daughter of the Maharaja. His Highness followed a progressive policy for the 23 years he was on the *gadi* and introduced many important reforms in his State. It was only recently that he abolished the drink traffic in the State and founded a People's Representative Assembly in October last year.

The New Dewan of Mysore.

Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, B.A., C.S.I., assumed charge of his high office of Dewan on the 14th July amidst the customary honours and ceremonies. A deputation of representative bodies waited on him the next day to offer the citizens' congratulations on his recovery from illness and the assumption of office. He is the first close kinsman of the Maharaja to be called on for such a high office since the Rendition.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Mr. Gandhi on Indians in S. Africa.

Under the auspices of the Home Rule League, a public meeting was held on the 13th at Goculdas Hall Bombay to protest against the proposed legislation relating to Indians in the Transvaal. Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, presided Mr. M. K. Gandhi moved :—

(1) That this public meeting of the Bombay citizens respectfully but emphatically protests against the Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Bill reported passed by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa as it contravenes the Smuts-Gandhi Agreements of 1914 and it violates the elementary rights of the British Indians lawfully resident in the Transvaal and, therefore, calls upon the Government of India and the Imperial Government to intervene so as to secure the repeal or the veto of the said Bill (2) That this meeting tenders its heartfelt sympathy and assurance of support to their Indian fellow-citizens in Transvaal who are heroically struggling against the unjust and the unwarrantable encroachments made by the said Bill upon their rights as citizens of the Empire

Mr. Gandhi gave the history of the anti-Indian legislations in South Africa which had led to the passive resistance movement on the part of the Indians residing there. By the Act of 1886 it was enacted that no Indian in Transvaal could own landed property and that the Indian traders should obtain a licence costing £3 to trade there. The latter provision had been done away with but the former disability still remained. Mr. Gandhi said that in 1914 he had corresponded with General Smuts as a result of which, an agreement was arrived at viz that the vested rights which the Indian settlers in Transvaal had up to that time enjoyed should continue. This was also their present contention. Mr. Gandhi told the audience that while he was in Transvaal he found on a reading of the laws there, that there were two ways left for the Indians to become owners of land there. One was to take lands from the Europeans by mortgages and thus become landowners or to form themselves into corporations for the purpose. He gave advice to the Indian settlers who took advantage of it and became owners of landed properties. They have been enjoying these rights and under the new legislation it was proposed to deprive them of those rights. There was also a section in the Act under which Indians would not be granted licences to trade in the gold area. Mr. Gandhi said that these encroachments on the rights of Indians

were intolerable and what Indians in this country had to do for their countrymen in South Africa was to raise a voice from one end of the country to the other for the repeal of this measure. By doing that he assured the meeting that they were strengthening the hands of the Government of India who were with them in this matter. He did not know what view the Imperial Government was likely to take for their past experience showed that they had a tendency to give in before the clamours of the Colonies. After other speakers had addressed the meeting the resolutions were carried.

Mr. Manilal on Indians in Fiji.

The following extracts from the petition of the Indian Imperial Association of Fiji, of which body Mr. D. M. Manilal, M.A., LL.B., is Chairman explain the situation in Fiji :—

1. We have heard that there are movements on foot amongst the European residents of this Colony to propose the annexation of Fiji with New Zealand or Australia. And we also read of a third proposal, namely, the idea of a federation of Fiji with the surrounding groups of Islands in Australasia.

2. We do not see our way to agree to the former two proposals as put forward by the white residents. We as Indians distinctly realise that Fiji is one of those Colonies where the future mainly if not entirely depends upon the Indian element. And therefore we sincerely believe that such Colonies should, in a scheme for rearrangement of the British Empire, be connected rather with India which is our Mother-Country than with any other portion of the British Empire. The white population can never expect to be in the majority as regards numbers in tropical climates, and they cannot retain their commercial and social superiority for ever. Time will come when the Indian section will be fully educated and brought up to realise its self-respect, dignity and responsibilities so as to take a place on terms of equality with the European section, and then numerically being in the majority they will be the main factor to consider in matters of government.

3. If, as Professor Seely has observed, "Colonies depend upon the Mother-Country as fruit upon the tree," we certainly feel that our destinies can more naturally be assured by India, our home, than from the home of a minority of this Colony's population.

Food Grains in India

A press note issued by the Department of Statistics in India states:—The wholesale prices of cereals and pulses in India in the middle of June, 1919, showed a rise of 2 per cent, as compared with the previous fortnight. The noticeable provincial fluctuations are an increase of 11 per cent. in rice and jawar in the Madras Presidency.

In the middle of June, 1919, the wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India increased by 90 per cent. (unweighted average) as compared with the average of the prices which prevailed at the corresponding date in the last three years. The weighted average showed a rise of 100 per cent. The price of rice rose by 62 per cent. In the chief rice producing provinces the increase was 67 per cent. in Bengal, 110 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 47 per cent. in Burma, and 48 per cent. in the Madras Presidency. Wheat prices advanced by 70 per cent. The price of barley increased by 65 per cent. (unweighted average) the weighted average showing a rise of 86 per cent. The average price of jawar and bajra rose by about 127 per cent. Gram prices showed a rise of 95 per cent. (unweighted average) while the rise by using the weighted average was 110 per cent.

The Tata Silk Farm

The Tata Silk Farm in Bangalore, the premier silk institution in the country has a staff of 100 students and employees, 20 reeling basins and 20 hand looms. Every process is here taught, including silkworm rearing, silk reeling, warping, bleaching and weaving, and a bright future is drawing for silk as a cottage industry throughout the length and breadth of India. Commenting on the report just published of the farm's activities during 1917 and 1918 "Indian Engineering" says it shows that these two years have been very marvellous ones as regards its work, although during the last six years it has made a rapid advance. It also serves to show that the day of hand industry is not finished, but if carried on proper business lines it will still hold its own. The farm's work here is educational, but it has also advanced on business lines to show its students and apprentices that it can be made into a profitable business as well as to help men to self-support. The farm authorities have just had three letters from large firms in Australia, who want to do business with it, in which they say they would sooner deal with India than China and Japan. The farm keeps more than two villages engaged in rearing silk worms all the year round.

Mr. Gandhi on Swadeshi.

The production of cloth, says Mr. Gandhi, can be increased in the country by three ways (1) by starting more mills, (2) by purchasing foreign yarn and weaving it on hand looms, (3) by weaving oneself or getting woven cloth out of yarn spun in one's own country.

Now apart from my views against machine-made cloth, it will be seen that it is no easy thing to start mills as quickly as we would. It certainly takes some time to erect buildings for the mill, to get machines from abroad and to procure labour. Assuming therefore for a moment that there would be no difficulty in obtaining capital, it is not possible for us to add to the stock of our cloth by means of having new mills. It is not doubt possible to weave cloth from yarn obtained from abroad, and the second Swadeshi Vow was devised with the view that it is far better to use cloth woven in our country out of foreign yarn, and thus to save some money at least going out of the country, than not to use Swadeshi cloth at all. But the more I think, the more I see dangers in this. Our demand for foreign yarn in a quantity sufficient for cloth necessary for lakhs of men, is likely to send up the price of foreign yarn to such an extent that the rise will be equal to the wages we have to pay for labour here which would mean that we had gone ahead only to fall back. It, therefore, we could find some way out, we would not have to depend on foreign yarn. This brings us to the third way, viz, to get yarn spun here, and to get it woven on handlooms. This is the royal road, and the surest to lead us to the goal. If this is adopted by the people, the goal will be reached with the least possible labour and in the shortest possible time. This would also provide thousands of men and women with an independent calling, and hundreds of thousands of poor women and widows with a means of livelihood, to be pursued in their own homes.

India to Australia by Air.

The Rangoon Customment Committee recently discussed arrangements for the landing ground for the proposed aerial flight of the Handly-Page machine from India to Australia in October. The part of the *madan* which is used as a race course is suggested, and the removal of trees, light stands, race course rails, etc., will be necessary. General Borden's plan was considered with the notes by Major Thou, M C, late of the Royal Aerial Force, now residing in Rangoon as Manager of Messrs Douglas and Grant Ltd.

Banana Syrup.

Cut the fruit in thin slices and place them in a jar. Sprinkle with sugar and cover the jar, which is then enveloped in straw and placed in cold water and the latter is then heated to the boiling point. The jar is then removed, allowed to cool and the juice is poured in bottles. A little absolute alcohol may be added if desired,—*Industry.*

AGRICULTURAL SECTION,

Mr. Devadhar on Danish Agriculture

On the evening of the 9th instant Mr. Devadhar lectured to the students of the Agricultural College at Poona on the above subject under the Presidency of Mr. P. C. Patil, Deputy Director of Agriculture, who had been to Denmark. Mr. Devadhar said that though he had very short time at his disposal he managed to spend about a week in Denmark, which country is regarded as a model for agriculturists. Owing to the keen competition of Russia and the United States, which began to pour tons of grain into European markets, Denmark had to introduce improved methods of agriculture. The state encouraged the formation of small holdings, co-operation was well developed and an alliance between the theoretical scientist and the practical farmer was effected. Thus though its soil is not very rich Denmark is now pro rata to its area and population the greatest grower of farm produce that History has seen. He showed how grain crops were displaced by potatoes and other root crops. After quoting some up-to-date statistics regarding the progress of the co-operative movement in Denmark he described the conveniences and up-to-date scientific appliances and facilities for transport that he noticed even in small villages or rural areas of about 3,000 people. The lecturer then showed how every Danish farmer was a member of some six or seven different co-operative organisations and how practically every one connected with agriculture was served by the movement. He also showed a large number of photos and pictures of agricultural life in that country. The lecture was illustrated with full up-to-date statistics and concluded with an appeal to the students to study the progress of agriculture in Denmark based upon scientific and co-operative methods.

Value of the Indian Cotton-Seed Crop

A paper on the treatment of cotton seed for commercial purposes was read recently before the Royal Society of Arts, London. The following abstract of that part of the paper which dealt with the potential value of the Indian cotton-seed crop is taken from *Indian Engineering*. The total area under cotton in India has been of late nearly 23,000,000 acres, and the total estimated output of cotton from this acreage is 4,500,000 bales of 400 lbs. each, or about 800,000 tons of cotton. From these figures the quantity of seeds produced during the year may be roughly calculated on the basis of 80 per cent. lint and 70 per

cent. seeds, which amounts to 1,870,000 tons. The amount of seeds required for agricultural purposes would be, at the rate of 14 lbs. per acre, about 100,000 tons, leaving about 1,750,000 tons for feeding cattle and for crushing. The author of the paper remarked that he had gone carefully into the matter, and, assuming that only 1,500,000 tons of seed per annum were potentially available in India for crushing, and that the residual fibres on such quantity were properly turned to account, the average Indian cotton-seed crop should have a market value, under pre-war trading conditions, of certainly not less than 18 to 19 crores of rupees. After deduction of the costs and expenses of treatment (about two crores), this worked out to a return of about 106 rupees per ton of seed. The average price of cotton seed up country in pre-war times did not exceed 45 rupees per ton. Hence, the net loss in revenue owing to the absence of a fully developed crushing industry might be put at £4 per ton of seed, or £6,000,000 per annum as a minimum figure. Doubtless, were 1,500,000 tons of cotton seed milled scientifically in India, and the products dealt with in the light of modern knowledge and experience, the actual net loss in revenue would prove to be much higher than £6,000,000 per annum.

Agriculture in Bengal

The Bengalee writes:—The formation of small associations of agriculturists is suggested to test and adjudicate on proposed improvements to discuss their success and failures and to bring their needs to the notice of the department. How much we wish that primary education had been free and compulsory and education had made some progress among the agriculturists to enable them to derive the greatest benefit from such organisations. These are expected to be useful in bringing to fruition in the interior the successes obtained by experiment and the Government will be furnished with a first-hand agency for ascertaining the needs and the wishes of the agricultural population. We should like to see these organisations as efflorescences of private effort with as little of official influence as possible. But to make the Agricultural Department a useful body in the truest sense of the expression, it should be manned largely, if not exclusively, by Indians. Agricultural graduates hailing from the West find themselves quite at sea in coming face to face with the peculiar agricultural conditions of the country.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Men I have seen. By Pandit Sivanath Sastri. Published by R. Chatterjee, *Modern Review Office*, Calcutta.

These interesting reminiscences originally appeared in the pages of the *Modern Review*. Pandit Sivanath Sastri had the privilege of intimate association with some of the most remarkable personalities of recent times in Bengal. He can therefore write with the ease and familiarity born of intimate knowledge of his subject; and his style is engagingly racy and vivacious. Besides he is happy in his themes — for who would not be anxious to know more and yet more of such men as Iswar Chandra Vidya-sagar, Devendranath Tagore, Runkrishna Paramahansa and Ananda Mohan Bose?

Internationalism. By Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts. The International Reform Bureau, 206 Pennsylvania Ave S. E., Washington, D. C.

In a concise outline this book brings together the scattered facts about the increasing co-operation of nations. Chapter one recalls the Crusades and other instances where three or more nations have co-operated in war. The second chapter records the *great treaties* made by three or more great powers at the end of wars to keep the peace of the world and "the balance of power." The fourth shows international co-operation in commerce; fifth, in philanthropy, such as the Geneva Red Cross Convention. Chapter six records the progressing crusades against the white man's rum and opium as a hindrance to progress. There are other chapters on the international white slave traffic, international action needed on gambling and Sunday and immigration.

A History of the Sikhs. By J. D. Cunningham, Edited by H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., F.E.S., (Oxford University Press).

This well-known historical sketch of the Sikhs has been revised and edited in a manner at once clear and intelligible to the lay reader. The Editor has added fresh notes to elucidate difficulties in the text and has included no less than forty appendices which are of great historical value. Two maps have been added and every effort has been taken to make the book attractive. We have much pleasure in commending it to the public.

Indian Labourers in France. By Capt. P. Kashi Nath, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

This is the latest of the war pamphlets issued by the Oxford University Press. Sir Stanley Reed writes an appreciative introduction in which he points out that Captain Kashi Nath "writes with a knowledge and experience which invest his narrative with authority."

The New Elizabethans. By E. B. Osborn, John Lane, London.

Under this happy title Mr. Osborn has supplied a judicious selection of the lives of young men who have fallen in the war. The book is a fitting tribute to the memory of the young heroes who have died chivalrously in the full flush of their promise. As such it must be dear to the relatives and comrades who live to mourn their loss. The lives are primarily of those with a gift for utterance and the criticisms are appropriately generous.

The Training of Teachers (Bureau of Education, India. No. 8).

With a view to facilitate the training of teachers by suggesting better and easier methods, this volume has been issued recording the description of systems obtaining in Madras and United Provinces by H. S. Duncan M.A. and A. H. Mackenzie M.A., B.Sc., respectively.

Quarter Century of Moral Legislation.

By Wilbur F. Crafts, Ph.D. The International Reform Bureau. Washington.

This volume gives some of the chief debates in the American Congress since 1888 and indicates where others may be found. The object of this publication is to promote various temperance measures and to advance generally right moral laws. The activities of the International Reform Bureau must be of great interest to all, especially to those interested in social reform.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF HURRISH CHUNDER MOOKERJEE. Edited by Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, M.A., B.L., The Cherry Press, Calcutta.

THE MECHANISM OF THE SENTENCE. By The Rev. A. Darby, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

EASY TEST PAPERS IN ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA. By W. S. Beard, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

REAL FACTS CONCERNING THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN MAURITIUS. By A. F. Fokeer, Standard Printing Establishment, Mauritius.

ORGANIC CHEMISTRY FOR INTERMEDIATE CLASSES. By Madho Prasad, M.Sc., Victoria College, Gwalior.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

June 24. Public meeting in Bombay presided over by Mr. Gandhi protests against the Rowlatt Legislation and prays for the withdrawal of the deportation order on Mr. Horniman.

A memorial is sent to the Viceroy signed among others, by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Sir D. E. Wacha praying for Mr. Kalinath Roy's release from jail.

June 25. The Deccan Sabha earnestly appeals to the Viceroy to stay execution of all capital sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission in the Punjab.

June 26. The All India Congress Committee send a cable to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and Lord Sinha requesting suspension of the execution of all sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission pending enquiry.

The Home Department, Government of India, say that they are unable to postpone execution of sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission.

June 27. Mrs. Besant addresses the Labour Conference at Southport on the subject of Home Rule for India.

June 28. The Peace Treaty was signed to-day.

June 29. H. M. the King Emperor's message to the Empire on the signing of the Peace Treaty is published in Simla.

President Wilson sails for New York.

June 30. The Young Men's Buddhist Association, Burma, decides to send a deputation to England in connection with the Reform Scheme.

July 1. H. E. Sir George Lloyd pays a visit to Ahmednagar in order personally to inspect the Famine Relief Works in the district.

July 2. The Press Association of India cables to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and Lord Sinha urging repeal of the Press Act.

Official celebration in Madras of the signing of the Peace Treaty.

July 3. Mr. Gandhi writes to the press protesting against the proposed restrictions on the Indians residing in South Africa.

Mr. Lloyd George speaks in the House of Commons on the Peace Treaty.

July 4. The Editor of the 'Punjabee' is placed under censorship under the Defence of India Rules.

July 5. Lord Willingdon holds an informal Conference at the Banqueting Hall to discuss the future of the Madras Publicity Board.

July 6. The Governor-General in Council has reduced the sentence of imprisonment on Kalinath Roy from two years to three months.

July 7. The Amir's letter discussing armistice terms is received in Simla.

July 8. Sir Sankaran Nair leaves Simla for Madras where it is announced that he will hand over charge of his office of Education Member.

July 9. The Martial Law Commission delivers judgment in the Amritsar Conspiracy Case convicting several persons.

July 10. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar appeals to Mr. Gandhi through the Press, not to resume Civil Disobedience.

July 11. H. M. the King Emperor approves the appointment of the Hon. Ravi Bahadur Krishna Sahay as member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council.

July 12. The Madras Liberal League cables to the Premier and Secretary of State offering congratulations on the conclusion of Peace and praying for amnesty to political prisoners.

July 13. Sir Sankaran Nair arrives in Madras.

July 14. Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs B.A., C.S.I., assumes charge of office of Dewan of Mysore.

July 15. H. E. the Viceroy accompanied by H. E. the Governor of Bombay visits the old Peshwa's Palace in Poona.

July 16. The Joint Committee of the House of Commons holds its first sitting.

The Special Tribunal sentences Lala Govardhan Das to three years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

July 17. H. M. the King Emperor approves of the appointment of the Hon. Mr. Shafi in succession to Sir Sankaran Nair.

Death of Dr. T. M. Nair in England.

July 18. The Maharaja of Bikaner is entertained at a public reception in Bombay.

July 19. Peace celebrations in Madras.

H. E. the Governor unveils the King-Emperor's statue.

July 20. Death of Mr. T. Ananda Rao, Ex-Dewan of Mysore.

Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Calcutta.

July 21. Mr. Gandhi has issued a communication to the press announcing postponement of civil disobedience in deference to the warning conveyed by H. E. the Viceroy and several friends.

July 22. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief accompanied by three Generals have left Simla for the North-West Frontier.

Literary

What the Indian Reads.

Professor Oliver Elton in a paper read under the auspices of the English Association said that in India everything educational was really political, more especially instruction in the English language and literature, for English was the language imposed by the conquerors, and needed by the conquered for intercourse and affairs. The goal to be gained by the Indian speaking broadly, was not culture of letters, but a salaried position, however small, under the State. For this the graduate had a better chance. "B.A." gave him dignity in his own eyes, and in that of his world; even "fuled" B.A. might give him a wife with a better dowry, for he had been near the rose. (Laughter) There were 28,000 students reading in the Calcutta University alone. The Indian had been forcibly fed with our literature ever since Macaulay's Minute enacted that English letters, history, and lore should be the diet of the literate class in schools and colleges. Consequently the Indian in general accepted it as the order of things; he did not always dislike it; but did the training sink in the soil? "Romeo and Juliet," the "Vita Nuova," or "Jane Eyre" were equally impossible subjects for the Indian college. The Indian liked Dickens, found something in Scott, and always cared for Shakespeare best of all. The educated Indian generally had a brain which was quite different from ours, but to under-rate it was a common political mistake. The Indian, among other things, had a swiftness of temperament which instantly made him aware of how he was being treated. (Cheers)

M. Rolland's Letter to Sir Tagore.

The following letter (published in the *Modern Review*) has been sent by the great French author, Romain Rolland to Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

"Certain free spirits, who feel the need of standing out against the almost universal oppression and servitude of the intellect, have conceived the project of this declaration of Independence of the Spirit,—a copy of which I enclose.

Would you give us the honour of uniting your own name with ours? It appears to me that our ideas are not out of harmony with yours. We have already received the consent of Henri Barbusse, of Paul Signac, the painter, of Dr. Frederick Van Eeden, of Prof. Georg Fri Nicolai, of Henry

Vander Veldt, of Stefau Zweig and we expect the consent of Bertrand Russell, Selma Lager, of Upton Sintelai, Benedetto Croce, and others. We think of collecting at first three or four signatories for each country,—if possible, one writer, one savant, one artist—and then publish the Declaration making appeal chiefly to the intellectual elite of all nations. If you can recruit for us some names in India, Japan and China, I should be very much obliged. I could wish that henceforth the intellect of Asia might take a more and more definite part in the manifestation of the thought of Europe. My dream will be that one day we may see the union of these two hemispheres of the Spirit, and I admire you for having contributed towards this more than any one else. Allow me to tell you in conclusion, how dear to us are your wisdom and your art, and accept, I pray, the expression of my profound sympathy."

To this M. Romain Rolland added the following postscript "I have allowed myself to lay stress on certain passages of your lecture of 1912 at Tokyo, in one of my articles published during the War. I am sending it to you under a separate cover with the request that you will pardon the imperfection of the French translation. I enclose with it a little pamphlet, dedicated to one of our old philosophers of Europe, who has exercised a great attraction over my thought and whom perhaps you will love also—Empedocles of Agrigentum."

SIR RABINDRANATH'S REPLY.

The following letter was sent in reply by Sir Rabindranath to M. Romain Rolland:—

"When my mind was steeped in the gloom of the thought that the lesson of the late war had been lost, and that people were trying to perpetuate their hatred and anger into the same organised menace for the world which threatened themselves with disaster, your letter came and cheered me with its message of hope. The truths that save us, have always been uttered by the few and rejected by the many and have triumphed through their failures. It is enough for me to know, that the higher conscience of Europe has been able to assert itself in one of her choicest spirits through the ugly clamours of passionate politics; and I gladly hasten to accept your invitation to join the ranks of those free souls who, in Europe, have conceived the project of a Declaration of Independence of the Spirit."

Educational

New Deccan College.

The opening ceremony of the Willingdon College at Sangli was performed by Sir C. H. Setalvad, the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. There was a large and representative gathering of ladies and gentlemen, including, among them, the Chiefs of Sangli, Miraj (Senior and Junior), Jamkhandi, Ramdurg and others. The life members of the Deccan Education Society, including Principal Paranjpye and other professors of the Fergusson College and Dr. Mann, were also present.

The proceedings were opened by the Chief of Sangli welcoming the Vice-Chancellor and expressing the warm appreciation of the Chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country of the benefits to be derived from the College.

Principal Paranjpye invited the Vice-Chancellor to declare the College open. The College has received the warm support of all in the Southern Maratha Country; the Chief of Sangli has made available capacious buildings for housing the College till the permanent buildings come into existence. The Chief of Miraj has presented a good laboratory and library of 5,000 volumes and the Chief of Ichalkaranji has endowed large sums for scholarships. Further endowments were announced at Sunday's gathering. The College has created great enthusiasm and there are already more students seeking admission than can be accommodated.

After unveiling the photographs of Lord and Lady Willingdon and declaring the College open, Sir C. H. Setalvad addressed the gathering. He paid a warm tribute to Lord and Lady Willingdon and to the great educational work of the Deccan Education Society. That society, he said, with its noble and talented band of life members has set an unique example of self-sacrifice and patriotism and they will bring to bear in the conduct of this institution their vast experience of over thirty years.

Proposed Relief to Parents.

The Board of Education have proposed to the Royal Commission on Income Tax that Income Tax relief should be granted to parents with children at a University. The scale proposes an abatement of £225 a year for a son or daughter between 21 and 25 years of age.

Appeal for Educational Scholarships.

The Maratha Aikya Sabha, which, for over thirty years, has been trying to ameliorate the condition of the Marathi-speaking Hindu backward classes, has petitioned to the Bombay Government for the grant of special scholarships to members of these classes following the precedent of the grant of the special scholarships to Muhammadans with a view to stimulate professional studies. It is pointed out that the number of Medical, Engineering, Forest and Agricultural graduates among the backward classes is extremely small and that it is in fact insignificant in proportion to the population. The Government has granted two scholarships of Rs. 10 each per month to students drawn from the backward classes attending the Medical and Engineering Colleges but it is urged that the value and number of the scholarships should be increased to Rs. 25 and 27, respectively. Lastly the Sabha points out that the bestowal of these scholarships would have beneficial effect in stimulating the educational progress of the community.

Mrs. Sinha's Gifts.

Mrs. Radhika Sinha, the wife of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has made a gift of about a lakh of rupees each to the Lahore, Allahabad and Patna Universities. The money will be appropriated to the foundation of a chair in the first two Universities and to the construction of a public library and reading room, at Bankipore wherein Mr. Sinha's splendid collection of books is to be housed and which is also to serve the purpose of a public hall for the holding of political and social meetings.

Sir H. Harrison and Modern Languages

Sir Heath Harrison, of Brasenose College, Alderman of Hampshire and formerly a ship-owner of Liverpool, has offered the University of Oxford the sum of £25,000. The proceeds of the trust fund are to be expended as to not more than one fourth of the annual income in providing instruction within the University in French and other modern European languages, and as to the rest of the income in the institution of travelling scholarships. It is provided that such travelling scholarships shall be held exclusively by natural born British subjects, and being undergraduate members of the University of Oxford, while studying French or other modern European languages in foreign countries.

In Convocation a decree will be proposed gratefully accepting the gift, decreasing the establishment of the fund, and making regulations relating thereto.

Legal

The Kaiser's Trial

It is announced that von Bethmann-Hollweg, after refraining at Government's express wish from the same step on May 20th, addressed on June 25th a communication to M. Clemenceau requesting the Allies to allow him to stand trial instead of the ex-Kaiser and placing himself at their disposal. Von Bethmann Hollweg says:— He bears for his period of office sole responsibility under the German constitution for the Kaiser's political acts and therefore claims that the reckoning, which the Allies desire to demand for the alleged acts against international morality and the sanctity of treaties, shall be solely demanded from him. He hopes that the Allies, in respect of the legal position fixed by public constitutional law, will yield to this urgent request.

A message from Paris subsequently stated: The Allies will not ask Holland to extradite the ex-Kaiser but will merely ask her in the name of the League of Nations to inform the ex-Kaiser that he must appear before an International Court or leave the country. It is expected that Holland as a member of the League of Nations will not refuse.

A high French authority on International Law in the course of an interview said: The proceedings against the ex-Kaiser would be carried out on moral grounds, therefore the sentence of the Court would be of an exclusively moral character. There could be no question of a sentence of death or imprisonment. Probably only the crimes of the ex-Kaiser against international morality in starting the War and violating Belgian neutrality would be severely condemned. The Hohenzollerns would be declared for ever deposed and it would be made impossible for the ex-Kaiser to do further harm by allotting him a residence which he would be forbidden to leave.

Since the above was in the press, we learn that the five sons of the Kaiser and von Hindenburg have also offered themselves to be tried in place of the Kaiser.

Punitive Police in Amritsar

We hear, says the *Civil and Military Gazette*, that 200 punitive police have, to use the official phraseology, been sanctioned and entertained in Amritsar for the protection of the civil station for a period of three years.

Women as Magistrates

The Bill enabling women to be appointed magistrates passed its third reading in the House of Lords on 25th June with a clause added, confining its operation to women of 30 and over. The Bill now goes to the House of Commons.

The Amritsar Executions

Mr. Montagu has ordered the postponement of the execution of Bugga Ratanchand in connection with the Amritsar riots pending an immediate appeal to the Privy Council.

Lawyers and Satyagraha

Notices have been issued by the Bombay High Court under section 10 of the Letters Patent, against Messrs. Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Barrister-at-Law, Jiwanlal Desai, Barrister at Law, and Krishnalal H. Desai, High Court Pleader, to show cause why they should not be suspended from practice, or otherwise dealt with, under the Disciplinary Jurisdiction of the High Court on the ground of their being signatories to the *Satyagraha* pledge against the Rowlatt Act. Similar notices under the Bombay Regulations Act 12 of 1927 have been issued against Messrs. Kalidas J. Jhaveri, Manilal V. Kothari and R. B. Dabolkar, District Court Pleaders and signatories to the *Satyagraha* Pledge.

Madras Lawyers in the 18th Century

In the eighteenth century, the European lawyers of Madras came from almost every profession except the legal, says Mr. Dodwell in an interesting article which appears in the current number of the *Calcutta Review*, entitled, "Madras Nabobs." He writes that at the beginning of that century, the Madras lawyers were described as "broken linen-drappers and other cracked tradesmen." In the middle of that century, one Attorney was a man of all-work who had served Olive in his commissariat business. Three more were young servants of the Company who were destitute of any legal training or experience. Another was a decayed mariner and yet another a discharged soldier who had also been butcher to the garrison. Private trading was universal, even ministers of the Gospel were not averse to it. In 1727 a reverend gentleman was dismissed as "he had exchanged his study for a counting house and had turned super cargo." Even ladies were fond of trading. At Pondicherry, the wife of the Secretary to Government was selling chintz and carpets in 1745.

Medical

Mortality in Bombay.

The *Times of India* commenting on a recent debate in the Corporation on the high mortality in Bombay city, shows that though the death rate nominally stands at 88.29 this figure is calculated on the census of the population taken in 1911 and it is trustworthily estimated that the population now in the city is double of what it was then. Still the unusually high figures cannot wholly be attributed to the method of calculation, for the mortality is now nearly twice as high as it was at this time last year. The returns for plague, small-pox and cholera are unimportant and plague at any rate is much lower than last year. Dr. Viegas pointed out in the Corporation that a feature of the situation is the prevalence of pneumonia. The *Times of India* says.—In so far as this is a complication following influenza it may be caused by dust-borne germs, for dust is now very bad indeed in the city and to that extent must disappear when rains break, but pneumonia is also a complication of relapsing or famine fever and this is very prevalent. Germs are conveyed by vermin and so its spread is greatly encouraged by the terrible overcrowding of the city which is worse than ever.—

Anti-Influenza Measures.

The following press communique has been issued by the Education Department:—The method and value of nasal douching as a preventative of influenza:—

The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India recommends the douching of the nasal cavities and throat as preventative of influenza. The following description of the method of douching is published for general information:—(a) dissolve one teaspoonful salt in a pint of warm water, (b) gargle the throat with some of the solution; (c) place the remainder of the solution in a basin; (d) immerse the nostrils in the solution; (e) sniff slowly some of the solution up the nostrils until it is felt at the back of the throat; (f) raise the head from the basin and allow the solution to flow from the nostrils into a bucket; (g) repeat this process two or three times. The whole ritual should be carried out four or five times daily. The above procedure has been reported to have given very good results during the last epidemic in South Africa. For instance, out of 91 persons, mostly nurses, who were especially exposed to infection only three developed slight attacks.

Treatment of Rheumatism.

A new treatment described for joint affections, such as rheumatism, is being used very successfully at a foreign military hospital where it has been introduced. "Double nitro-peroxide" is employed, which actually "extracts" the inflammation. It is used mixed with a starchy substance which holds its action until it is placed on the skin over the diseased parts, from which, we are assured, it extracts the impurities, the germs and their poisons. The material is sprinkled on lint or gauze and placed on the skin. When the doctor removes the dressings, from six to twelve hours later, there will be seen blisters. If there is no infection the treatment will not affect the skin.

Cures for Influenza.

Doctors never differed more than they do today writes the *Popular Science Siftings*. They are not even in accord about the simple domestic remedies for preventing influenza. For instance, Dr. Robert A. Lyster recommends "a solution of permanganate of potash . . . for gargling and 'snuffing' up the nose." Sir Malcolm Morris says, "the solution of common salt and permanganate of potash for washing the nostrils and throat is a most horrible mixture." It is recommended by the Local Government Board. Sir St. Clair Thompson says, "No healthy nose should be douched . . . he is entirely opposed to the use of permanganate of potash." Others could be quoted to as varying an effect. Well may it be asked, what do the doctors know that they are agreed on?

Vitality of the Indian People.

The annual report of King George V Anti-Tuberculosis League, Bombay, for 1918, records: "The vital resistance has been reduced during the last 50 years by various social, economic and industrial upheavals which have tended to change the life and habits of the Indian people. The great expansion of towns, the growth of modern industries and the continual migration from villages to towns have revolutionized our methods of living to a very great extent. We have frequently given instances of cases coming under our observation of patients from Bombay going to upcountry and spreading infection there, and *vice versa*, people coming to Bombay from villages for work and contracting this disease in a few months. The outcome of this main cause has been to give rise to (a) overcrowding and insanitation, (b) poverty and want (c) high rents and dear food (d) intemperance, all of which tend to cause a vicious circle leading ultimately to the lowering of vital resistance."

Science

Indian Science Congress.

The seventh annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress will be held at Nagpur from January 13th to 18th, 1920. Sir Benjamin Robertson, Chief Commissioner, has consented to be the patron of the meeting, whilst Sir P. C. Ray will be the president. The following sectional presidents have been appointed:—Agriculture D. Glouster Esq; Physics and Mathematics: Dr. N. F. Moss Esq; Chemistry: B. K. Singh Esq; Botany: P. F. Fyson Esq; Geology: P. Sampat Iyengar Esq; Medical Research: Lt.-Col. J. W. Cornwall, I.M.S. The Honorary local Secretaries are M. Osen Esq and V. Bose Esq. Further particulars can be obtained on application to the Honorary General Secretary, Dr. J. L. Simonsen, Forest Research Institute and College, Dehra Dun.

New Method of Detecting Flaws.

An X-rays photograph of the interior of the carburettor of an aeroplane engine, showing a block in the petrol feed was one of many interesting exhibits at the Royal Society, when a joint meeting of the Röntgen and Faraday Societies discussed radiometallography.

It is now possible to take photographs through two inches of hard steel, and to detect flaws in castings of turbine propeller shafts, aeroplane engines, and new alloys. A difference in thickness of a 200th part of an inch is revealed in a steel casting two or three inches in thickness by X-rays photography.

Professor Bragg, F.R.S., showed X-rays photographs of various mechanisms in which flaws were detected without taking the intricate parts to pieces. So perfect is the picture made by the rays that the most delicate structure of a fresh cherry blossom was shown.

Telephoning To Canada.

It is announced by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company that they have succeeded in establishing wireless telephone communication between Ireland and Canada.

Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, at a conference lunch of the American Chamber of Commerce in London, referred to the matter, and prophesied that business men in New York would soon be able to converse clearly and easily with their equals in London by wireless telephone of any kind.

Indian Scientific Departments.

A comprehensive programme of the work of the various scientific departments for 1919-20 has been issued. The important work of the Geological Survey will be continued in Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Burma. Economic enquiries in wolfram and tin in Tennassarim, in sulphur and chromite in Baluchistan and Seistan and in mica in Bihar and Orissa will be conducted.

The scientific research work of the Survey of India will consist of a gravimetre survey, atmospheric refraction, meteorology, a magnetic survey and solar photography. Seventy-five permanently marked repeat stations in India, Burma and Ceylon will be visited and observation will be taken at each to determine the annual changes in the magnetic elements for the period of 1915-20.

Beside this, work will be done in various other directions such as forest, botany, chemistry and zoology and agriculture.

Academy of Scientific Navigation.

A representation having been received by Government from some Indian seamen on the question of establishing a fully equipped institution or academy for training Indians in the art of scientific navigation, as no facilities at present exist for their obtaining competency certificates for higher posts in the mercantile marine, and as difficulty has been experienced of late in the manning of new vessels from 200 to 600 tons, which are being constructed in India, the Government of Bombay propose to establish a State-aided institution on the lines of training institutions in European countries. Government have accordingly appointed a committee of the following officers and gentlemen to consider the proposal and submit their conclusions:—Port officer and Shipping Master, Bombay. Mr. F. C. Annesley of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, Mr. F. L. Barnell, Marine Superintendent, Moghul Line, Capt. H. J. Rouse of the B.I.S.N. The committee will decide where the nautical institute can be most suitably situated, its equipment and staff and its establishment and maintenance cost.

Telephoning by Light

A searchlight telephone, in which conversation is transmitted by a beam of light, was exhibited at a Royal Society *conversazione* at Burlington House recently. Clear and distinct messages were received in the principal library some distance from the transmitter, and the inventor, Dr. A. O. Rankin, stated that the apparatus had been tested over a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles with suc-

Personal

The Late Dr. Nair.

The death of Dr. T. M. Nair in London on July 17 removes from public life a vigorous and interesting personality. Though a successful medical specialist, Dr. Nair has for long been associated with the public life of this Presidency. His interest in politics began in the early nineties when he was yet a student at Edinburgh where he graduated M. B. & Ch. B. in 1894 and took his doctorate in 1896. He was Secretary and later President of the Edinburgh Indian Association, one of the editors of the *University Magazine*, and a member of the *University Students' Association*. Having apprenticed at Brighton he specialised in ear and throat for a time in Paris. And in 1897 he returned to Madras and set up a successful practice.

But he did not confine himself to medicine. He soon found his *Meter* in Municipal politics. His earnestness, his thorough mastery of details, his independence, and his eloquence soon won for him a commanding position in the Corporation of Madras. In fact, the way in which he led the opposition during the recent debate on the City Municipal Bill in the Madras Legislative Council is still fresh in the minds of all. And even those who could not see eye to eye with him in his recent political adventures found in him the sturdy champion of the people's rights.

It is unfortunate that all the energy, eloquence and courage of this indefatigable fighter should have been in recent years, misspent.

Hon. Krishna Sahay

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay (who has been appointed member of the Executive Council, Bihar) was born in October 1868 and graduated from the Presidency College in 1890. He was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in July 1892 when he commenced his practice in the district courts at Patna where he soon rose to eminence. On the creation of the Patna High Court he joined the highest tribunal of the Province and was elected President of the *Vakils' Association* about two years ago. He was appointed Law Lecturer of the Patna College in 1894 and held that post till 1909. In 1909 he was first elected a member of the Bengal Legislative Council by the Bihar Landholders' Association. After Bihar and Orissa were converted into a separate province the Rai Bahadur was returned to the Provincial Legislative Council in

1913 to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1916. On the creation of the Patna University he was nominated a Fellow and a member of the Syndicate by Government.

The Rai Bahadur, says the *Express*, has always been a staunch Congressman with sober and moderate views. He was one of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council who signed the famous memorandum on the Reforms. At the last session of the Council he took a lively part in the debate on the Rowlatt Bills and strongly opposed the passing of the measure. The Rai Bahadur cast in his lot with the moderate party of the Congress in 1918 and was nominated a member of its deputation to England in the beginning of the current year. He visited England in 1914 and has always been a keen social and political reformer.

Mr. Asquith.

The *New Statesman*, commenting on Mr. Asquith's speech analysing Lord French's *First Book of Revelations*, observes:—

The chief value of Mr. Asquith's speech, the public service which it rendered, was that it came as a sudden and vivid reminder of days not, after all, so long past, when personal loyalty and public decency had still a very important place in English political life. It is not a question of political opinions. In that matter it is quite possible in the future that for our own part we shall more often find ourselves supporting Mr. Lloyd-George than Mr. Asquith. But even Mr. Asquith's strongest political opponents cannot, and, in fact, do not, fail to recognise that quite apart from his extraordinary intellectual gifts, he is pre-eminently a man who honours the best traditions of British politics, and so exemplifies them in his own person that his disappearance from the political arena would leave a sense of more irreparable loss than even that of a Gladstone or a Disraeli.

The Late Mr. Ananda Row.

We regret to record the death on July 20 of Mr. T. Ananda Rao, C.I.E., late Dewan of Mysore at the advanced age sixty-seven. The late Mr. Ananda Rao, was the son of the great Indian statesman Sir T. Madhava Rao. Mr. Ananda Rao joined the Mysore service early in life and retired at the end of 1912 after two years of Dewanship. It was during his administration that the Mysore Economic Conference, which has very recently been made permanent, was established.

Political

India Office Reform

The following is the official summary of the proposals made in the report of the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian affairs.

(1) Save in the case of absolute necessity, legislation should not be certified for enactment by the Council of State without the previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State, on the ground that its enactment is essential in the interests of peace, order, and the good government of India.

(2) Where the Government of India are in agreement with a majority of non official members of the Legislative Assembly either in regard to legislation, or in regard to resolutions on the budget, or on matters of general administration, assent to their joint decision should only be withheld in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for peace, order, and good government of India, or paramount considerations of imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly.

(3) As a basis of delegations, the principle of previous consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, would be substituted in all cases in which previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has hitherto been required.

(4) In the relations between the Secretary of State and the Local Governments the principle should, as far as possible, be applied that, where the Government are in agreement with a conclusion of the Legislature, their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail.

(5) Assent to or disallowance of Indian legislation by the Crown should be signified by His Majesty in Council.

(6) The powers and authority now vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council should be transferred to the Secretary of State.

(7) The Secretary of State should be assisted by an Advisory Committee, to which he shall refer such matters as he may determine and he may provide by regulations for the conduct of the business of the committee.

(8) The Advisory Committee should consist of not more than 12 and not less than six members, appointed by the Secretary of State.

(9) Not less than one-third of the members of the committee should be persons domiciled in India selected by the Secretary of State from a

panel of names submitted by non-official members of Indian Legislature.

(10) The tenure of office of a member of the committee should be five years.

(11) The members of either House of Parliament should be ineligible for appointment to the committee.

(12) The salary of the members of the committee should be £1,200 a year.

(13) The Indian members of the committee should receive a subsistence allowance of £600 a year in addition to salary, in respect of their domicile.

(14) Statutory provision should be made for recommendations (6) to (13) inclusive.

(15) The Secretary of State should regulate, by executive orders the conduct of correspondence between the India Office and the Governments in India.

(16) Action should be taken with a view to the transfer of the agency work of the India Office to a High Commissioner for India, or some similar Indian Governmental representative in London.

(17) No formal system of interchange of appointments between a member of the India Office and India services can be recommended, but deputation between the two countries should be encouraged.

(18) Occasion should be taken now and then to appoint an Indian to one of the posts intermediary between the Secretary of State and heads of departments.

(19) The charges on account of political and administrative work of the office should be placed on the estimates, those on account of agency work of the office being defrayed from Indian revenues, the appointment to be determined by agreement between the India Office and the Treasury.

(20) The Committee are not in favour of the proposal to establish a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs and Sir James Brunyate, Prof. Keith and Mr. Basu have stated their views in a separate memorandum.

The Joint Committee

In the House of Lords the following were appointed on the motion of Lord Sinha to serve on the Joint Committee of the Government of India Bill: Lords Crewe, Selborne, Middleton, the Duke of Northumberland, Lords Islington, Sinha and Sydenham. Among the members of the Commons appointed to serve on the Committee are Mr. Montagu, Sir Henry Craik, Mr. T. J. Bennett, Sir Donald Maclean, Mr. Ben Spoor and Commander Ormsby Gore.

General

Mr. Gandhi on Civil Disobedience

In the course of a letter to the press dated the 21st July, Mr. Gandhi writes:—The Government of India have given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, a grave warning that the resumption of civil disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to public security. This warning has been enforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at the interviews to which I was summoned. In response to these warnings and to the urgent desire publicly expressed by Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume civil resistance for the time being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what is called the extremist party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of a recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of civil resistance.

The Calcutta Postmen.

The *Catholic Herald* takes up the Calcutta postmen's case and comparing it with that of the railway employees who threatened a strike writes as follows:—"Some time ago, the Covenanted Officers of a big Railway Company respectfully represented to the authorities that they and their families were starving on Rs. 350 a month, and that unless they were given Rs. 500 they would go on strike, hold up all railway traffic, starve town and country, cut off troops and supplies necessary to carry on the Afghan War and suppress the revolt in the Punjab. A big gentleman went to Simla, and there other big gentlemen sat in conclave, with the result that the Covenanted Officers got the Rs. 500 they claimed, and were warmly congratulated on their patriotic restraint and law-abiding behaviour.

"A week later, the Calcutta postal peons respectfully represented to the authorities that they and their families were starving on Rs. 15 a month, and that unless they were given Rs. 20, they would go on strike. No big gentlemen took any notice of it, and on strike they did go, with the result that one man got 20 days' rigorous imprisonment for being the Treasurer of the Strike Funds, five others were condemned to three weeks' rigorous imprisonment for being the leaders, eight others were fined, others were sacked,

and the rest pardoned and kept on the old rates.

2nd Clown: But is this law?

1st Clown: Ay, marry, is't crowner's quest law.

2nd Clown: Will you ha'the truth on't? If these had been white gentlemen . . . etc.

1st Clown: Why, there thou say'st: and the more pity that great folk should have countenance in this world to hang the public more than their even Christian. Come, my spade."

Child Welfare in India.

A Press Communique states: The unhappy condition of Indian women in child-birth and the high rate of infant mortality in India are so well known that the public will undoubtedly welcome the announcement that an exhibition in maternity and child welfare will be held in Delhi next February under the patronage of Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford.

The problem before the organisers is how to adapt exhibitions of a similar kind which had been held in other countries to the special needs of India and it is hoped that the educated public not in Delhi alone but in other parts of India also will co-operate as far as possible. There must be many people both Indian and European, who have thought on this subject and advice exhibits or gifts of money will be gratefully received by the organisers. Further information can be received by application to the Honorary Secretary, Infant Welfare Exhibition, Dufferin Fund Office, Simla.

The King-Emperor's Message

The following Royal Proclamation by the King-Emperor, dated 1st July, 1919, is published:—

Whereas a definite Treaty of Peace between us and the Associated Governments and German Government was concluded at Versailles on the 28th June last, in conformity whereunto I have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published in due course throughout all Our dominions and we do declare to all Our loving subjects Our will and pleasure that upon the exchange of ratifications thereof, the said Treaty of Peace be observed inviolably as well by sea as by land in all places whatsoever, strictly charging and commanding all Our loving subjects to take notice hereof and to conform themselves thereto accordingly.

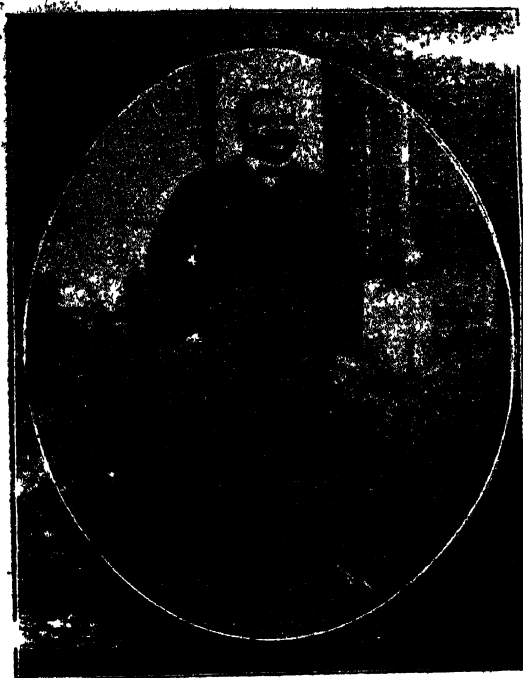
Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace, this first day of July in the year of Our Lord 1919 and in the 10th year of Our reign.

God save the King-Emperor.

CONGRESS DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND



MR BAL GANGADHAR TILAK



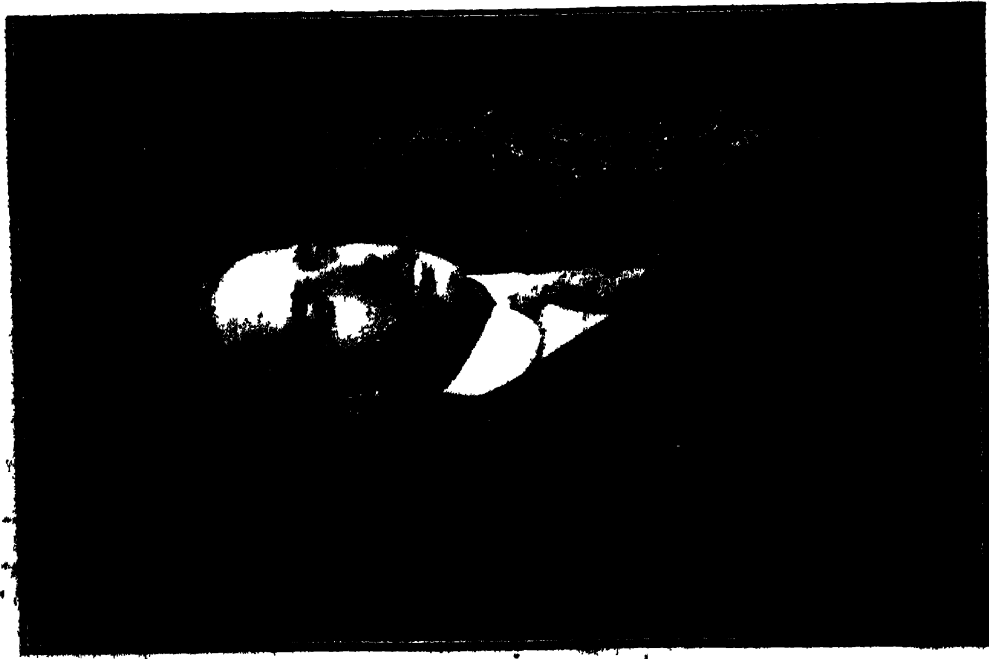
MR SYED HASAN IMAM.



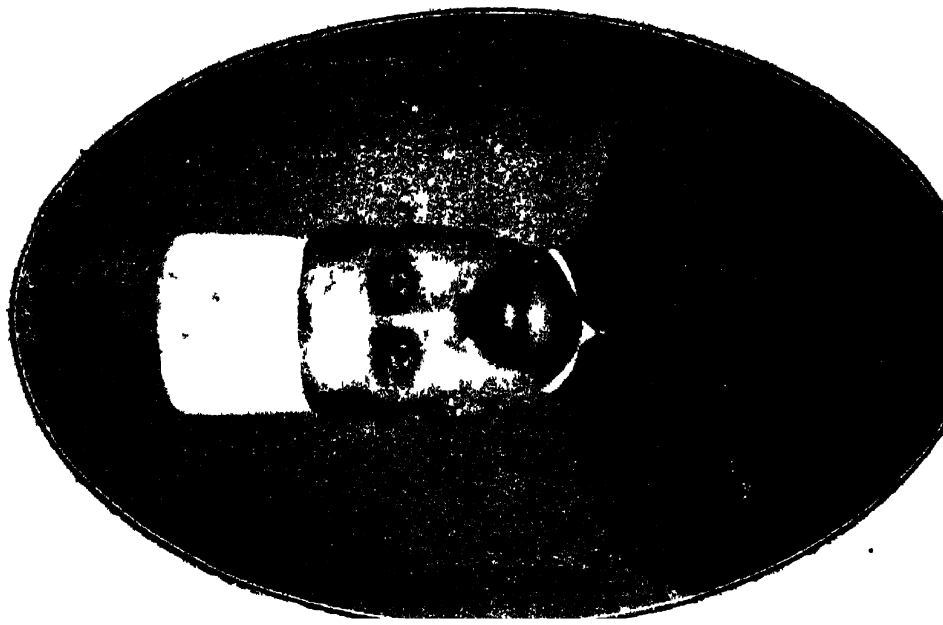
MR N. O. KELKAR.



HON. MR. PATEL.



HON. MR. MIAN MAHD. SHAFI.
Who has succeeded Sir Sankaran Nair.



HON. RAI BAHADUR KRISHNA SAHAI,
Member, Executive Council, Behar.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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The Calcutta University Commission Report

I. BY SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER.

THE long expected report of the Calcutta University Commission has at last been made available to the public. The Commission sat for a period of nearly 18 months and it cannot be said that the results of their labour partake either in quality or in quantity of the proverbial character of a mountain in travail. The main body of the report comprises five portly volumes of about 400 pages each. But the defects of a production of this formidable size are largely mitigated by the table of contents and the analyses of the chapters and the attractiveness of the type. With all these conveniences for reference, the reading of the report and the detailed consideration of its contents demand a very considerable amount of time. It is only possible at present to give a rough idea of the impressions produced by a perusal of the official summary. During the course of the last one hundred years the question of educational policy has engaged the attention of Government at intervals of about 20 to 30 years. Making allowance for the leisurely methods of consideration and execution in favour with the Government, it will probably take several years more before the Reforms recommended by the Commission are carried out and any tangible result is achieved.

The Education Commission of 1882 and the Government of the day were largely dominated by the very insular conception of education which prevailed in England at the time. University Education was hardly recognised in England as a function of the State. England was well provided with schools and Universities founded by private benefactors and Englishmen naturally applied the ideas derived from this system to India notwithstanding the great difference of conditions. The vital connection between elementary, secondary and collegiate education, the importance of technical education, the need

for the construction of a comprehensive system of education as an organic whole, and the duties of the state in the matter of education have all been forced into prominence by the war and it is only within the last few years that Englishmen have begun to realise that it is just as much the duty of the state to provide for the education of the people, as it is to look after their health. The admitted failure of the Government of India to achieve results at all proportionate to the period of British rule must in great part be attributed to their inability to recognise the obligations of the state in this behalf and the consequent omission to provide the necessary funds.

Though the opinions expressed by the commission were mainly based upon the conditions observed by them in Bengal and are intended to refer to the system in force there, many of their remarks are more or less applicable to the system in this Presidency also. The evils may not be so glaring here as in Bengal, but they exist nevertheless and are sufficiently serious to demand prompt and effective treatment. The inadequate equipment of many of the English High Schools, the underpayment of the staff and its inadequacy, the absence of a sufficient diversity of lines of study, the necessity for the intermediate classes of Colleges to supplement and finish the course of secondary instruction imperfectly carried out by the High Schools are defects in the system of school education which can be observed in this Presidency also. The system of secondary education here cannot be said to be dominated by the matriculation examination of the University for the reason that the latter has practically disappeared but the domination of the secondary school system by the University flourishes as vigorously as ever. It was to escape this domination and with the object of giving more latitude to the school course and ensuring greater consideration for the work and conduct of

a boy throughout the High School course that the system of school leaving certificates was introduced by the Department of Public Instruction. The example set by Madras has now been followed in the other Provinces also but whether their experience has been similar to ours, we do not know. Compared with the courses of study for the old matriculation examination the syllabuses provided under the school final system are considered by school masters to be heavier and stiffer. The public examination, which precedes the school leaving certificate and which is conducted by a special Board dominates the school course to the same unhealthy extent as the old matriculation examination. Subjects in which there is no public examination are totally neglected by the boys whatever their intrinsic value or interest. For the purpose of regulating admission to its courses the University has been obliged to lay down the percentages of marks to be obtained by the boys in the different subjects. And it may be said that the matriculation is practically restored though the provisions for moderation are intended to and do operate in favour of the boys.

The defects observed by the Commission in the Arts Colleges of Bengal are also noticeable in this Presidency. The immense number of students to be dealt with by the University, the meagre staffing and equipment of many of the Colleges, the absence of variety in the courses and of provision for training in technical subjects, the unwieldy size of the classes and the absence of individual guidance to students, the inadequate pay and prospects of teachers in private Colleges and the difficulties of co-operation between Colleges owing to their widely scattered location are defects with which we are familiar. One main remedy proposed by the Commission for the improvement of the system of secondary education is that the intermediate examination should qualify for admission to the University course. The suggestion is quite sound and must commend itself to all who have any knowledge of the products of our Secondary School system. Their proposal that the Honours course should be one of three years has already been anticipated in Madras. Whether the length of the pass course should also be extended to three years is a matter which deserves consideration. The recommendations of the Commission that there should be at least one intermediate college in every district and that the courses of the intermediate Colleges should be framed so as to prepare students not only for the degree courses of the University in Arts and

Science but also for the Medical, Engineering, and teaching professions and for careers in Agriculture, Commerce and Industry must also commend themselves for acceptance. The intermediate classes must serve as a sorting station where boys will be picked up and given the preliminary training to prepare for different vocations according to their special tastes and aptitudes.

By far the most urgent problem in the organisation of our educational system is the provision of adequate facilities for higher technical training for a sufficiently varied number of callings. The problem of variety of technical training and the problem of economic and especially industrial development are closely interdependent. But unless and until new openings are provided for our young men, it is hopeless to expect them to be diverted from the more or less literary courses which now dominate the University.

The Commission's suggestions for the alterations of the University structure are largely modelled upon the report of the London University Commission. The Commission rightly insists upon the need for the creation of new Universities wherein the teaching function can be assured its due predominance. Taking our own Presidency into consideration, the numbers now dealt with are far too large and there is ample need and justification for at least three more, a University for the Southern group of districts at Trichinopoly, one for the Telugu districts at Waltair, which is bound to grow in importance with the construction of the Vizagapatam-harbour, and one for the Western districts in Coimbatore or Calicut. If the demand for education in the Ceded districts is sufficiently large, Bellary may prove a convenient centre. The creation of new Universities or, for the matter of that, the improvement of the existing Universities is almost entirely a question of funds and unless the Government are prepared to incur the necessary expenditure, there is little or no prospect of any real improvement. To put it shortly, the pressing needs of the day are—the provision of training for various walks of life and a liberal budget for a comprehensive educational programme broad-based upon compulsory elementary education and carried through a varied course of secondary education to the highest University ideals. The recommendations of the Commission for the abandonment of the service system of recruitment, for the restriction of Government interference, and for the conferment of autonomy in the Universities are bound to meet with general approval.

II. BY MR. JUSTICE SESHAGIRI AIYER.

THE five heavy volumes which are now under circulation are very interesting reading. The prevailing note of the report is *dissatisfaction*: dissatisfaction with the machinery of instruction; dissatisfaction with the students; dissatisfaction with accommodation in Colleges and in the hostels; dissatisfaction with the Government regarding contribution; dissatisfaction with the University, and dissatisfaction with other Educational authorities.

Since the introduction of British rule in India and since the resolve to give education in English to Indians, there has been no pronouncement so condemnatory of the process employed for imparting that education as that contained in the report under review. For a long time I have been of opinion that the nature of education given under the guidance of our Universities stands in need of great Reform. I have made no secret of it in my speeches outside the Senate Chamber and inside it. But the revelation which has been furnished by the unqualified censure which has been passed by the University Commission has taken even my breath away.

There are two considerations which render the work of the Commission somewhat incomplete. The first is the rather undue importance attached to the details connected with school and college life in Bengal. No doubt the Commission was *prima facie* constituted for overhauling educational ideals in that Presidency. Still it was no secret that the main labours of that body were to be directed towards furnishing the Government of India with materials for a reconstruction of educational problems all over India. Therefore the somewhat lurid picture drawn of school life in the mofussil of the Presidency of Bengal, and the anxiety exhibited to provide a remedy for the evils which the Bengal student is suffering from, detract from the greater usefulness of the recommendations as a whole. The second consideration, if one may venture to say so, is the incompleteness of the recommendations. What I mean is this. The cures suggested are not calculated to radically put an end to the various disappointing features which have been catalogued in the Commission's report. It may be that the Commission felt that a process of repair rather than of reconstruction should be adopted in dealing with this great problem. But in some matters at least one would have thought that the cancer was too deep and that a more thorough operation was necessary to remove it. These ideas passed through my mind as I was reading the Report.

But as may be pointed out it is easier to criticise than to construct; and I gladly confess that in some directions the Reforms suggested are of a character which should satisfy public opinion throughout India.

On the question of the unduly literary character of the education given the Commission speak out very clearly. I believe it was President Wilson who said that there should be no water-tight compartments in the progress of a student's career from primary to higher education. This catching statement is subject to limitations, and I am glad to find that the Commission has recognised it. It is one thing to say that every student should have such an equipment in the lower classes as would enable him, if he is so minded, to climb to the top of the ladder in any branch of knowledge which he chooses. But it is a different thing to suggest that the opportunities afforded to students must be of the same character as would enable the lowest and the highest among them to tread the same path. The Commission has rightly pointed out that with the Intermediate classes the system of general education should stop. As I have not read through the report fully, I am not in a position to say whether the Commission agrees with one of my cherished views that until this stage is reached there should be as little of specialisation as possible. The Commission has rightly held that the education ending with the School Final is not sufficient to enable a student to enter public life or to carve out for himself a career of usefulness on the strength of the education thus far imparted. It may be that in Madras the course which ends with the School Final is not so ill-adapted for a useful career as in Bengal. For example I am not sure that the English which a School Final student is taught in Madras is not far superior in quality than what is taught to him in Bengal. Even granting that it is so, the character of the subjects taught and the mode of teaching them and the way in which the students are housed and brought together are common both to Bengal and to Madras. I do not want to go into particulars. But I cannot help saying that there is as much need for Reform in Madras in this direction as in Calcutta.

The recommendations of the Commission aim at turning the attention of the student from seeking the career of a quill driver in a public office into a citizen who can improve the industrial condition of the country and contribute to its material wealth. It is in this direction that very urgent

Reform is necessary at once, and with regard to which every Local Government should take immediate steps to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission.

In Madras more than even in Bengal the necessity for starting more Universities is urgent. To one who has been accustomed to the kind of discussion that is going on in the Senate Chamber, and who has been privileged to know the heavy and incessant work that is being done by the members of the Syndicate in Madras, it would be clear that if the present state of affairs do continue any longer there will be a break-down in the near future. No doubt so long as the functions of the University are only to examine (because I do not consider the provision for University lectures as at present arranged has really made the University a teaching one) the pressure of work may not be felt very much. But as has been pointed out by the Commission the type of University which has been foisted on India after the model of the London University has long outstayed its time. While London has changed completely, true to our conservative instinct, we have been going even further than what the London University was at its start. This can no longer go on. There are centres of Education in Madras which cry out for the establishment of more Universities. This is another matter on which prompt action is necessary.

The Commission has rightly pointed out that what is being done by the University is only to prepare students for examination and not to make them good citizens. This is a reproach which nobody who has studied the problem can regard as unmerited. No attempt is being made to instil into the minds of the coming generation ideas which would in course of time, enable them to work out the salvation of the country and to spread among the unregenerate classes the duties of civic life. Wherever you go among a group of students you hear nothing of what they discuss in common which would enable them in future life to work together for the amelioration of the people of the country. What they share in common is the dictated note-book of the teacher. They are not taught that their life in school is a preparation for nobler ends. The result is when they take to thinking for themselves on these questions, they exhibit a want of balance and a want of judgment which has earned a great deal of censure.

So long as the root of the evil which engenders this state of mind is not eradicated, it would be idle to declaim against it. Put the school and the teacher in order, then the student will

feel higher responsibility and observe greater decorum. I agree that there is good reason for the complaint that political demagogues lead away the students from the right path—but these unthinking men who play with fire are themselves products of a system of education which at least in later years has not conduced to impress them with the proper ideals of life. Those of the older generation who had the good fortune to sit at the feet of the great teachers of the past learnt a great deal more from these teachers than are imparted in these days. There is a want of fellow-feeling in these days—a feeling that the work is done by the mechanical delivery of set lectures—a feeling that the development of the character of the taught is not within the province of the professor. This conception of a teacher's duties is not calculated to remove the grievance complained of.

I have naturally not gone into the details. I have confined myself to making some general observations on the report. I would earnestly commend to all persons who are interesting themselves in the cause of education a careful and close study of the volumes issued by the Commission.

Report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917—19. Vol I to V. Rs. 9-8.

Selected Chapters of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. Re. 1-2.

Indian Constitutional Reforms. (The Montagu-Chelmsford Report). Re. 1-2.

Government of India's Despatch of the 5th March and connected papers. Re. 1-2.

Report of the Southborough Committees together with Government of India's 4th and 5th Despatches. Re. 1-2.

Report of the Industrial Commission. Re. 1-2.

Minutes of evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission. 5 Vols. Rs. 23.

Appendices to the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. Re. 1-2.

Review of the Trade of India. As. 12.

Report of the Rowlatt Committee. Re. 1-2.

India 1917-18 By Rushbrook Williams. Re. 1-2.

G.A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

The Future of the Ottoman Empire

A SYMPOSIUM.

One of the most delicate problems of the Peace settlement is that relating to the future of the Ottoman Empire. Mussalmans all over the world are bound together by one common brotherhood and whatever attitude they may take in regard to any question cannot be lightly treated as merely sentimental. The sentiments of 300,000,000 of people ought to count for much in any polity and the League of Nations will incur a grave responsibility if it should blunder into a false step prejudicial to the interests and traditions of so large and powerful a community as the Mahomedans. There is no doubt that considerable numbers of muslim people have been fortified by the pledges of President Wilson and the British Premier when they gave assurances in regard to the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire; and it would indeed be a grievous disappointment if anything is done to thwart the hopes of the Muslim World. During the War, the loyalty of the Mahamadan peoples all over the Empire was put to a severe strain—and Britain is the Greatest Mahamadan power in the world—and Indian Mahamadans in particular loyally co-operated with the allies in their fight for freedom. It is not therefore surprising that the proposals for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire should fill the minds of Indian Mahamadans with grief and resentment; and the Hindu subjects of His Majesty cannot withhold their sympathy from their fellow countrymen. It is gratifying to know the deep concern with which Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner have been representing the cause of the Muslims at the Peace Table and it is hoped that no efforts will be spared by the British representatives to mete out justice to the claims of Turkey. The following views of representative leaders will be read with interest.—(*Ed. I. R.*)

H. H. Damad Ferid Pasha.

Grand Vizier and head of the Turkish Delegation

(Our aim is the) rehabilitation of the Ottoman nation. Thus rehabilitated in the eyes of the civilised world our mission will henceforward be that of devoting ourselves to an intensive economic and intellectual culture in order thus to become a useful factor in the League of Nations.

The Ottoman people hope that the chaos in the East, bolstered as it is by this abnormal state of affairs which is neither war nor peace, may at last be replaced by order, and it likewise desires to see the end of the continued occupation of its territories in spite of the Armistice. This occupation has in fact resulted at Smyrna in the most deplorable excesses which have been committed to the hurt of the defenceless Moslem population. It desires with equal earnestness the maintenance, on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*, of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, which, during the last forty years, has been reduced to the least possible limits. It lastly wishes to be granted in Thrace, to the North and West of Adrianople, where the Mahomedan population is in an overwhelming majority, a frontier line which will render possible the defence of Adrianople and Constantinople. What we ask for this is, moreover, completely in conformity

with President Wilson's principles, which we invoked when requesting an armistice, being convinced that they would be evenly applied in the interests of the peace of the world.

On the other hand, a fresh parcelling-out of the Ottoman Empire would entirely upset the balance in the East. The ranges of the Taurus are, moreover, nothing more than a geological line of demarcation. The regions situated beyond those mountains from the Mediterranean up to the Arabian Sea are, although a language different from the Turkish language is spoken there, indissolubly linked with Constantinople by feelings which are deeper than the principle of nationality. On either side of the Taurus the same ideals, the same thoughts, the same moral and material interests bind the inhabitants. These form a compact block, and its disintegration would be detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of the East. Even a plebiscite would not solve the question, for the supreme interests of more than 300,000,000 Moslems are involved, and they form an important fraction of the whole of the human race. The conscience of the world could only approve conditions of peace which are compatible with right, with the aspirations of peoples, and with immanent justice." [*From a Statement read to the Council of Ten on the 17th June.*]

Sir Abbas Ali Baig.

We venture to appeal to you for the sake of the fair name of Great Britain and the tranquil development of Asia, that Turkey proper and Thrace with Constantinople as its capital should be left intact and uninterfered with under the sovereignty of the Sultan, that his temporal power over the Turkish state should not be at tempted to be reduced or diminished by any sort of mandate and that the principle of self determination which has been applied to the Christian peoples of Europe should be made applicable to the Moslem peoples, and that in the interests of the peaceful development of western Asia the suzerainty of the Caliph over the non-Turkish provinces of the Ottoman Empire be left undisturbed. (*From the memorial addressed by the Moslem Community in England to the Prime Minister on June 14, 1919. It is signed by H. H. the Aga Khan, Mr. Ameer Ali, Sir Abbas Ali Baig and others.*)

The Aga Khan & Mr. Ameer Ali.

We consider it, our duty to urge, for the fair name of England, nay of the British Empire, that the pledge our Prime Minister in the name of England gave to the world, and in particular to the world of Islam, should be maintained; and that the Turkish sovereign, as the Caliph of the vast Sunni congregation, should be left in absolute possession of Constantinople, Thrace, and Asia Minor stretching from the north of Syria proper along the Aegean coast to the Black Sea—a region “predominantly Turkish in race.” It would, in our opinion, be a cruel act of injustice to wrench any portion of this tract from Turkish sovereignty to satisfy the ambitions of any other people. Instead of bringing peace to Western Asia, such a settlement will sow the seeds of constant wars, the effect of which cannot be expected to remain confined to the country where they happen to be waged. * * *

We submit that the maintenance of the Ottoman sovereign's spiritual suzerainty in those countries, whilst maintaining his prestige and thus conciliating Mussulman feeling, would be the means of making the position of the Mussulman rulers or governors of those countries unimpugn-able. But so far as Thrace, Constantinople, and the homelands of the Turkish race are concerned Mussulman feeling from top to bottom is absolutely opposed to any interference under any shape with the Sultan's sovereignty. (*The Times*).

President Wilson.

The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire shall be assured a secure sovereignty.

Rt. Hon. Mr. Lloyd George

“Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race. * * * While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised and neutralised, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national condition. (*From a Speech.*)

Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan.

Any attempt to take Constantinople from the hands of Mussalmans would be regarded as a deliberate blow aimed at Islam by Christendom, and will embitter the feelings of Mussalmans against all the Christian nations so deeply that it will be rendered impossible ever to bring about harmonious relations between the East and West. This contingency is specially fraught with danger to the British Empire which owes her importance and greatness as world Power to her empire in the East, for not only the Mussalmans of India will become restive and discontented, but the martial races that inhabit the North-Western Frontiers of India and the peoples of Afghanistan, Khiva, Bokhara and Turkistan will be infuriated into a frenzy that cannot but bode ill to the peace and tranquillity of that part of Asia—the storm centre of the past—not to mention the serious misunderstanding that will be created in Java, Sumatra and Malay Peninsula which possess numerous Muslim populations.

We, Mussalmans, therefore, respectfully beg to submit that the position of Constantinople as the Capital of Turkey and as such the seat of Khalifate and Capital of Islam should not be interfered with. * * *

The Muslim claim is that the Muslim races inhabiting the non-Turkish portion of the Ottoman Empire are not in any way inferior in intelligence, patriotism and organisation to Poles, Slavs, or Czecho Slavs, and they do not see any reason why there should be a mandatory for the proposed Muslim States while none is contemplated for the Christian State. [*From a Memorandum to the Prime Minister*].

Sir Theodore Morrison

The creation of an Islam *Irredento* is the last thing that we should desire. The result must be to make of the Near East a storm centre more extensive and more dangerous to the world's peace than the Balkans have been in the last half-century. Those who would parcel out among the Allies, countries which are fundamentally Muhammadan are creating the very conditions which means chronic unrest. It will be the tragic history of the Balkans repeated with a change of name. As the Christian races under Turkish domination were perpetually struggling to get free and invoked the sympathy and assistance of their Christian neighbours, so will the Muhammadan populations under European domination call aloud for the sympathy and support of their Moslem neighbours and spread a contagion of unrest among the Moslems of Algeria, Egypt, Afghanistan, and India. It is the British Empire with its 80 million Muhammadan subjects which will be most troubled by the disturbances from this storm-centre.

The case against foreign domination is as good in the mouth of a Muhammadan as of a Christian. If self determination is a good criterion for deciding the claims of Poles, Bohemians, and Yugo Slavs, why is it wrong when applied to Turks? Have the Great Powers one standard of justice for Christians and another for Moslems? I venture to say that there is not a soldier or Civil Servant in India who looks forward with equanimity to the necessity of answering these questions, and they know that they will be put to him with repeated insistence for years to come if the allies when dealing with Islam forget their own professions. There is no ground for supposing Muhammadan discontent will blow over. Islam inspires a devotion every whit as passionate as the patriotism felt for race or country; it is a devotion which will not succumb to machine guns or bombing aeroplanes, nor will Western education eradicate it. It will persist, to trouble the world's peace and disturb the British Empire, as the patriotism of Greeks, Serbs and Wallachians has persisted.

On the plain practical ground of self-interest England should not destroy the Turkish Empire.
[From an article in the "Nineteenth Century and After" on "England and Islam"]

Mr. M. H. Isphani.

It is still possible to carry out the intention of creating self-governing States in Syria and Mesopotamia without interfering in the spirit of the Prime Minister's speech and Mr. Wilson's declarations regarding the preservation of full Turkish sovereignty in Asia Minor, Thrace and Constantinople. The Moslems will view with the gravest disappointment and bitterness the wresting of Thrace and Constantinople from Turkey proper or placing her under a Christian protectorate or mandate, and they will denounce the seizure of countries which are traditionally Turkish, to be made over to Italy and Greece. There is an idea among Moslems that Turkey is being dismembered and destroyed in order to place Islam under the heel of European Powers. I hope and trust that this is a false idea. England has always been regarded as a sympathiser with Islamic sentiments, and I still hope that she will not disappoint the Mussulmans in the trust they have reposed in her.—
(Speech in London).

Mr. C. F. Andrews.

A tragic drama is being acted out to the bitter end in Asiatic and European Turkey, before our very eyes, which must make every heart bleed. The breaking up process has already begun. Each week the news comes trickling through, that fresh aggressive steps are being taken by Greece and Italy, which, must inevitably lead to annexation. Already Greek troops have been landed at Smyrna in Asia Minor and they have pressed up country, attempting to annex all the land they could before the Peace Terms are published. Greece is also claiming the whole of Thrace, with the exception of a single naval outlet for Bulgaria. Italy has landed forces in the Gulf of Adalia. It appears that she is determined to dispute with Greece the hegemony of this part of the Mediterranean. France is actively pressing her so called 'claims' in Syria, and Great Britain those in Mesopotamia. While soothing words were being uttered to the Mohamedan deputation at Versailles, these actual deeds have been either accomplished or are on the verge of accomplishment. * * *

I cannot imagine, at this time, a greater blow to the British prestige for fairness and justice in the East than would be given by British acquiescence in the dismemberment of Turkey. [A Communication to the Press].

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI.

I have just received the following cablegram from Mr. Ibrahim Ismail Aswat, Chairman of the British Indian Association, Johannesburg :

"Bill assented 23rd June, promulgated 3rd instant. Restricts companies acquiring further fixed properties and holding bonds as prior to company law. Re-affirms Gold and Townships Acts operating on new licensees after 1st May and restricting present traders and successors to particular townships. Deputation waiting His Excellency urging withhold assent on ground class legislation. Government promised another commission during recess investigate Indian question throughout Union as concession to the detractors in Parliament. Fear further restrictive legislation. Community request you appeal Viceroy propose Royal Commission India representing Union local Indian interests. Convened Union Indian Conference 4th August, great success. Decided united action. Many of the association pledged resist any cost.—Aswat."

The cablegram bears out what I have said in my letter to Sir George Burnes* and what I said at the recent meeting at Poona. The restrictions are clear—1. No further holding of landed property in the Transvaal ; 2. No new trade licences within the area affected by the Gold Law and the Townships Act; 3 the present holders and their successors in title to be restricted as to trade to the townships in which they are now trading.

As I have already remarked, this means virtual ruin of the Indian settlers in the Transvaal. Their only means of livelihood to the largest number is trade, and the largest number of Indians is to be found probably within the gold area. If the Act stands, they must die out in the natural course.

In the cablegram the word 'assent' occurs twice. It says the Bill has been assented to and it refers to a deputation that is to wait on H. E the Governor-General of South Africa requesting him to withhold assent. The second use of the word 'assent' refers probably to a clause in the Letters Patent providing for the vetoing of class legislation. The clause is undoubtedly to be used under exceptional circumstances. No one can deny that the Asiatics Act constitutes a very exceptional circumstance warranting the exercise of the Royal veto.

The most important part of the cablegram, however, is the fact that the commission promised by the Union Government is to be appointed as a "concession" to "the detractors" of Indians in the Union Parliament. Unless, therefore, the Government of India take care, there is every likelihood

of the commission, like the committee of the South African Assembly, proving to the British Indians a curse, instead of a blessing. It is, therefore, not unnatural that the British Indian Association urges that H. E the Viceroy should propose a Royal Commission upon which both the Union and the Indian interests are represented. Nothing can be fairer than the proposal made by Mr. Aswat. I say so, because as a matter of right no commission is really needed to decide that Indian settlers are entitled to trade in South Africa where they like and hold landed property on the same terms as the European settlers. This is the minimum they can claim. But under the complex constitution of this great Empire, justice is and has often to be done in a roundabout manner. A wise captain, instead of sailing against a head-wind, tacks and yet reaches his destination sooner than he otherwise would have. Even so, Mr. Aswat wisely accepts the principle of a commission on a matter that is self-evident, but equally wisely wants a commission that would not prove abortive and that will dare to tell the ruling race in South Africa that, as members in an Empire which has more coloured people than white, they may not treat their Indian fellow-subjects as helots. Whether the above proposal is accepted or some other is adopted by the Imperial Government, it must be made clear to them that public opinion in India will not tolerate confiscation of the primary rights of the British Indian settlers in South Africa.

Writing subsequently to the *Times of India* Mr. Gandhi points out that what is known as the Smuts—Gandhi Agreement has been misinterpreted and that it has been impressed into service in support of "the gradual but certain squeezing process" of the Indian from South Africa. He writes :—

In this correspondence there is not a word about the Indian settlers not getting trade licences or holding fixed property in the mining or any other area. And the Indians had a perfect right to apply for and get as many trade licences as they could secure and as much fixed property as they could hold, whether through forming registered companies or through mortgages. After a strenuous fight for eight years it was not likely that I would give away any legal rights, and if I did, the community, I had the honour to represent would naturally and quite properly have dismissed me as an unworthy, if not traitorous, representative,

* A Summary of which appears in another page.

The New Preference Policy and India

BY

MR. K. C. MAHINDRA, B. A., (CANTAB).

"Replying to Mr. Acland in the House of Commons, Mr. Austen Chamberlain is reported to have said that if it did not pay to bring Java tea here, that is if there was not 2d. difference between Java and India teas, poor people in Britain would get the better Indian tea at the same price as they used to pay for poor Java tea. Mr. Chamberlain declared that under preference the British consumer would get the tea cheaper and buy more of it. There would therefore be a greater demand here for Indian and Ceylon tea. The logical outcome of the argument that British tea growers would be driven out of foreign markets by the competition of Java and China teas hitherto sold here was that British market should be protected not against but in favour of foreigners, so that they should be induced to send their product here in order that Britain might not suffer from their competition elsewhere. Was ever Free trade argument reduced to such absurdity?"

... .. *Daily Paper.*

"The question of Imperial preference as regards tea coupled with the increase in the Exchange rate to 1s. 8d., and more possibly the uncertainty of a further rise, is causing a general feeling of depression, and presents a most gloomy outlook for the Industry."

Messrs. J. THOMAS & Co's

Weekly Tea Report, dated 16th May 1919.

The two announcements call back to mind the memorable campaign inaugurated by the distinguished father of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer seventeen years ago. And well may the Chancellor congratulate himself on being the first statesman to propose officially the incorporation of the Policy of Imperial Preference in the British Budget—a policy for which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain staked his political future and lost. Although the policy proposed is now a fact—preferential duties came into operation from May 17th—yet it would do well to examine the bearings of the new tariffism on the various issues involved. The present study is an attempt in that direction.

It will not suffice to reckon only the theoretic argument advanced for and against the policy—such abstractions are bound to be discredited if allowed to stand alone—but the relevant factor is the post-bellum situation which is regarded as having revealed the necessity for a Policy of Imperial Preference. It is a war aftermath and as such requires to be examined with reference to present-day circumstances and present-day influences. Moreover we must not forget that the proposal is avowedly in the shape of an experiment and India is selected to be the happy (sic) hunting ground.

The Chancellor proposes to reduce the import duty on Empire grown teas by 2d. i.e., in effect a concession to India and Ceylon tea as against China and Dutch grown teas. The duty stood at 1s per lb in November 1918 and was hitherto a purely revenue tax. Since tea is a commodity not produced in the United Kingdom, the duty was purely and simply a tax on consumption. But the total burden of the tax is not measured solely by the revenue received. To this must be added the loss of satisfaction arising from the fact that in consequence of increased price some people gave up consuming what they liked and substituted for it what they desired less. This loss of satisfaction may become a negative quantity in some conceivable cases, as when by a heavy import (e. g. on alcohol) the State compels people to give up consuming what she thinks is detrimental to the health of her citizens. Tea however is still on the safe side of State Health and Morals and we may legitimately assume that anything that goes towards enhancing its price and so to lessen its consumption results in a positive loss of satisfaction additional to that measured by the revenue gathered in by the tax or the impediment.

By the reduction of 2d. on tea import in case of Empire grown teas, the hitherto purely revenue duty has become differential, that is, a discrimination altogether arbitrary from the economic point of view, is placed on the tariff scale. The State had so far let people alone as regards the consumption of the different types of tea on the market. She wanted some money and for that purpose she asked of all teas on the market to contribute so much per pound. Thus left alone the various types of tea found their true level i.e. were put to their most economical use. The State has now stepped forth and in effect directs the consumption of the people. "You must drink Empire-grown tea and I will see that you do it. By touching your pocket I can successfully achieve my object." This differential treatment is a deliberate attempt to divert the demand for tea to a particular source of supply and hence as such is wasteful from the economic point of view. The dictum of J. S. Mill still remains true:

"Whatever else may be alleged in favour of such distinctions, [e.g., Com. Laws, Preference, Navigation

Laws etc.] whenever they are not nugatory they are economically wasteful." Principles pp 850.

So also Dr. Marshall :

"In England's case import duties levied otherwise than with a direct view to revenue, seem to me to have no economic justification. They cannot cause foreigners to contribute appreciably to her public burdens; they will necessarily lessen the National Dividend and therefore necessarily lessen the amount of employment at good wages." (1908)

The argument does not however decide on any indirect effect, political or emotional that may be sought for in some specific tariff scale. So far the reasoning has been general and may indeed be applied to any discriminating tax on commodities. Before we turn to the particular case in view—the proposed tea preference—and discuss the various issues involved in such a policy, it would help to state the problem in a clear manner if we note down a few relevant statistics.

1. The total amount of tea produced in India in 1916 was 368,582,668 lbs. or a yield of 614 lbs. per acre as against 452 lbs. per acre in 1908 and 637 lbs. per acre in 1915.

2. India exported in 1917-18 a total of 360,621,841 lbs. of tea—about 35 per cent. above the pre-war average. Of this amount United Kingdom took about 266,964,000 lbs., the rest of the Empire 49,230,000 lbs. and other countries about 43,000,000 lbs.

3. The latest returns available of the Chinese tea trade are for the year 1916-17 when she exported 126,260,800 lbs. of black and green tea (the blends chiefly used in European market) as against about 300,000,000 lbs. in 1886—the high water mark of Chinese tea trade.

If we take the year 1896-97 as the base (100) for export tea trade, we can construct the following table (after the Indian Year Book 1919) —

—	India	Ceylon.	China.
1915-16	226		...
1916-17	194	189	78
1917-18	240	177	

That is, whereas India and Ceylon tea exports have nearly doubled in 20 years, the China tea exports have been reduced to a little over 1/4th.

The problem resolves into two distinct parts :—

A. What is the ultimate effect of tea preference on—

- (i) the British consumer;
- (ii) the Indian planter;
- (iii) the Indian consumer,

B. Will there be any re-actions of or rebounds from this Policy? Let us consider each of these issues separately.

A. (i) The reduction of import duty by 2d will give a stimulus to Empire grown tea imports into United Kingdom. With increased supplies of Indian tea, the importers could afford to lower the price by 2d—the reduction made in the duty. Granted they do so, the cheapness will attract new customers—either new converts to the tea drinking habit or those who used to drink China or Java tea before the preference was given. China tea is a cheaper blend than India or Ceylon tea; so a reduction in price of India tea will lead to the substitution of China tea by those who used it solely on account of its cheapness. Another effect that may be looked for is the substitution of tea—a mild intoxicant—for the stronger one, beer. Brewing interests will not perhaps look with favour upon the events taking such a turn.

Now, will the price be actually lowered? It may not be, if demand for tea be always greater than the supply, i.e., if demand be inelastic. A growing demand for the beverage may not be caught up at all by the increasing supply. This necessitates on the one hand, the presence of, China tea on the market, and on the other a very slight or no reduction in price of India tea. But the assumption is rather wide of fact. The reduction of duty will be reflected on the price level. The expectation of growing demand coupled with the hope of capturing the Chinese tea market in Britain will lead importers to place bigger orders for stock in India teas. And they will look towards reduced price now afforded as a means for new custom. At this stage two relevant queries come up to the mind.—

1. What is the relative consumption of China tea?

2. Is tea such a commodity which a large number of people do not consume on account of price, and which they will begin to do if it be made cheaper?

The answer to the first question is found in the Returns. The China tea consumption in United Kingdom declined from 126,000,000 lbs. or 65 per cent. of the total consumption in 1879 to 6,700,000 lbs. or 2½ per cent. in 1905 and to 5,000,000 in 1909.

In 1916 Britain took 269,000,000 lbs. of India and Ceylon tea for Home consumption, while the total deliveries of all other teas was only 33,000,000 lbs.

These figures indicate that Empire-grown teas have more or less completely ousted the China and the Dutch-grown teas from the British market, and that there is very little room for a further replacement. It is but reasonable to believe that a greater part of the present consumption of China tea is consumption by choice, i.e., by those who prefer to drink this blend regardless of price. We do not find much hopes then of a greatly increased use of India and Ceylon teas as a result of the reduced duty.

The second question is more or less hypothetical. The phenomenal growth in the consumption of tea during the last 50 years warrants a further expansion. But Britain already leads in tea consumption. In 1906 she consumed 617 lbs. per person per annum as compared to 89 for U.S.A. and 145 for Holland. If there is need for a propaganda work—such as a fiscal policy is supposed to promote—it is in countries like France, U.S.A., Holland. Although the production as conducted in India at present can be greatly improved upon—617 lbs. per acre is not a very flattering figure—yet there is a distinct limit up to which it can be increased. Although the tea on the market is worked upon to a considerable extent by mechanical and chemical methods, still at bottom it is essentially an agricultural industry. It is subordinate to the economic law of Diminishing Returns and so from the economic point of view, of all industries it is the most undesirable to protect or give preference to. Another ultimate injury that would follow, will be the enhanced value of tea land leading tentatively to higher rents to the benefit no doubt of the landlords, but to the great detriment of workers and tenants on land.

Further since the benefit to planters arises solely from the altered price of tea to the British consumer, such a benefit (doubtful as it is) will be completely set off by their dealings in foreign market. India and Ceylon offer almost half the total quantity exported to markets other than British. The withdrawal of China and Dutch-grown teas from the British market will lead to a keener competition in foreign markets which will naturally result in lower prices. And India cannot afford to lose such a big custom as the foreign markets offer. The indirect injury to the Indian planters will probably be greater than the very doubtful benefit accruing to them through preference in the British market. A reduced duty will extend very little the British tea market. We may however note in passing that if China tea

be completely ousted from the British market, the British public will lose the benefit of a variety of choice and this loss is very material in judging individual satisfaction.

Another direction in which tea consumption may be expected to increase is the substitution of coffee by tea on the British table. But facts do not warrant any great optimism. The consumption of coffee per head in United Kingdom is only one lb. as compared to 5 or 6 lbs. in France, 12 lbs. in U. S. A. and 15 lbs. in Holland. We would do well in order to promote the Empire tea industry if by some sort of fiscal policy foreign markets like U. S. A., Holland and France were encouraged to take in more tea. This point needs particular emphasis for we read that "there is a world-wide shortage of coffee at present which does not seem likely to be relieved for some time. An opportunity is thus presented for introducing tea as a substitute for coffee in France and Germany. One of the results of the war has been to popularise tea in both these countries and the influence of the armies of occupation is bound to act in the same direction." Instead we find Mr. Chamberlain laying down a policy that will go some way to restrict these markets for Empire-grown teas and allow China and Dutch-grown teas to sweep them up more or less completely.

(ii) Now about the Indian planter. Granted increased demand for his tea, the planter receives a new impetus for work. He expects bigger profits and he has an inducement to increase his scale of production, thereby introducing bigger economies.

(iii) Let us now turn to the third party in the transaction—the Indian consumer. As a result of the new policy, the planters are expected to extend their plantations in hopes of a bigger market. Profits will be supposed to increase leading to additional investment in the Tea Industry. This will have an effect on the demand for Indian labour and ultimately secure better conditions and prospect for coolies working on the tea gardens.

An indirect enriching of the land through increased investment plus better labour conditions—these are the prospects held out by the advocates of the new policy to the Indian consumer. How far they will hold is apparent from what has been discussed above.

So far we have confined ourselves rigidly to close issues. But there are interests wider and more important which must be considered before arriving at a final conclusion. We may sum up

what is gone above by admitting that the credit side of the new policy shows a little positive balance so far—but only very little. What are the other entries in the account?

First we must recognise that the preference policy would mean increased competition for all Indian goods—not only tea—in foreign markets. When China and Dutch grown tea swamps the foreign markets, there results an increase of trade all round between China, Java and these markets, perhaps at the expense of Indian trade. The increased exports from India through increased tea trade with England express no addition to but merely a change of direction of, total Indian exports. "A Preference Policy can never create new trade."

Secondly, we should be prepared for retaliatory measures by the powers adversely affected by the new Preference. Mr. Chamberlain accorded recognition to this factor, but confident of the supreme position occupied by Britain he disdained to analyse any further. The top dog has perhaps the right to kick the lower member without cause or reason and be not over scrupulous about it. But the little nations afraid of the might of the Empire may be cowed down at present; but they can afford to take the kick quietly and forget ever afterwards. New combinations will be formed as a consequence. Retaliation will provoke retaliation and so *ad nauseum* on to another struggle—perhaps more costly in life and money and certainly more world-wide than the last one.

It may be suggested that the tariff wall so constructed will be of service in forcing concessions out of another country. But the attempt will be not only dangerous because of the growing complications of international commerce but obviously futile since diplomatic bluff will work strongly to the prejudice of common honesty and plain straightforwardness in international relations. Why England should take recourse to Preference, on this score is easily comprehensible. "Free Trade has secured for her the most favoured treatment everywhere and in all important particulars." (Pigou).

We can guess what the attitude of foreign powers will be from one instance. Canada granted preference to British goods in 1895-6 and closed the open door policy thus depriving other countries of the most favoured nation treatment in Canada. As a result we have in the German Tariff of 1897 a higher scale rate of duties imposed on Canadian goods. There is no reason to suppose that similar action will not be taken

on the new Preference. Such a policy fore-shadows immense complications. Prof. Pigou quotes with approval in "The Riddle of the Tariff" the eminent French economist Yves Guyot:

"Le protection issue remplace la concurrence economique par la concurrence politique."

Bear well in mind again the expansive nature of this programme. From a small preference on tea it will grow into a big tariff cordon round the trade of the Empire—a barrier as counterparts to which foreign nations will erect their own special little barricades. Particular groups and special interests will fight for an ever growing exclusiveness in trade. Political life will provide a new interest in corruption, logrolling and lobbying—already familiar in tariff countries will enter the hitherto safe precincts of Westminster.

In the particular case of China tea there is a special reason why preference would work harm. India is at present the biggest market for Lancashire cotton goods, but China was the second biggest in 1913 and one most capable of development. Will not China retaliate by restricting the Lancashire cotton market there? Particularly at the present juncture when German competition is nil, it is to the interest of Lancashire cotton circles to avoid doing anything to offend China.

The supporters of tea preference have to face yet another objection. It is from the consumers by choice of China tea.

The chief constituent of tea is caffeine on which depends the physiological effect of it, although the commercial value seems more to depend upon the essential oil and the aroma. But on larger grounds of public health it is the amount of caffeine and tannin in the blend that is relevant. And so we find Lord Dysart writing to the press:—

"I understand that most of the medical profession are agreed that Chinese tea is less detrimental to the nervous and digestive systems than the teas from India and Ceylon: If this be true, the proposal of the Government to give preference to the latter is practically putting a very heavy subsidy on nervous and dyspeptic disorders." Quoted, *Statesman*, May 15

The Little Englander also comes up with his local grievances that the preference will work against Java and Sumatra tea industry—an industry almost entirely developed and owned by British capital; that it is a hit against one's own kith and kin. We in India will perhaps do well not to take sides in this family quarrel.

It is true again that the entrepot trade of London will be adversely affected. London owed its supremacy to a considerable degree on the freedom of movement hitherto available—on the

"viability" so called by Dr. Marshall. Already London is losing its position as controller of European imports owing to certain other reasons, and the new policy will hasten the downward movement. The reduced transshipment trade will not bode any good for the British consumer at large. We must admit however that with the elimination of some of the foreign grown teas the speculative element so far attached to the London Tea Market will be greatly reduced and will be an indirect benefit to the traders all round.

But the tariff policy implies the creation of a phalanx of officials with keen eyes to scrutinise the imports. This growth of the bureaucratic powers of the government will hardly find favour with many Tariff Reformers even. It means expense; it involves vexation and brings the already discredited Government Collector into greater disrepute.

We must now come to the greatest argument of all in favour of Preference. It is the ominently praiseworthy and wholesome desire to supply the Empire with an economic foundation in addition to the political framework which binds the various outlying colonies and dependencies to Britain. When sentimental and emotional influences work the value of the economic reason is always at a discount. And perhaps if one is an ardent Imperialist one could afford to lose a little pecuniarily in return for the "stronger link". But Preference cry is an appeal to the pocket, cunningly devised to be so. Sentiment is blended with business. And we must not forget that "business between friends is always dangerous". But is it superfluous to enquire if we can permanently retain the incongruous mixture of business, *i.e.*, economic motive with emotion? We may afford to look generous to-day in the flush of excitement for the sake of an intangible thing—Imperial unity. But will that appeal continue strong normally? We think not. It is the nearest interest that decides human actions and a shadowy, illusory Imperial unity cannot for ever smother into silence the ever recurring pecuniary loss that will follow in the wake of Imperial Preference. Truly this idea of Imperial Preference is a mistaken offspring. The exemplary success achieved by the German Zollverein inspired the inaugurators of the Tariff Reform campaign in England. But it is forgotten that Zollverein was the biggest experiment in free trade. It was an attempt towards the abolition of various trade barriers that impeded the normal flow of trade between the component parts of the German Empire.

Our Super-Imperialists propose however to erect such artificial barriers that it was the aim of the Zollverein to abolish.

Granted even that we strengthen the Imperial tie through Fiscal Preference, are we quite sure that we are not at the same time severing the human one? Are we not laying the foundations for an economic war—more bitter and savage than the political?

In conclusion there rises a pertinent query. Is the Preference granted to India on a purely sentimental ground? Perhaps John Bull with a War Debt of 7,000 million pounds can afford to be generous? May we not look into the Imperial Conference Reports where the policy was mooted and decided upon? We understand that India's "representatives" heartily agreed to Fiscal Preference within the Empire and perhaps gave confidential guarantees on behalf of the "people of India" whose representatives they were, of some reciprocity being granted to British goods imported into India. Whether such guarantees exist, we do not know, but it is apparent without travestying John Bull's sincerity in matters commercial that we won't be allowed to take the gift horse with a nod. Mere courtesy will demand some sort of reciprocity. We, as a nation are famous for our gratitude and what is there to prevent us from granting a preference to Lancashire cotton goods in return for the tea preference? If we do not propose to look the gift horse in the mouth, we should not be too scrupulous about the care of our own cotton industry either. But it is better all the same to remember that whereas we import cotton goods to the extent of one-third of the total value of our imports, our tea exports are proportionately much less. Also it should not require any reminder that India stands a sporting chance—if chance be fairly permitted—to develop its own cotton industry; and that she has almost a monopoly of tea trade and requires no protection for development. We do not yet know the future fiscal policy of the Government of India. It would be idle to discuss the bearings. We have merely suggested the question.

We began this study with Mr. Chamberlain's peroration and we can find no more fitting close than the remarks made by "Capital" on the same:—

"And this claptrap was cheered. The day of reckoning is not far off and then we shall be told that the revolt of the proletariat over-taxed in the interests of the selfish capitalists is sheer bolshevism".

JOINT STOCK CONCERNS IN INDIA

BY

MR. R. K. SANGAMESWARAN, M. A., L. T.

ONE of the most remarkable features of modern industrial India is the rapid development of Joint Stock concerns in business enterprise. The company form of manufacturing and commercial business, though of western origin, has within the last few decades, taken so firm a root in the land of its adoption, that it is likely to play as great a part here, as it has, in the land of its origin. To realise the full force of this statement, I have given here a classified list of Joint Stock Companies as they stood in 1916.

Nature of Company.	Number.	Paid up Capital in lakh of Rupees. (1,00,000).
Trading companies ..	718	12,27
Cotton Mills ..	196	11,42
Railways and Tramways ..	54	10,24
Banking ..	460	8,34
Jute Mills ..	37	7,80
Coal Mining ..	144	6,12
Other Mills and presses ..	236	5,20
Tea Planting ..	220	4,60
Sugar Manufacture ..	18	81
Gold mining ..	8	38
Other Companies ..	385	17,84
Total ..	2,476	85,02

Again the recent statement to the press, issued by the Indian Statistical Department, shows a phenomenal registration of Joint-Stock Companies during the last two years and particularly in the month of February 1919. In that month alone no less than "32 companies were registered with an aggregate authorised capital of about Rs. 451 lakhs, as against 14 companies with an aggregate authorised capital of Rs. 195 lakhs, in the corresponding month of the preceding year. Bengal alone accounted for 19 companies and Rs. 81 lakhs for eleven months, for April 1918 to February 1919. The total number of companies registered (in the above period for the whole of India) was 251, with an authorised capital of Rs. 1,440 lakhs as against 218 companies with

Rs. 2,553 lakhs in the corresponding period of the preceding year. The larger floatation in February last was that of E. D. Sassoon, United Mills, Bombay, with an authorised capital of Rs. 300 lakhs." The above facts speak for themselves.

The persons that play a prominent part in the company form of business, are the promoter who 'floats' the business and the ordinary investor who furnishes a large part of the capital required for the business. Let us examine the relationship between them a little more closely. In theory, a company may be supposed to be formed by a large number of persons, each contributing his own small capital. All of them have a right, therefore, to claim a share in the conduct of the business. But for convenience of actual working, they constitute a small working board by electing a few representatives, who are given powers for conducting the business concern and directing its general policy. This representative board, usually called the Board of Directors, in turn, invests the 'Managers' with complete powers for ordinary routine work, etc. A fair picture of an ideal joint-stock company may be had by comparing it with the British constitution; the shareholders correspond to the British electorate, the Board of Directors to the House of Commons, and the Managers to the Cabinet.

In practice, on the other hand, things are far different from the ideal conditions presented above. A company never passes through the successive stages, commencing with the shareholders and ending with the managers. The process is rather quite the reverse. A practical business man comes down suddenly upon a 'profitable notion', either in his routine work or by some patent invention, and hopes to promote a successful enterprise. To bring it to fruition, he requires a large capital, for which he has recourse to the investment market. To be sure of success he gives the project a stamp of 'soundness' by co-operating with a number of 'promoters', who are generally themselves bankers or financiers, capable of backing up the scheme, and putting it in the market in an attractive form. The posts of managers and directors are readily filled in, from this small band of promoters in whose hands, therefore, lies absolutely, the destiny of the concern. In other words, a joint-stock concern may

be regarded as an 'economic democracy', in theory; while in actual practice it is a rigid bureaucracy: the service of the public is wanted but momentarily to buy the shares, but their control is not wanted.

In the business world the relationship between the organiser and the investor is even more complicated. The intricate machinery of 'credit' enters the investment market and is the first factor in the complication: the other and a more predominant factor is speculation, which has now become a universal and permanent practice* in all things commercial.*

With the first industrial wave that passed over our country, during the early years of the last decade (1904-5), there arose a most popular type of Joint-Stock business, in the shape of Joint-Stock Banks. The patriotic people of the country eagerly patronised them and had a splendid opportunity to receive their first lessons in 'banking.' These banks, had however, sprung up in the heat of enthusiasm. Naturally they were not based on sound business principles. In a few years, inexperience and top-heaviness brought them to a precipitate end (1913-16) The people of the country had to learn a lesson at too great a cost. Curiously enough, some thoughtful persons had even anticipated this catastrophe, but their warnings were left unheeded. Long before this series of bank failures occurred, a member of the recent Currency Commission had remarked thus:—"In the case of the smaller banks (the new joint-stock banks) dealing as they are, with clients to whom banking is a new thing, and in a country where hoarding is still dominant, the cash balances seem, from the available indications, to be hopelessly inadequate; and it is hard to doubt, in the next bad times, *they will go down like nine pins* (the italics are mine). If such a catastrophe occurs, the damage inflicted on India will be far greater than the direct loss falling on the depositors."* Even the Government of India, with its financial experts, came too late in the day to save the "nine pins;" but once roused to a sense of its responsibility the Indian Government immediately came forward with regulations and restrictions to prevent future crises.

A careful enquiry into the causes of these bank failures brought out some facts, which are at once interesting from a practical, as well as, from a theoretical point of view. It was recorded that, in several cases, the managers were tempted into

fields of speculation; that they did not maintain sufficient 'liquid' reserves, and to crown all, they distributed the dividends among the shareholders from out of the paid-up capital.' These facts clearly indicated the lines on which restrictive regulations were necessary.

I will close this paper with a few remarks upon our industrial position and prospects. That the resources of our country are as yet practically untouched, is undeniable. Here and there some enterprises on a large scale have been started by Indian pioneers, like the Tatas; the uniform success attending all of them, has been giving the much needed stimulus and confidence to the people, to enter the unexplored regions of business enterprise. The recent great war, again, has shown us, to our cost, the necessity of working up our own resources. To realise what a field for industrial expansion lies before us, I have but to quote the words of an Englishman, who, in summarising Indian Industrial prospects, says—"The cotton and jute manufactures, already conducted on a large scale, offer scope for further development, sugar and tobacco are produced in large quantities, but both require the application of the latest scientific processes of cultivation and manufacture. Oil seeds might be crushed in India, instead of being exported while cotton seeds, as yet imperfectly utilised, can be turned to good account. Hides and skins, now largely exported raw, might be more largely turned and dressed in India. Again the woollen and silken fabrics manufactured in India are mostly coarse fabrics and there is scope for the production of finer goods. Although railways make their own rolling stock, they have to import wheels and axles, tyres, and other iron works. At present steel is manufactured on a very small scale, and the number of iron foundries and machine shops although increasing, is capable of far greater expansion. Machinery and machine tools have for the most part to be imported. Millions of agriculturists and artisans use rude tools which might be replaced by similar articles, that are more durable and of better make. Improved oil presses and hand-looms should find a profitable market. Paper mills and flour mills might be established in greater numbers. There are openings also for the manufacture of sewing machines, fire works, ropes, boots and shoes, saddlery, harness, clocks, watches, alazirine and aniline dyes, electrical appliances, glass and glassware, teachests gloves, rice-starch, watches, lamps, candle, soap, linen, hardware and cutlery."

* H. J. Tozer: British India and its Trade.

THE AFGHAN TREATY

BY "AN INDIAN PUBLICIST."



THE news of the conclusion of peace with Afghanistan will surely cause widespread satisfaction all over the country. Our readers are sufficiently acquainted with the causes and events of the present war and will find it easy to examine if the terms are such as will prevent Afghanistan from giving any more trouble in the future. The terms are reasonable and Afghanistan can have no cause for complaint against the British Government.

One notable feature of the treaty is the withdrawal of the privilege enjoyed by Afghanistan of importing arms and ammunition through India. This concession was granted during the time of Abdul Rahman with a view to enable the Amir to maintain an efficient and well equipped army which would not merely allow him to keep under proper control his turbulent subjects but also stem the tide of Russian advance towards India by keeping the enemy at bay till the British forces took the field. So long as there was no doubt regarding the fulfilment of these two considerations, the Amir was permitted to enjoy the privilege. But once that privilege has been abused, as has been the case in the present war, and those arms and ammunition have been employed without any provocation at all against the British power, there is every reason for the British Government to withdraw the long enjoyed privilege. Moreover, Afghanistan is now sufficiently strong and any more accession to her military strength will certainly prove harmful to our interests. No one need fear, for nothing but good will result from this course.

Another feature of the treaty which will be welcomed in all quarters is that relating to the grant of subsidy. Employing the pretext of the bogey of Russian invasion Habibullah had succeeded in raising the figure to 18 lakhs. Now the peace treaty, in addition to the withdrawal of the grant to the present Amir, confiscates the arrears of subsidy due to the late Amir. No objection could be raised for the subsidy so long as it served the purpose of keeping Afghanistan as a mere buffer state. When this purpose is violated and attempts are made to give trouble to the very

power which pays her, the subsidy has been rightly withdrawn. Moreover, our subsidy to Afghanistan was necessary as long as there was a strong ruler on the throne maintaining supreme authority. Events that have happened since the death of Habibullah go to prove the contrary. The astonishing speech of the Chief Afghan Envoy at the Peace Conference was not quite in keeping with the position of Afghanistan as a buffer state and showed utter disregard of the good motives that have actuated British policy towards Afghanistan.

While accepting the Indo Afghan frontier arrived at by the Durand Agreement, the treaty proposes the appointment of a British Boundary Commission to be entrusted with the task of demarcating the undemarcated portion of the frontier line west of the Khyber. If outposts are erected along the line to be settled it is hoped, the settlement of the line will put an end to all prospects enjoyed now by the tribes on this border of invading the British territory and running away into the Afghan territory evading punishment. In doing this great care should be taken. The fact that the occupation and administration of independent territory right up to the Durand line at all points will entail on India military and financial burdens should be carefully borne in mind.

In concluding this treaty Sir Hamilton Grant has accomplished a difficult and delicate task with great success. He has really succeeded in concluding a treaty of peace which makes clear to Afghanistan 'that India needs of her nothing further than the peaceful relations of a peaceful neighbour, and that if Afghanistan needs more of India, as economically and in almost every other way Afghanistan undoubtedly does, she must prove by a six months' probation that she is worthy to receive it and must ask for it as a favour and not as a right.' Every one will join in the hope expressed by His Excellency the Viceroy that 'this treaty will be the prelude to a treaty in due course, which will once more draw closer the bonds of friendship between these two old friends and neighbours.'

THE DRINK PROBLEM AND INDIA

BY

MR. D. S. GORDON, M. A.

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NEARLY everyone who speaks or writes about human consumption of intoxicating liquor feels bound to express an opinion one way or another. But how far that opinion is based upon sound reasoning or is founded on the mere unconscious prejudice of upbringing, it is difficult to say. However, everyone has been so anxious to cling to one's own view of the matter that the world is now more or less sharply divided into two opposite camps. Alcohol, according to one group, is an unmitigated evil, whose consumption ought to be completely eradicated from society; and according to the other, it is no evil at all unless used in an evil manner or for an evil purpose. Alcohol has, in common with almost any other drug, the possibilities of causing mischief when misused. The holders of these views are the extremists, and between them are the men of moderate opinion who may be called the restrictionists. According to the latter, as Alcohol contains greater possibilities of misuse than any other commodity, its use must be restricted but not prohibited.

The controversy between teetotallers and drinkers has long raged in England where neither party convinced the other. Perhaps it was too much to hope that people who hold such contrary views could even be reconciled, especially when the matter in dispute is one in respect of which the absolute truth is so difficult to discover. The recently appointed 'committee of the British Central Control Board of Liquor Traffic' however, has set at rest controversy on some of the most salient points in regard to the drink question. Its pronouncement may be taken as the last word on the subject of Alcohol, not only as emanating from a body consisting of some of the most eminent doctors in England, but also as the considered verdict of scientific men without prejudice.

In discussing the drink problem two sets of arguments have been used, one deriving its force from Ethics and the other, partly from Biology and partly from Economics. There are thus, so to speak, two planes of argument. The whole matter can be thrashed from a purely moral standpoint, or it may be considered exclusively in its material bearing.

Taking the first aspect first, it is pertinent to ask, Is drinking immoral? There is nothing in drinking as such which our ethical standards

condemn; and religions which furnish the bases for moral laws almost uniformly regard it as unreprehensible. Christianity does not condemn drink. The stock argument of Christian advocates of alcoholic liquor is the example of Christ himself when he converted water into wine at the marriage of Cana. No doubt it has been explained by commentators that the wine was not an intoxicating beverage but only unfermented grape juice. However that may be, the Christian religion is not incompatible with drink.

What does Hinduism say? In ancient India, so far from drink being condemned, it received religious sanction to be used at certain sacred ceremonies. The alcoholic liquid extracted from the soma plant was for long the national drink of Vedic India. Similarly Japan, the stronghold of Buddhism, has the SAKE, extracted from fermented rice for her national liquor. In the Quran, it is true, we have a definite pronouncement against drink, perhaps for reasons of climate or on account of a social system which permits an easy divorce. However, the development of a large body of opinion against drink is very recent and is not founded on any religious precept.

History conclusively proves that all the active and enterprising peoples of the world have had some national drink or another. The ancient Greeks and Scandinavians held drink very dear to their heart. The latter could not conceive of a heaven, a *Valhalla* without plenty of drink and perpetual fighting. The Jews, we are told in the Old Testament, were led from the thralldom in Egypt to a land of corn and *wine*. Beer has been as much the national drink of the ancient Egyptians and Romans as it is of modern Germans.

If we should dip into the stream of poetry among all nations that have contributed to the praise of drink we should arrive at no end. There are only two things in the world which have evoked an unparalleled outflow of poetry and song, and they are Love and Liquor.

Far from being considered a sin, drink has from time immemorial held a highly estimable and important place in the development of national character. It seems to have furnished the foundation for the energy and activity, the cheerfulness and courage in the face of unknown dangers, for which the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Danes and the Normans are so remarkable.

The modern sentiment on the drink question is largely due to economic causes. The days of chivalry and of heroic deeds have irrevocably gone, and with them drink also. The world has grown more sober, more orderly. Life has become a science. When population was sparse and there was plenty to eat and *drink* the outlook on life was different. It was conceived in those good old days as a happy-go lucky sort of existence; but now life is business, the romance has been shorn out of it. With the increase of population and the keenness of the struggle for existence the evils of drink have been steadily growing more pronounced. The more formidable the evils became the more drastic were the restrictive measures demanded. Temperance Associations on a voluntary basis have had their day. The United States of America has been the first to find the old method wanting and to adopt compulsory prohibition.

The ethical basis of prohibition, however, does not seem to be satisfactory. Alcohol is not an unmixed evil; and as Selden said, it is not drinking that is to be blamed but the excess. Besides, there is always a soul of good in things evil. The question whether alcohol had any food value has been answered in the affirmative by the recent 'committee of the Control Board of Britain.' The *raison d'être* of Prohibition seems to be this, that as the evil effects of drink are considerably more than the good, its consumption must be stopped. The idea of prescribing to one's fellow-men what they shall eat and what they shall drink is not a delectable one. It militates against our conception of common liberty. But the late war has had the effect of considerably modifying our ideas of liberty. We have grown accustomed to restrictions on all sides without a murmur. One of the most democratic of countries, the United States of America would not have become 'dry' so miraculously soon if her people had not passed through the mill of war restrictions. Our sense of freedom, however, has not died out; it is only held in abeyance by the force of unique circumstances. No people can be coerced into teetotalism unless the majority felt the restriction to be good. The economic and the moral well-being of communities is thought to be jeopardised under the rule of Bacchus.

The consumption of alcohol has a direct bearing on man both as a producer and as a maintainer of a family. Production in Economics has a very wide significance. It includes practically every kind of service which yields utility. Men in any sort of useful occupation, therefore, are

producers. The Board of Directors of certain American railways, before the United States became dry by legislation, refused to take in men who were addicted to liquor, no matter in what quantity. The reason then given was that the lives of so many passengers could not be entrusted to the care of employees who may not be perfectly sober. It is needless to comment upon the effect of alcohol upon family happiness and the upbringing of children.

The supreme object of a State is to facilitate the growth of a healthy and prosperous people. If drink did not further this object, if it held possibilities of impoverishing a not inconsiderable section of the community, why, then, it must go. So it has in America and so it will, we hope, in India very soon. The bill it is hoped will shortly be introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council which would make it unlawful for anyone in British India to manufacture, import or sell liquor. Already the small state of Bhavnagar is leading the van of prohibition; and there is not the slightest doubt that an overwhelming majority of the people are in sympathy with the idea of a 'dry' India. The question is not, therefore, fraught with so much difficulty here as in the West. There the people are asked to forego something to which they have got accustomed, here the bulk of the population need give up nothing, for they have got accustomed to nothing. They have only to pass a measure which would make it impossible for a minority among themselves to spend in drink the money which would otherwise get the increase of their material comfort. The problem, we repeat, is simple in this land, if the people's wishes alone were consulted.

There are however, other considerations. To a vast majority of Europeans resident in India drink has become almost a necessity. They never have any views about it except that it is honourable and that good breeding demands it. They have been used to it in their homeland where the sentiment is somewhat disparaging to the man who cannot stand a little drink. But there are hardly two hundred thousand Europeans in India including the soldiers, and in a population of 315 millions they should not count. It should be easy to exempt them from the operation of the proposed Act. There are a few others, however, of European extraction whose case is somewhat on a different footing. The majority of these Anglo-Indians earn good incomes but are nevertheless poor, and thriftless. If there is a single community for whom prohibition may be an assured boon it would be to this.

More formidable than these difficulties however, are likely to be political considerations. The abolition of liquor traffic would not only cause a fall in Britain's export trade in that commodity but it would also make a big hole in the budget of the Indian Government. The excise revenue of the Government is now a little over £9 millions a year with a tendency towards further increase. Next to land revenue which produces about £22 millions the excise accounts for the largest sum. To give up this, especially at a time when the opium revenue of £4 millions is expected to decline to the vanishing point would be too much to expect unless of course a compensating head of revenue is discovered. Excise again, like the salt duty, has the advantage of being an indirect tax; but considering the unpleasantness involved in collection and the large staff of officials that it requires, it is perhaps not a very convenient source of revenue.

It has sometimes been argued that the retention of the excise and the import duties on liquor acts as a deterrent to excessive drinking. Rise in the incidence, however, has not been followed by decrease of consumption in India. There has been a small but steady increase in the consumption of liquor in spite of recent enhancement. Besides, raising the Government's demand, which means the same thing as raising the price of intoxicating drinks would have no perceptible effect in these days of abnormal prices. The price of liquor would only be regarded as a particular instance of a general elevation of prices. Besides, when the

people are not opposed to prohibition there is no meaning in preparing them for it by gradual restriction through high prices.

Lastly it may be urged that the contribution to the excise revenue comes from precisely the class of people who could least afford to pay it. Who drinks in India? Excluding the European and Anglo-Indian communities only the richest and the poorest classes drink. The great bulk of the middle class is either too prudent or have too little means to do so. The richer classes resort to costly foreign liquors and these people may be supposed to contribute in good proportion to our customs duties on intoxicants. The poorer classes consume country spirits and the excise falls upon them. Now "country spirit is the main source of revenue and yields about two-thirds of the total receipts from liquors." * Out of about £10 millions of revenue derived from liquor more than £6 millions are paid by the poorest in the land. It is true that the poor also must contribute their mite for the maintenance of Government; but this they amply do in paying the salt tax and other taxes on necessities.

Abolition of liquor traffic would contribute to the prosperity of our poorer classes more than to any other. The Government would no doubt lose much present revenue but in the long run this loss would really be compensated by the increased capacity of the people to bear taxation.

"The Indian year book" 1918

The Three C'S in Social Co-operation

BY

MR. P. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M. A.

IF the average reader of periodical literature in this country were asked what the most absorbing and important topic of public interest is, it is most likely that the answer would be "politics." This word has a wider and narrower application. It may be anything, educational politics, medical politics, official politics, etc., or it is political politics, touching the administration of the country and the constitution by which this administration is carried on.

It will be agreed that human happiness is not essentially governed by political freedom.

Political subjection, or political autonomy, human ills are all of the same kind to a greater or smaller extent in all nations, and the remedy lies in social co-operation. Now social co-operation is the real thing in the world. Political federation, unity or democracy is a myth except when it is merely a name given to the force of social co-operation. "Each nation gets the Government it deserves." The logical problem is not to get the Government but to *deserve* to get it. To say that social co-operation has been thwarted by inadequate political privilege is the merest absurd

excuse. Where social co-operation is perfect, political privilege is reduced to a mere form. Where it is ineffective the profoundest advance of political form is a mountain labouring to produce a mouse.

Social Co-operation is the natural democracy of human existence. The unit in social co-operation is the individual. The linking in social co-operation is perfect when there is a sense of equality in the members. This sense of equality is irrespective of human inequalities of wealth, rank or learning. This sense of equality is requisitioned only as essential to Social Co-operation. The society as well as the individual, benefit by this union and are enabled to progress on all sides of human welfare. The man who lives to himself is a short sighted and immoral being. There is no absolute altruism demanded in the moral ideal. It is ultimately most beneficial to the individual himself. If a nation as a whole yearns for progress, its first business should be to pay attention to the propagation of the most favourable principles for social co-operation. What promotes social co-operation is an intense zeal in the individual for justice, fair-play and truth. There are certain differences inevitable in social existence which are easily prone to operate against the securing of this sense of justice, fair play and truth. Difference of material or other status, of age, of sex and of race and caste are the principal elements affecting the strength of social co-operation. The remedy for this differences may be broadly put down as consisting of Courtesy, Chivalry and Cosmopolitanism. It is not claimed that these words have been chosen with scientific precision. But with the particular special significances intended here they may serve a certain usefulness. Courtesy has reference to the sinking of the ordinary differences between individual and individual, of rank, position, etc., etc. We may add that difference of age is a serious element in this country which courtesy should seek to remove. Courtesy implies the true democracy of well-ordered society. It is based on the sense of fairness. Courtesy demands of the individual member of society not to arrogate to himself special importance as incidental to any particular rank, position, etc., he may occupy in life. The virtue of moral conduct is one touching all equally. All persons are entitled in social existence only to such regard as is due their social worth. Every man must depend on the worth of his utterances and actions directly for the regard that he expects to be shown towards himself by others. Reason

and justice are alone the proper basis of social existence.

The word Chivalry has been used here to designate the sense of fairness and justice that has to be extended to the members of the other sects. A man arrogates to himself unwarrantable importance because he occupies a certain station in life or because he is of older age than others. Another pitfall for him is his tendency to disregard the claims of the other sex for fair treatment from him. In mediæval times which originated the notion of chivalric bearing towards woman, there was an extravagance associated with it. It designated not a sense of fairness but was extended to a superstitious worship of the fair sex which is certainly calculated to demoralise both the sexes. Sound social co-operation will require that woman should be admitted into it in equal partnership with man. Unless this is done it is impossible to harmonise the social ideal with the domestic ideal which will mean an insuperable obstacle in the way of all kinds of human progress. Art, education, sanitation and indeed everything will depend for progress on the harmonising of the home with society.

The third element favourable to social co-operation is Cosmopolitanism. The sense of fairness and justice intended to be signified by this word has special reference to the difference of race, creed and of religion. We have conceived of courtesy as necessary to destroy peculiar differences between one individual and another; of Chivalry as remedying the possible differences by sex; and cosmopolitanism will comprehend the extension of the sense of human fairness and justice to the widest extent. The true member of social co-operation will always be ready to admit the social equality of the individuals of other religions and of other castes and races, that dwell round him and come in daily contact with him. No man has a right to arrogate to himself a sense of superiority because of birth in a particular religion, race or caste. Social Co-operation, demands tolerance. In social co-operation, it is the intrinsic worth of a man that should alone matter, and not the accident of his birth or upbringing. Social co-operation demands not only tolerance of difference of religion and caste and race but also the genius to sympathise mutually with the different creed or caste or racial practice. In Bacon's words, "all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire."

Modern Western Ideas in Ancient India

BY

MR. HEMANTAKUMAR SARKAR, B. A.,

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Rightly has Sir John Seeley said:—

"We are not cleverer than the Hindu: Our minds are not richer or larger than his. We cannot astonish him, as we astonish the barbarian by putting before him ideas that he never dreamed of. He can match from his poetry our sublimest thoughts; even our science perhaps has few conceptions that are altogether novel to him."

Many entertain a wrong notion that Indians achieved a high degree of success in matters speculative, but so far as physical sciences were concerned they did very little. Nothing can be more wrong than this. We quote at length Mr. Barclay Lewis Day—one of the most thoughtful writers of England.—"From very early times the subtle minds of the Aryan thinkers delighted in contemplation and in solving various problems of astronomy, geometry and mathematics. They invented numerical signs among others the zero, as well as the decimal system. According to Lassen, there is authentic record of thirteen early Hindu astronomers and in the fourth century A. D. the Hindu Mathematician Aryabhata, not only discovered that the earth rotates but calculated the length of the orbits of the nearer planets and even the precession of the equinoxes. Burnouf points out that the thinkers of ancient India knew perfectly well that heat manifests itself not only as fire, but as electricity and wind: they knew that were Agni not already imprisoned in the wood, there would be no combustion:—they knew that motion, which puts life into nature is the result of sunheat, sun-fire, fire-heat, Agni. They saw that the vital energy of animals is in proportion to their participation of heat."

India's great contribution to the world civilisation through her achievements in the field of mathematics, chemistry etc. is now known to all educated men. The sciences of surgery, physiology, anatomy, medicine also reached a high degree of development in ancient India.

Many of the ideas contained in these have been distilled to Europe through the Persians and the Arabians. To give only one concrete example. European surgery has borrowed the operation of rhinoplasty, or the formation of artificial noses, from India. The chemical process of sublimation was first invented by Nagarjuna the great Indian Chemist. Apart from these, the scientific theories which have startled the modern world may be

traced back in a more or less modified form to ancient India. We have in Vishnupurana, a glimpse of the epoch-making evolution theory which is now being applied in every department of thought.

The meaning of the verses in the Vishnupurana runs thus:—

'Before we are born as men, we are to pass through various births—first we are born as standing forms of life such as plants, then as aquatic animals (such as fish), then as amphibials (such as tortoise), then as birds and beasts and lastly as monkeys and from monkeys we are born as men.'

This theory of evolution can be traced in the Avatara-vada of the Hindus. The order is as follows—fish (living in water), Tortoise (living in water and on land), Boar (living mainly on land though fond of water), Man-lion (half-man half-beast), Dwarf (the small man), Parashuram (the primitive man engaged in fighting), Balarama (the Agricultural man), Ramachandra (the developed man and the head of a settled civilised community), Srikrishna (the Political man), Buddha (the man who has merged his self in others, the ideal of altruism incarnate).

This succession list of Avatars gives us in a nutshell the evolution of man from the lowest form of animal life.

The ideas of Hindu Shastras sometimes seem absurd to modern minds. But from the above it has been seen that with all their grotesqueness they contain germs of truth. This will be made more clear from the next instance.

The Shastras say that the Sun and its Planets make one Solar World which is called Brahmanda and that there is an infinite number of these worlds in the space. From some of the Hindu books hints may also be gathered as to how Planets move round the Sun and how a number of such Solar systems move round a greater one and so on. In the middle of all this is an eternal effulgent glow in the form of something like a lotus. This old Hindu theory is now being supported by the astronomical researches of Mr. Spencer Jones of the Royal observatory at Greenwich. Let us place before our readers what has been said about his discoveries—it is an awe-inspiring conception—that our Solar system has as its centre an immense Sun many thousands of times larger than our immediate Sun and that this is surrounded by millions of other Suns of many sizes, the whole

vast group forming the nucleus of a spiral nebula with the mighty spiral arms coiling about us as the Milky way.

Yet the discovered facts impressively arrayed by H. Spencer Jones suggest not only so much but that this immense system is only one island universe—perhaps a comparatively small one—among thousands or millions of other island universes in space. And still we marvel at the magnitude of human works and the hugeness of the dust-speck commotion of agonised Europe!

Though a digression, it will not be quite out of place to note here that Dr. J. C. Bose's theory of Plant Life may be found in the Mahabharata, Manusahita and other old books of the Hindus, in a crude form. In one place Manu expressly states: "The plants feel pleasure and pain and they are also possessed of inner consciousness."

Now we shall turn to the world of Politics. The principles of Machiavelli and Bismark are all to be found in the old Hindu-books—such as the Mahabharata, Manusamhita, Chanakya's Art of Government, etc. The theory of social contract was not unknown to the ancient Hindus. And according to no less an authority than Prof. D. R. Bhandurkar the Hindu theory was even superior in some respects to that of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

Most people are not aware that 'the cradle of democracy lies in the lap of India's ancient civilisation'. Indian ideas about any public institution are saturated through and through with democratic ideals.*

Quoting from nine books covering a period of more than a thousand years from the 5th century before Christ, Professor Balkrishna in a very learned and illuminating article—"International Law in Ancient India" thus says in conclusion—"Hence it is as clear as daylight that the Indians were preceded by no nation on earth for laying down humane rules for minimising the evils of unavoidable wars, though surrounded on all sides by nations of antipodal customs they evolved a body of laws in consonance with their own conceptions of justice and humanity."

Now we shall deal with some miscellaneous points and conclude our essay. The idea of organised charity in the form of sending missions to enlighten the people and of establishing churches and hospitals, was first given a tangible shape on a grand scale by the immortal Emperor Asoka of the third century B. C.

The spirit of free thinking and the independence of the individual, which greatly characterises the modern age, are not to be wanting in old India. We all know the boldness of thought of the Charvaka School of Philosophy. The Lord Buddha who has given mankind a world religion says—

"Do not believe in traditions simply because they have been handed down for generations, nor in anything which is rumoured or spoken of by many or because the written statement of some old sage is produced. Do not believe in that as truth simply because you have been attached to it by habit. But after observation and analysis and when the thing agrees with reason and is conducive to the good and benefit of all, then accept it and live up to it."

From these few instances we can, therefore, safely conclude that our ancient forefathers were no mere dreamers always engaged in absurd speculations. On the contrary, they developed a unique practical civilisation which has yet much to teach the modern world.

— LINES WRITTEN IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

The mystic stillness of the evening tide
Has hushed to silence nature's every breath,
And all creation's splendour, vast and wide,
Is wrapped in quietness, calm as peaceful death.

A lonely sea-bird, swift, on tireless wing,
Still skims the dark'ning sea with graceful sweep—
The music of the waters murmuring
Is all that breaks the quiet of the deep.

The colours of the sunset, one by one,
Are deep'ning as they slowly fade from sight;
Till all the fiery splendour of the sun
Has yielded to the dusky shades of night.

The evening star, the herald of the night,
Whose timid beams the earth sought to embrace,
Is lost amid the million points of light
That deck the wondrous realms of endless space.

And so the night wears on, till with the morn
The twinkling stars fade slowly from the view,
And nature's thousand voices greet the dawn,
And this our wondrous earth is born anew.

—F. O. B. in *Chamber's Journal*.

* See my article on "King Demos in Ancient and Medieval India" *Indian Review*, May 1919. H.S.

INDO-ENGLISH VERSE

BY PROF. P. SESHADRI, M. A.

The Benares Hindu University.

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IN the literary renaissance that is being witnessed round us to-day in India the first place must indeed be assigned to the achievements in the various vernaculars of the country but the work of a small band of writers who have sought expression in English cannot also be ignored. English literature has long ceased to be content with its narrow island-home in the North-West, but extending over an empire whose "broad roots cool beneath the sea and whose branches sweep the world," it is now levying its contributions from the more spacious areas of inspiration. Among the new little rills that are tickling towards the main current is one from India and its future possibilities must be of absorbing interest not only to Indians but to all those interested in English literature. And here are as many as four volumes among a single season's publications relating to this subject.

The early introduction of the study of the English language into the province, the agility and quickness of the Bengali intellect and its pronounced artistic tendencies would seem to be responsible for the extent of Bengali activities in English poetry. Mr. T. D. Dunn is well-known as an enthusiastic student of Anglo-Indian literature and the Indian public will be grateful to him for this Bengali Book of English Verse which is enriched by a brief foreword by Rabindranath Tagore and got up as a very attractive volume. All the prominent Bengali writers of English verse are there, from Michael Madhusudan Dutt, a singer of real poetic inspiration who has won for himself an undying reputation in the Bengali language, to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who is happily in our midst regaling us with her delicious lyrics of Love and Beauty, including Toru Dutt that "fragile blossoms exotic song" to whom as Mr. Edmund Gosse has said the history of English literature *must* devote a page, and also lesser writers like the numerous members of the Dutt family, Kashiprasad Ghosh, Ram Sharma and others. Mr. Dunn has discharged his work with care and devotion and special credit is due to him when one remembers the difficulties under which he has had to labour, the inaccessibility of the work of the obscurer writers, the occasional presence of too many Indian details and the somewhat low standard of poetic merit.

"There are certain things," said LaBruyere "in which mediocrity is not to be endured such as poetry, music, painting and public speaking." In the special circumstances in which Indo-English verse has been written, it will however not be easy for the compiler of an anthology to enforce a rigorous standard of poetic excellence. It was inevitable that Mr. Dunn should have had to acknowledge with regard to these writers: "To the student of Indian educational history their work must be of abiding interest; but in the larger world of literature, it can hold no distinctive place"; but we are afraid he has at the same time been somewhat too indulgent in editorial discretion and allowed pieces which should either have been excluded altogether or included in smaller number only as curious specimens. Toru Dutt and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu should have been in greater evidence as their work is head and shoulders above that of the others in the volume and then to attempt a Bengali Book of English Verse without a representation of Rabindranath Tagore is to play *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark—we write with perfect consciousness of the fact that the English translations are not in metre but are only "prose lyrics." Prof. Manmohan Ghose of the Presidency College, Calcutta, is an accomplished writer of English verse with a fine classical flavour about him and especially those who know his contributions to the *Primavera* of his Oxford days, in which he collaborated with Stephen Phillips, Laurence Binyon and others will not grudge the inclusion of some pieces by him, but his brother Aurobinda Ghose has the more gifted poetic utterance as is shown by his brilliant translation of Kalidasa's *Vikramorvasiya* and his small volume of lyrics, *Ahana* and other poems. The fact that he is now a political refugee in Pondicherry should not lessen the value of his literary work—to the extent of excluding him altogether from a Bengali Book of English verse:

* *The Bengali Book of English Verse*:—Selected by T. D. Dunn (Longmans).

Harp of Heart:—A. S. Bhandarkar (Poet Lore Co.).
Krishna's Flute and other Poems:—N. V. Thadani (Longmans).

Poetical Works of Ram Sharma:—Ed. by D. C. Mullick (P. N. Mullick).

It was only the other day that this writer had occasion to review elsewhere an Indian writer's verse hailing from America, the *Denied* by Vasudev which throbbed with life and passion, if it was somewhat loose in structure and form. But Mr. A. S. Bhandarkar's *Harp of the Heart* which is also from the Poet Lore Company of Boston, is distinctly superior to it in merit and is one of the best books of English verse produced by Indians in recent years. In spite of the production of the volume in America there are not the signs of looseness and unconventionality of expression which have often marred literature on that continent, and the verses satisfy even a scrupulous literary conscience. The poet is bound to draw widespread attention to his work in the years to come, as one may see by the high level of poetic excellence which has been reached here. Whether he calls on the spirit of Shelley :

Sweet minstrel thou that cleared etherial climes
On aerial wings of Song still soaring high
In rapture like thy lark.

or allows his imagination to wander forth to the land of his birth thinking of the familiar temple-bells he has heard in his childhood :

How sweet these bells were wont to ring
That now bright days of childhood bring
To memory dear
A heart grown sere
When faith was love for e'er to cling.

* * *

How calm on light melodious wings
I sailed to Heaven's ambrosial springs,
And saw pure streams,
In silver beams,
When angels sang on floral swings.

it is the beginning of a genuine poetic inspiration whose fuller utterances will be awaited with interest.

Lord Krishna preaching his lofty message of action to Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra is a subject of no ordinary inspiration, but at least Mr. Thadani's *Krishna's Flute and Other Poems* does not do any justice to it. It is too didactic and diffuse and has not the concentration necessary for poetic passion and energy. It was an excellent idea to have chosen the Spenserian Stanza for the expression of the thoughts but it has not been used to any effect. Of the remaining poems the most prominent is *Nati* but the idealisation of the sacrifices in it is not enough compensation for the gruesomeness of the tragedy. It is with a sense of relief that one comes across such really good lines as—

The breeze was whispering to her waves
In rippling music ; and the twilight loves
Of earth and heaven, and radiant smiles of eve,
In purple passion on her waters shone

but they are unfortunately almost negligible in number.

Indian readers of the last generation were very familiar with the poems of Nabo Kissen Ghose who usually wrote under the *nom-de-plume* of Ram Sharma. During his long life extending from 1837 to 1918, he wrote a large quantity of verse of varying degrees of merit covering almost every subject under the sun. With an extensive command of poetic vocabulary and considerable freedom of versification his poems always command interest, though the topical nature of some of them and the apparent hurry of a few others detract from their permanence and value. Ram Sharma is keenly susceptible to the new elements of progress in India and the general outlook of his poems is fairly buoyant, though there is an occasional note of pessimism as in his address *To The Men of India* :

Where are old manners, kindly feelings gone ?
Those charities, which graced the cot and hall -
That simple faith, which saw but God in all,
And led to light and love - where are thy flown ?

However much one may be conscious of the many short comings observed in the work of these as well as other Indian writers of English verse, one is bound to agree with the hope about the future of India-English song expressed by Rabindranath Tagore in the foreword to the first of the series of volumes reviewed here : "It has a future, for it is quickened with life and it carries within itself a hope that one day it will become a great channel for communication of ideas between the adventurous West and the East of immemorial tranquillity."

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G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

PAUPER PROBLEM IN MADRAS

By R. SURYANARAYANA RAU, B.A.

[Of the *Servants of India Society*]

"I gave a beggar from my little store
Of well-earned gold. He spent the shining ore
And came again and yet again still cold
And hungry as before."

EVERYONE interested in the progress and development of the City of Madras will easily recognise that of the many social evils that vitally affect our civic welfare, the problem of pauperism has become so serious that it can no longer be ignored. Whether we like it or not, it is in its very nature to remind us often of its existence. The object of this article is to call attention to the importance of the subject in the hope that the public and the Government may be made to realise their responsibility in the matter and devise ways and means for solving it on right lines. It would certainly be worthy of our City to make serious attempts in this direction.

It is simply futile to attempt at a scientific definition of the word 'pauper'. It is enough for our purpose to recognise that a pauper is one who has no visible means of subsistence but depends for his livelihood on charity, either public or private. Following this comprehensive definition, paupers in Madras may be divided into four classes. The first class mainly consists of religious mendicants, who appeal to the religious susceptibilities of the people to get their living. Though this class is by no means large in this City, its existence cannot altogether be left out of account. Next come the able-bodied persons who have for no reason at all, taken to the easy going profession of begging. As will be presently shown, it is in dealing with this class of beggars that great difficulty will be experienced. The third class is comprised of the really needy, who either due to old age or some bodily infirmity are not in a position to work for their bread. Under this class, persons suffering from loathsome diseases such as leprosy can also be grouped. The last but not the least in importance is the class of child beggars who are mostly trained up in the art of begging by their unscrupulous parents (or guardians).

Before attempting to suggest the possible remedies for stamping out this pernicious evil, we feel it necessary to refer briefly to a few circumstances that have directly or indirectly contributed to its growth. There is no denying the fact that the beggar population in this city has increased to an alarming extent. The new circumstances that have in general arisen owing to economic competition, and 'the breaking-up of

the joint family system and the decrease of communal spirit,' are largely responsible for this deplorable state of affairs. Besides we should not fail to take note of the fact that misdirected charity, however well intentioned it may be, offers direct encouragement and perpetuates the evil. The present insufficient control exercised by the Police and the utter inadequacy of the powers conferred on the Magistrates, have also to some degree permitted the evil to go unchecked.

Students of sociology in this country suggest two ways for combating pauperism. Mere legislation investing the Magistracy with more powers, and providing for the adequate supervision by the Police will not be of much avail. Far more important than legislation is the organisation of a well conducted system of poor relief. It will be readily admitted that to carry out this object the co-operation of the Corporation and the voluntary help of organisations of public workers will be greatly needed. The principles on which poor relief is worked in the countries of the West should also be carefully borne in mind. To find suitable employment for the able-bodied and make them work even if they are not willing to do; to take care of the aged and the infirm by establishing special institutions; to do everything possible to woe the children away from baneful influences and to make proper arrangements for their education and training them into good and useful citizens; these are principles based both on moral and economic grounds. "The true secret of assisting the poor, is to make them agents in bettering their own condition but to supply them, not with a temporary stimulus, but with a permanent energy" (M'Culloch's Political Economy).

It is highly advisable for the present to leave the mendicant beggars alone without trying to bring them into the orbit of any penal law. But it behoves us all to remember often of the duty we owe to ourselves and the public in this matter and spare no efforts to educate public opinion regarding the demoralising effects of indiscriminate charity. As regards the able-bodied vagrant, it is of the utmost importance to tackle the question of unemployment before adopting any punitive measures. Labour bureaus on the model of the Employment Exchange in England should be established wherever they are necessary to enable the unemployed to seek assistance in getting suitable employment. In this connection the suggestions of the Local Government Committee, on the Poor Law appended to their

Report published recently by the Ministry of Reconstruction might be read with advantage. After recommending the institution of the 'Unemployment and Training Committee,' the Report says: -

"Whenever an able-bodied man or woman applies for assistance on the ground that he or she is unemployed, the first step should be to ascertain through the Employment Exchange whether any suitable employment is available, and, if so, to endeavour to place the applicant in such employment. If, however, there is no vacancy which the applicant can fill, or none which he can fill without training he should be given a real opportunity of training which will either improve his skill in his own trade or fit him to obtain employment in a new trade."

It should be clearly and distinctly understood that in the provision all ideas of deterrence are absent. Instead of starting new and special institutions intended for this purpose, existing institutions may be availed of. While, however, no effort should be spared to make the offer of training attractive, it is recognised that powers will be needed for dealing with persons who refuse to accept the training or employment that is offered to them. For such, the Detention Labour Colonies on the model of Merxplas in Belgium, and Witzyl in Switzerland, should be established. The powers that the Police have under the City Police Act are sufficiently elastic. But for some reason or other the Police have not made full use of their powers, and if they had done so, nothing tangible would have resulted without proper provision for the unemployed. After adopting the suggestions detailed above, the duty of the Police to clear the streets of all able bodied beggars may be insisted upon. This also may not be of much use if the powers of the magistracy are not adequate. Section 71 (xxi) says:

"Whoever begs or applies for alms or exposes or exhibits any sores, wounds, bodily ailment or deformity with the object of exciting charity or of obtaining alms" shall be liable on conviction to fine not exceeding Rs. 50, or to imprisonment which may extend to one month."

Taking only the case of the able-bodied, it is needless to observe that the punishment is not deterrent. Nor is the period of detention in goal sufficiently long to enable them to learn some art or trade so that they could start an honourable life on release. So the Magistrates should be empowered to increase the period of detention in jail so that they may learn some useful art or trade. But instead of keeping such offenders in jail, we suggest that they should be committed to Labour Colonies that we propose should be established. This we consider as the most important remedial measure. In these

colonies, 'agriculture and industries should be carried on, wages should be given, and the men should be provided with every incentive for steady and continuous labour.' Great importance should be attached to the personal influence of officers placed in charge of these colonies. The Magistrates may also be empowered to deport idle able bodied beggars to their native places on application by the Police. Such a provision in the ordinance passed in Ceylon in 1914 has worked so well that we might copy with profit.

It is but proper that the State should provide for the aged and the infirm. If the 'decrepitude or inability to work is of temporary nature' it should be the endeavour of the State 'to restore to health and enable the patient to regain the habit of self-support'. In the case of those permanently disabled, special institutions, such as the Refuge in Calcutta should be started. It is a horrible sight to see these unfortunate persons station themselves at tramway junctions, market places, and other places of public resort, 'exposing their infirmity to the passing gaze, and rending the air with their pitiful cries'. The effect of such "cruel exhibitions are not only morally harmful to the young and old, who are compelled to witness them, conducing also inevitably to much indiscriminate charity, but from a sanitary point of view, contribute to the dissemination of vermin, disease and epidemics." So not merely in the interests of those suffering for their blameless incapacity to earn their living, but in the interests of public health at least, special provision should be made where these are taken proper care of. This will put an end to the scope that the relatives or interested parties of these at present have of exploiting the affliction of these poor creatures to their benefit. Colonies of the type of Epileptic Colonies in Germany and England for the mentally deficient, cripples etc., might be brought into existence. The application of the Section in the City Police Act already quoted without providing the necessary Refuges will work as a great hardship. No action under that section should be contemplated before discharging the duty that devolves on the State and the society.

It is a matter of common knowledge that what a great nuisance the class of child beggars has become to the public. Of course, most of these innocent children are sent out on their errand by unscrupulous parents or guardians who have become callous to all sense of decency and self-respect. It is widely believed that these do not

even scruple 'to maim or even blind the poor children under their charge for the purposes of begging profession.' If these parents and guardians behave in such a scandalous manner, is it not the duty of the State to rescue them from the clutches of such vile persons and take them entirely under their protection? This brings us to the question of child protection, and how far the State will be justified in interfering with individual liberty. No lover of freedom will deny the right to Government to take such measures that are calculated to prevent children from becoming idle vagabonds whose presence is a menace to public safety, and bring them up in a manner that will make them a great national asset to the state. The Madras Children Bill is intended to meet such cases. Section 29 (1) (a) which has been based on section 58 (1) of the English Children Act of 1908, empowers the Court to deal with child beggars under 14 years of age. The establishment of industrial and reformatory schools proposed in this Bill is a step in the right direction. It is earnestly hoped that the Bill will soon become an Act investing the Government and the voluntary organisations such as the Society for the Protection of Children with power to interfere with parental responsibility in order to rescue youthful beggars.

It is hardly possible to estimate the important part the organisation of charity plays in the solution of the problem of pauperism. In this City, as elsewhere, there are many charitable organisations with large endowments. There are also some charitably disposed persons who spend large sums of money in giving doles. One fact which we cannot but notice in regard to these is that our charity is indiscriminate. It is the rule rather than an exception that 'the able-bodied vagrant, who could work if he chose to or if he had to, goes merrily along getting more than enough,' while 'the infirm destitute who is perhaps only forced to beg on account of his infirmity, often fails to secure for days at a stretch even a single morsel of food between his teeth.' So the Government should appoint a Committee for the proper organisation of charity on which the representatives of all charities should find a place and whose functions will be to see that only deserving persons and institutions receive support. But there are some charities the donors of which have ear-marked their endowments for certain specific purposes. Great care should be taken in meddling with these. This is a large question which can be safely left for the consideration of a Committee which we

propose should go into the whole question of pauperism. The steps that are being taken by the Collector of Madras to prepare a list of Charities will greatly facilitate the work of such a Committee and enable it to base its proposals with due care and caution.

These are a few suggestions that we have ventured to put forward for the consideration of the public and the Government. It is a matter for deep regret that the attitude assumed by the Government in regard to a resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. T. Rangachari at the last session of the Council, recommending the establishment of pauper asylums, was somewhat disappointing. Some changes have taken place in the Government since then. At the head of the administration we have Lord Willingdon who gave practical proofs of his solicitude for the welfare of the oppressed and the distressed during his eventful stay in a sister presidency. It was his Government that accepted, though in a modified form, a resolution moved by the Hon. Mr. P. C. Sethna for the appointment of a non official Committee to consider the question of professional beggary in all its aspects. That Committee has not yet finished its labours. It is not too much to hope that His Excellency will evince such deep interest in regard to this problem in this presidency. The appointment of a mixed or wholly non official Committee to go into the whole question should be the first step and the terms of reference of such a Committee should not be restricted to particular aspects of the question. In this matter the Corporation also has a duty to perform—that of urging its views on the attention of the Government with a view to secure the reform needed. Mere provision for the starting of pauper asylums by the Corporation in the new City Municipal Act is not sufficient. The question of funds is all important. What proportion of the expenditure the Corporation should bear without imposition of fresh taxes for this purpose, as that will considerably increase the existing burden of taxation, is also a matter that the proposed Committee may well be asked to decide. What has been said of this City holds good in the case of the whole presidency. Though there is provision in the District Municipalities Act for alm houses, most of the municipalities have not availed of it for want of funds. So the scope of the enquiry of the proposed Committee may be extended to the problem as it affects the whole presidency. We trust our prayer for a Committee will be heeded.

Reminiscences of Pandit Dayananda Saraswati

BY

MR. MOHINI MOHAN DUTTA.

Retired Subordinate Judge, Calcutta.

IN the cold season of 1872 Bengal was visited by one of the greatest of Indians who flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Pandit Dayananda Saraswati whose name and fame had already preceded him made his eventful appearance in the town of Hooghly in November of that year. To the present writer it was a memorable day, when the venerable Pandit then in the prime of his manhood, first accosted him in his simple and sonorous sanskrit. Pandits had come and gone before him and some of them distinguished for their learning and piety from that fertile land of sanskrit scholarship, the South of India, but none of them appeared to him so good, genial and full of the bark of human kindness as this great man.

I have said that it was a memorable day for me, for it was the eve of the university Entrance Examination, at which I then in my teens—was going to appear the next day. It was the evening of one of those glorious, cloudless, sunlit days in which Bengal so much abounds. Under a masonry pavilion from which a long flight of steps descended to the river Bhagirathi, (the Hooghly river) on a raised platform sat the sage clad in his saffron-coloured robes and his paghee, also of the same colour. I and two other boys who were out for a stroll were attracted towards the pavilion by the crowds who were pressing into it, and the sight we beheld kept us spell-bound to the spot.

As the shades of evening began to deepen, the crowds that had gathered melted away, but we then stood rooted within the pavilion and then it was that we attracted the notice of the Pandit. He signed to us to come near him and we went and sat by his side. For sometime we lost all power of speech and then the oldest amongst us—a rather saucy sort of a boy, taunted him with the Sanskrit adage picked up from the *Hitopadesha* “Nirasta pidapa desha arondopi drumayata.” Such an audacious address could not but raise a smile in the benignant face of the Pandit, and it showed at once what a kindly heart he possessed, for he took the boy by his hand, made him sit next to himself and began a discourse upon his conduct in accents so sweet and gentle that the boy at once softened towards him and took the dust of his feet on his head.

Thus we came to introduce ourselves to the Pandit.

After some preliminary talk our conversation drifted to our studies. One of the themes which lay uppermost in our minds at the time was immortality of the soul, of which we had read in Addison's Essay and we took the opportunity to ask him to explain the subject to us. At our request he delivered a long discourse to us and it was at once so simple, eloquent and convincing that even with our imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit we could in a large measure, grasp the meaning of what he said and were deeply impressed by it. The next four days were occupied with our examination, but busy and pre-occupied though we were, we did not fail to pay one visit at least to the Pandit on each of these days. On one of these days, we saw the late Rev. Lal Behari Dey, then a professor of the Hooghly College and several Missionary gentlemen engaged in earnest discussion with him on the merits of the Christian religion, but we were too young then to understand and appreciate the arguments that took place between them. Of one thing we were convinced however, and that was that he deeply impressed his audience by his originality and eloquence and the knowledge of christian scriptures which he displayed. I had a testimony to this from the Rev. Lal Behari Dey while subsequently studying under him for the First Examination in Arts, although he characterized his arguments as a tissue of fallacies. From day to day the crowds that visited the Pandit began to increase and at last some pandits from Bhattapalli a place noted in the annals of Bengal as a seat of Sanskrit learning—on the other side of the river and the ordinarily sleepy town of Hooghly was before long in a ferment. Pandit Gopalchandra Gupta, professor of Sanskrit, Hooghly College and Babu Jadunath Bannerjee, Head Pandit of the Collegiate School were among his visitors during these days and they both bear testimony to his great learning and knowledge of Shastras.

The normal condition of Hindu Society in Bengal is one of restfulness and peace. No breath ever disturbs the face of the still waters. In the villages, as in most of the provincial towns, the family priest (purohit) and the spiritual guide (guru) have all their own way:

the priest performs the daily worship of the family idol, officiates at all rites and ceremonies, while the spiritual guide imparts the *mantra* or the formula of worship to the disciple. Everything goes on like clock-work, and the householder under this double influence, and being himself ignorant of the *Shastras*, is not disturbed by any obstinate questionings or searchings of heart such as an educated man might feel.

No doubt, on occasions of the great national festivals and in seasons of pilgrimage, there is a little stir in the community, but ordinarily, the Hindu householder pursues the even tenor of his ways indifferent to what happens beyond the limits of his own immediate circle. In the days of which I have been speaking, things were even quieter, for the great arteries of communication, the trunk railways had not yet been constructed or only partially so, and there was no large influx of population from other parts of the country. The movement of the Brahmo Samaj, started by the great reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1830 was the first open challenge of the prevailing system of worship but neither that movement nor its subsequent re-organization by Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore nor even the establishment of the Bharatbarshi Brahmo Samaj in 1866 by Keshab Chandra Sen did make much headway to wean the people from their beliefs and usages. The appearance of Dayananda Swami and the preaching by him, a Hindu Sannyasi, of iconoclastic doctrines therefore, fell like a bolt from the blue among the people. The whole country side was astir as it was never before astir, and men with any pretensions to the knowledge of Sanskrit began to gather from far and near to listen to the offending Swami. But no one ventured to challenge him to an open controversy. But while things stood thus, he left for Calcutta, for the primary object of his coming to Bengal was to visit the metropolis and purchase some books from the museum of the Asiatic Society. He showed me more than once some copies of catalogue of Sanskrit works prepared by the late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra. Indeed, these were the only books which I found with him. He used to depend entirely upon his memory for quotations from the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Mahabharat* and the *Ramayana* whenever engaged in any controversy or in lecturing to an audience.

It is worthy of mention here that although the Pandit was a Sannyasi and had renounced the world, he did not follow the rigid life of an ascetic. He was accompanied by a cook and a man

servant and his mid-day meal was prepared out of a liberal allowance of *ghee*, *attah* and *dal*. In the evening his only food consisted of the juice of two or three crushed pomegranates. His expenses at this time were supplied by his disciple Dandisinha and another of Murshidabad to whom on one occasion I wrote a letter at his dictation.

The Swami was a zealous reformer and he was not only anxious to stamp out idolatry from the land and introduce a system of worship in conformity to the teachings of the *Vedas*, but was also ardent in his advocacy of intermarriages between the different peoples of India. He gave the palm to the Bengalees as the most intellectual of all the peoples of India, and used to remark that they can quickly grasp and understand the most abstruse problems of philosophy and religion, problems which often prove a puzzle and a poser to men of other races. But he used to express his regret at their poor physique which he attributed to their meagre and insufficient diet.

Dayananda's stay in Calcutta did not extend beyond three months. On his return to Hooghly he took up his quarters in the garden house of late Babu Brindaban Mundle, a local magnate. There, the pundits of Bhattapalli met him headed by their leader Pandit Tarachura, at the time the Chief Pandit of the Court of the Maharajah of Benares, but the fight was unequal for Tarachura possessed neither the eloquence nor the learning and resources of the great Swami. At this controversy were present Babu Bhudeb Mukerjee, C.I.E., a veteran educationist and a pioneer in the field of Bengalee literature and social science, who officiated for some time as Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, Babu Akshay Chunder Sirkar also a man of letters and the Rev. Lal Bahari Dey, Professor of the Hooghly College and many other leading men of the town.

My relations with the Swami were of the most cordial character and at this distance of time, I cannot recall without a wrench of feeling, the few days of my association with him.

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DEMOCRACY AT THE CROSSWAYS

BY

MR. SHAMNATH MUSHRAN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

 THE war in Europe was not so much a conflict of ambitions as a trial of strength between two ideals. It inevitably had to take the shape it did, in as much as the groups who had fixed their ideals along different paths had eventually to come to grips, but the struggle arose not when they came actually face to face, each standing in the way of the other, but when they set up their respective idols in their national shrines. The issue was knit somewhere in the middle of the last century—if not earlier—when the drift towards democracy had crystallised into a conscious purpose in the West of Europe, and when Bismarck had shown to the Central Powers that an efficient and centralised government could win three wars in the course of a decade, and build up the German Imperial Federation out of a number of loose-flung kingdoms, shattering the strength of two empires in the process. Since the Peace of Versailles the prosperity and efficiency of Germany had not only furnished the Germans with reasons to be proud of their system, and made of democracy a Shibboleth in their eyes, but had latterly given rise in countries professedly democratic to a misgiving if their views were after all so beneficial to humanity as they had been led to believe.

We are not concerned so much with the war as its results, but the conduct of the war and the length of its duration has turned the search-lights within. The idol of efficiency and absolutism is broken, but many a defect has been revealed in the government of countries who had ranged themselves on the side of liberty and popular control and it is a question which may be put to us with more than a show of reason and pertinence: How far does the mechanism of our administration—at least that portion of it which had to do with the conduct of war—at the day resemble that of five years ago? Critics not given either to cynicism or to pessimism, but all capable of a dispassionate survey of things, suggest that we have beaten Germany, but only with German methods of organisation and discipline. It will also have to be conceded that the Germans fought to the limits of human endurance, and so far as the edifice of their political structure lay open to the physical eye; it presented a most perfect appearance of utility and proportion. The defect

lay in the outlook which it gave to its denizens, the warping of the judgment which challenged, and ultimately ranged against them, the rest of the civilised world.

It is the stress of an effort for sustained co-ordinated activity that has revealed the defects inherent in a system of democratic government, and also put before our minds a query if the direction in which things are moving—in other words the trend of modern democratic thought, is making for greater solidarity in the future. Experience of popular government does not take us very far back. It is only since the middle of the last century that the people can in any way be said to have come into their own anywhere—and even at this moment, nowhere is the principle of popular control applicable in all its theoretical completeness. A gradual widening of the bases of government has been effected in various parts of the world, but the systems still continue to be the same i.e., more or less oligarchic, the government of the many by the chosen few. Yet another reservation will have to be made—and that is an acknowledgement of a debt which democracy owes to the system it is going to supercede. Democracy has come into inheritance of a smooth working machinery, and as Sir Charles Lucas put it “we are still reaping the benefit of the principles, the traditions and the practice of the old regime, which is only by slow degrees being diluted.” The success of countries wedded to democratic principles of government is not the result exclusively of their present political philosophy. Now that democracy is coming into its own in the strict sense of the term, it is well worth our while to examine its pretensions, look back to the past few decades, to discover its failings and put its virtues in the balance and calculate the net gain it holds in promise.

It will clear the issue if we recognise that the expression “democracy” has changed its connotation a little during the last few years—and that it is used to denote not only the form of government it originally did, but every intervening shade of popular control between that and the neo radicalism which identifies it with sectionalism, syndicalism or even proletarianism. I doubt if the view will now be accepted that democracy is synonymous with representative government—and that is the safest and the surest road along which it can travel, the requirements of democratic government being no more than that the

* Democracy at the Crossways. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. (Macmillan).

broad lines of national policy be determined by the people themselves. How those lines are worked—the negotiation of minor problems that crop up by the way is best left to persons used to the working of the political machinery and acquainted with its intricacies. The application on a wide principle of the control by the people of the details of government can only expose the machinery to the mercy of rude, ignorant and unsympathetic hands. That is what the new democracy is making for. It is claimed to confine control to the working members of community only. Australia is already under a Labour ministry, and attempts are not wanting elsewhere, not to give a voice for Labour, that it already has—but to concentrate authority in its hands. It is this bid for monopoly which inevitably detracts from the representative character of the movement, and threatens to deprive it of the benefits attendant on a strictly representative institution—the charm of which consists in the opportunity it furnishes of discussing a particular proposition from various and not unoften conflicting points of view. The decision may always be a compromise, and may invite the charges of muddling through both for the solution adopted and the process of adopting it, but in the mean while the people have learnt the inestimable virtues of co-operation, of patience and that faculty of suspending judgment till the reasons pro and con of a contention have been heard and considered.

The defects of democracy are obvious and their number is not small. The desire to count in the management of affairs generally precedes the capacity to handle them; we are always oblivious of our shortcomings, and seldom appraise at their proper value the difficulties that may at any time stand in the way of our cherished notions. Consequently more people are anxious to share in the task of Government than are actually qualified for doing so. With every inclusion of a particular social stratum into the pale of suffrage, the people below clamour to be lifted into enfranchisement. The process of dilution of the capacity and experience at the top is always going on, and the pressure is for ever increasing on the barriers that have hitherto kept the Government in the hands of those who have been trained to its work. Apart from this eternal compromise with efficiency, the defects of democracy, its want of organisation and lack of purpose, the suspicions and recriminations which it generates, the amateurishness of its representatives and their inexperience, present serious obstacles in the way of its success and

durability. I say nothing of the gusts of passion, racial or national, that tear across the even tenor of our lives, the hysterics that idolise what was execrable the day before, the blindness of popular faith, the obstinacy of popular judgment where self interest is concerned, the irreverence which considers nothing inviolate, and the intolerance that makes the tyranny of the majorities the most formidable and heartless of oppressions. The merits of democratic form of Government are equally pre-eminent though they may not be so numerous. The democrat can urge in his defence that the failings are such as are incidental to youth and when democracy has had the experience and the training—which other systems have been allowed—these will in course of time disappear. He can point however to the positive advantage that Government by discussion is the only form possessing any educational or ethical value and that no other form of Government has done so much for the general uplift of humanity. The dignity and self respect which is inspired in an individual possessing a voice in the management of his country's affairs, and the opportunity of drawing out the best and the highest in him which that consciousness offers to him, are possible under no other form of polity. It will be no exaggeration to say that only those communities have lived who stumbled into forms of Government by discussion or in other words who adopted the principle of democracy, and that wherever authority—royal or sacerdotal—became supreme, it brought in its wake stagnation, disintegration and decay. Only those have survived who have submitted to discipline, who have let themselves be questioned and who have not regarded themselves above the necessity of explaining and justifying their policy,—this irrespective of the fact whether the ruling authority is a single individual or is composed of a plurality of persons. It is not an essential ingredient of democratic Government that the voice that decides should be the voice of the entire community—nor that every possible variety of opinion should find expression in the assembly that acts and decides for the nation. Broadly speaking wherever Government is amenable to public opinion the principle of democracy is present—and generally speaking that was the connotation of the expression till the conflict of classes, mainly of Capital and Labour—forced a new significance into the term, and made it a synonym for a particular class of men—chiefly the disinherited of the earth. It is here that we come to the crux of the situation, and find democracy standing at the crossing of the ways. Will

the neo-democrats, impelled by the passions and disappointment of the last five years, continue to move along national lines, favouring representation for all, vouchsafing to each a voice, improving things as they proceed; or will they yield to impatience and lapse into sectionalism, and inaugurate the war of classes, breeding suspicion, hatred and vindictiveness, clouding our horizon. Sectionalism makes for irresponsibility and monopoly, both being the negation of democracy. The extent to which Government comes to be identified with any particular section, it will cease to be representative, and will ultimately be narrow, aggressive, partial and prejudiced. Readjustment follows quickly after every attempt to disturb the balance of things, and fortunately examples have seared themselves into our memory during the last few years where attempts at irres-

possible appropriation of power by a class of persons—no matter if with the best of motives—have brought chaos into the country. The difficulty is not mitigated by the increasing complexities of national and international relations. The management of foreign affairs, the expansion of dominion, the amelioration of social conditions, the solution of problems, economic or industrial which may hold the entire world in their grip, are questions which will present themselves in varying shapes and with varying insistence. Will the new democracy consent to be guided by the wisdom of those who know the intricacies of public life or will it be impatient, assertive, self-confident? Will it in other words stoop to discipline and gather experience and training? The world may well regard its fate bound up with the answer.

An Indian Educational Commission to America

BY DR. SUDHINDRA ROSE, M.A., PH.D.

IT seems on this side of the Atlantic that Hindustan is living in the stone age of education. If she really wishes to take her rightful place among the great nations of the world, India must have a more modern educational system. But where will she go to seek for the ideals of newer education?

In the past the Indian zone of observations has been chiefly confined to only one country in the West, and that, too, admittedly backward in matters educational. Be that as it may, this zone should now be pushed and widened to the United States. Here one can see at this moment, better than at any other, what reconstructional plans are engaging the thoughts of American leaders, what re-educational experiments are in progress for the disabled in war, what new departments are being added to colleges of science and agriculture. A few years ago the English Government in India sent a fish commission to this country to study American fisheries. Is it too much to expect that American colleges and universities will be considered as worthy of careful study as American fisheries? At all events, the Indian leaders who are interested in the educational advancement of India should send a commission to America at an early date. The commission should be made up of the very best educational experts India can afford. The founders of the University of Mysore, Women's University of Poona, the Hindu

University of Benares, as well as the organizers of the proposed Muslim University at Aligarh and the Nazim's University in Hyderabad, should be willing to co-operate in sending this mission to America. If the needed means and initiative fail to come from the Government, they should be furnished by the nation itself.

It is interesting to note that several foreign countries, including Japan and England, have recently sent commissions of education to the United States to make an intensive study of American educational system. Why should not India also "go and do likewise"?

An Indian educational commission to America is not at all an idle speculation; it is eminently practical. Many of the leading American educationists whom I have consulted on the subject have given it their unqualified approval and wholehearted support. Dr. Walter A. Jessup, the President of the State University of Iowa, with which I have the honor to be connected for the past few years, wrote to me in part:

"Should the proposed Commission visit the United States, we would be pleased to have them make Iowa City and the State University of Iowa their head quarters while studying the schools, colleges and Universities in the central part of the United States. We believe that it would be to the advantage of such a commission to make this place their head-quarters.

Sir Sankaran Nair on the Division of Functions

Sir Sankaran Nair signed the Government of India Despatch to the Secretary of State on Division of Functions subject to a strong Minute of Dissent which runs as follows:—

1. I have pointed out in my Minute of Dissent (paragraph 13) the hardship to a Minister who is compelled to accept subordinates who will not loyally co-operate with him. I have also pointed out (paragraph 14) the great objection to allowing those subordinates access to the Governor to contest the Minister's decisions. The Committee now suggest, differing from the Government of India on this point, that new permanent posts may be created which need not be added to the cadre of the Service as proposed by my Colleagues. This will enable the Minister, with the consent of the Secretary of State, to create new posts for duties to be performed under him. The fear that the Minister may create such posts was the very reason that influenced my Colleagues to insist that these should be made a part of the cadre. The Committee also propose that where both reserved and transferred departments are affected, the recruitment of an officer should be dealt with like other mixed cases, *i.e.*, in the case of a difference of opinion between the Executive Council and the transferred department, the decision should rest with the Governor. I take it that the sanction of the Secretary of State will have to be finally obtained for the creation of a new post. This meets the first part of my objection (paragraph 13) and I therefore accept the proposals of the Committee in preference to those put forward by my Colleagues.

2. One of the most important question is how are differences of opinion between the Minister and the Legislative Council on the one side and the Executive Council on the other to be settled. I have pointed out in my Minute of Dissent (see heading Transferred Departments) my strong objections to the proposals put forward by my Colleagues on this point. The question then was under the consideration of the Functions Committee. Their proposals will now be found in paragraphs 60 to 63 of their Report. They differ in very important respects from the proposals of my Colleagues, and meet, to some extent, the objections which I have advanced.

3. According to my Colleagues, in cases of differences of opinion the Governor might assume control of the administration of the transferred

departments until the causes of difference disappear. Their various proposals are likely to cause great friction. Naturally therefore they want the power of resumption of the transferred departments as a "deterrent of factious and irresponsible action by the Minister and the Legislative Councils." They will not allow the opinion of the legislature to prevail ultimately against that of the Governor. They would further empower the Secretary of State finally to retransfer any or all of the subjects from the transferred to the reserved list (paragraph 102). In cases of dispute between the Minister and the Executive Council where the interests of both the departments—transferred and reserved—are involved, they will allow the Governor to decide only the question of jurisdiction; *i.e.*, the question as to which department should deal with the matter (paragraph 103). As I have pointed out in my Minute of Dissent, all these proposals go, in my opinion, against the Reforms Report, and they are not endorsed by the Functions Committee, who differ from the Government of India in almost all these proposals. The Committee do not endorse the proposal for the transfer of any subject from the transferred to the reserved list. The Governor will always have to find a Minister to administer the transferred department, *i.e.*, an elected member of the Council who alone is always to be responsible for that department; but it is never to be administered by the Governor in Council and the Governor himself only administers it as a substitute for the Minister during the interval between the dismissal of one Minister and the appointment of another. This, of course, is very different from the proposal of my Colleagues which enables the Governor to keep the portfolio in his own hand until the Legislative Council yields to his wishes. According to the Committee, the Governor is to decide not only the question of jurisdiction but also all cases of disagreement between the Executive Council and the Minister. He will have to enforce compliance however by the Executive Council under section 50 of the Government of India Act if they prove obdurate but can require action by the transferred department in ordinary cases only if he can find another Minister but in

emergent cases can dismiss the Minister and take the necessary action himself. But he has soon to find the Minister. Emergency is thus provided for. The transferred department will always continue as such. This is reasonable, but it may be doubted whether the simpler method in the Reforms Report under which the Governor's decision is declared to be the order in the case is not preferable.

The *temporary* nature of the resumption by the Governor and that also *only* in cases of emergency is essential according to the Committee; thereby they place the Minister in relation to the Governor in a higher and certainly not a lower position than the Executive Council. This question of transfer is so important that I venture to make again a few observations in view of what is now repeated in paragraph 87 of the despatch.

4. I cannot too strongly protest against the proposal to allow the Governor to resume the portfolio of my transferred subject and to empower the Secretary of State on the motion of the local Government and the Government of India to retransfer any subject from the transferred to the reserved list. As I have said before, it cuts at the root of the whole scheme. Let us see what this implies. The Reforms Scheme is intended to release the duly elected representatives of the people, in part at any rate, from the control of the Civil Service. The Indian opinion is unanimous that this step is necessary in the interests of good administration and is due to the failure of the Civil Service to carry out the intentions of the Parliament and of the people of England. The Governor in some provinces is likely to be a civilian for some time to come. In others he will be greatly under civilian influence. In these circumstances the provision of retransfer is, and will be received as, a warning to the Legislative Council not to indulge in a course of action which will lead the Civil Service to take that step. In fact, my Colleagues practically say so in clear terms. The Civil Service have also openly declared their hostility to any real reform. It is absurd in these circumstances to place the future of Indian constitutional reform in their hands. The reforms are a gift of Parliament, not of the Civil Service. The Parliament may take it away at any future time if they chose. The future Legislative Councils have to perform their duty to the people of India and to Parliament. But to place this weapon in the hands of the Civil Service is in all probability to ensure the failure of Reform. They should not be allowed in

future, as they have done in the past, to nullify the policy of the people of England. The scheme put forward by my Colleagues is calculated to produce that result. It creates possibilities of frequent deadlocks if the Minister and Legislative Councils perform their duty to the country and to Parliament, and makes that a reason for getting rid of responsible government.

The interposition of the Secretary of State is no safeguard as in all that I have said above, the Secretary of State has allowed himself to be merely a passive instrument in the hands of the Civil Service. I can only say that if I had felt such a standing threat necessary, I should not have asked for any substantial reform in the direction indicated and I would not have regarded it as a loyal acceptance on my part of the principle of responsible government which must now be taken to have been laid down by Parliament for application to India. I am glad therefore the Committee do not endorse this proposal.

5. The financial or budget proposals of my Colleagues are in conflict with the recommendations of the Functions Committee based on the unity of Government. The latter make the Governor practically the final judge where the functions of the reserved and transferred departments touch or overlap, including all financial questions like the division of the entire provincial revenue between the two halves of the Government or where the action taken in one department affects the other, and also make the Minister responsible for action in the transferred departments even when it is deflected by considerations affecting the reserved departments. The proposals of my Colleagues are also admittedly in conflict with the recommendations made by the Committee about taxation (see paragraphs 76 and 77), which were not before the Council when we settled our despatch dated the 5th March.

The Committee have come to the conclusion that taxation for provincial purposes should be regarded as a transferred subject. They would first set apart the contribution to the Government of India, the sums required for the service of the provincial debt and the sums that are required for the reserved services. The first two are definite amounts. The third will be definite if we assume the contribution to be the previous year's allotment or the average for a certain number of years. After setting apart these amounts, they regard the whole balance of the revenues of the province to be at the disposal of the Minister, and taxation in their opinion should be considered as a transferred subject. Any difference of

opinion on any question to be settled by the Governor as a "mixed subject." This, of course, is in direct opposition to and far preferable to the scheme put forward in the Government of India despatch to which I have taken exception.

6. My Colleagues are of opinion that these and certain other proposals of the Committee which have an important bearing on the distribution of financial powers and duties between the two halves of Provincial Governments have been rendered obsolete by the more recent decisions of the Government of India in our despatch of the 5th March and have not therefore dealt with them at length. I do not think this is the right course to follow. Our despatch was subject to reconsideration in the light of the Report of Lord Southborough's Committee, who had our proposals before them. Though our Report was no doubt more recent as my Colleagues say—the Committee's Report being dated the 25th February and ours, the 5th March—the former was not before the Members of the Council when the latter was settled. We have therefore to consider their recommendations, modify our proposals if we accept any which are inconsistent with them, or reject their recommendations on their merits. We have for that reason said in our Report (paragraph 42) that we propose to deal with the working of the new Provincial Governments whose functions are divided into the "Reserved" and "Transferred" Subjects, after a consideration of the Report of Lord Southborough's Committee.

I have already stated that the financial proposals of my Colleagues are opposed to the recommendations of the Functions Committee in paragraphs 60 to 63, and paragraphs 76 and 77 of their Report. Further, their scheme is, it appears to me, impracticable and can be shown to be unacceptable if we agree with the Committee generally about the division of Subjects. It is necessary, for this purpose, to set out briefly the nature of the scheme.

7. It is of the essence of the scheme that there should be a definite allocation to each half of the Government of the receipts from the reserved and transferred subjects respectively. To those receipts is to be added the share of the balance including all surplus that stands to the credit of each province after deducting the amounts earmarked for special purposes. The normal expenditure for the reserved and transferred subjects is then estimated and if the revenue derived by each department from its subjects is not sufficient for the expenditure, the

difference is to be made good to them by an assignment from the revenue of the other departments. Obviously, therefore, the division of subjects is of the greatest importance to the scheme as the latter hinges upon the receipt of revenue by each half of the Government from the reserved and transferred subjects, respectively. Before, however, I give the division of subjects, I shall state the general objections to the scheme, for such modifications in the scheme itself or adoption of any other scheme that might fit in with the Report of the Committee.

8. It is not quite correct to say that the financial proposals of the Reforms Report scheme affecting the allocation of funds to the two sections of provincial Governments and budget procedure in provincial Councils evoked little criticism. They were criticised even by the supporters of the scheme as being among its weaker parts. But the criticism was not on the ground that the proposals conceded too much to Ministers or the Legislature. Except in the Bombay Manifesto signed by Sir Dinshaw Wacha and eight other prominent Moderate Congressmen, the proposals were criticised as being unfair to the Ministers in charge of transferred subjects and whittling down the control of the legislature by giving too wide a power of certification to the Governor. The proposal that the supply for reserved subjects should be a prior charge on the provincial revenues was attacked, and it was pointed out that Ministers driven to new taxation to be proposed on their own responsibility while possibly feeling that it may have been unnecessary if an excessive share of the provincial revenues had not been absorbed by the already fully developed reserved subjects, would very likely find themselves in an almost untenable position before the Legislative Council whose support they require. Such was the criticism; what are the proposals of my Colleagues?

9. There can be no objection to the proposed Audit and Exchequer Act or to the appointment of the proposed Committee on Financial Relations. The control over provincial balances now exercised by the Government of India also may be replaced by a few simple regulations which will increase control of the provinces over them. There may also be a line of argument that there should be—a common Finance Department for both halves of the Government. While it would scrutinize all proposals of expenditure, it should not, as stated by the Functions Committee, have power to criticise policy except in its financial aspect. The proposals that the right should be

reserved to the central government to make supplementary levies upon provinces, that each half of the government should have a defined power of raising the revenue to provide for the expenditure which it considers necessary, that a division should be made of the resources available for the purposes of either half of the Government, that a system of assignments of revenue by one section of the Government to the other should be introduced and other and similar proposals, will have the effect of dividing the Government into watertight compartments without the compensating advantage of making them responsible to the Legislature; while the further proposal that Council resolutions will have only the status of recommendations to the Governor in Council as well as the Governor and Ministers, reduces the Council to as much impotence as the present Councils. The remaining proposal that the Ministers may have to resign on account of budget resolutions carried against them, is of the nature of a finishing stroke. Notwithstanding much that could be said against the Reforms Report Scheme, a number of critics rallied to its support for the reasons, among others, that it provided for a unified budget and for its being voted by the Legislature. We are now asked to treat the Council as an advisory body in all matters—legislative, financial and administrative—pertaining to the reserved departments and to reduce its financial powers as proposed in the Reforms Report Scheme even as regards the transferred departments. There is no necessity to modify that Scheme in this manner and to this extent. Assuming that all the adverse criticism to which its financial proposals have been subjected is well-merited and that it will not be possible to work it without the maximum of friction, it is still possible to retain its two cardinal features of a single budget for the province and control by the Legislature, whatever other modifications are made in it. Given a common Finance Department, a common Finance Committee of the Council, and joint deliberation by the whole Government in the settlement of the allotments, there is no difficulty of retaining these features. It is a strong point in favour of the Reforms Report Scheme of budget procedure that it minimizes the drawbacks of a system of dual government in provinces and gives both to Executive Councillors and Ministers opportunities of sympathetically influencing each other's decisions to the advantage of both and of the people of the province. The Governor, too, will be in a better position to discharge his duties as head of the whole government and promote

friendly relations between its two halves. The knowledge that Ministers with their responsibility for the transferred departments have also been a party to the allotments made for reserved subjects, is calculated to induce in the Legislative Council a conviction of the necessity of those allotments and to minimize the chances of their seeking to cut them down. This will be of great moral value as it will curtail the necessity of the Governor's making use of his reserved power of certification which cannot but cause friction and conflict between him and his Executive Council on the one side, and the Ministers and the Legislative Council on the other. The financial dispositions of each year can be made with reference to the particular requirements of that year, there will be a much-needed and most useful element of elasticity imparted to the financial arrangements, and when a proposal of new taxation is made in those circumstances, the Legislative Council will more easily persuade itself to accept it and support the Government than it can be expected to do under a system such as is proposed by my colleagues now. The control by the Legislature must in any event be regarded as indispensable if the Reforms are to be worth anything in the eye of even the supporters of the Scheme. The unified budget could be there and for the present should be. What is put forward is a combination of the drawbacks of autocratic and responsible government with none of the advantages of the latter. Under the proposed scheme the position of Ministers will be untenable and that of the Legislature, no better than it is at present.

10. Let us see whether the scheme put forward by my colleagues cannot be modified to preserve the unified budget and control of the Legislature, and meet generally the objections which they have advanced against a unified budget. The proposal to divide the free balance and to divide the surplus may be accepted. We may also provide for the contribution of the province to the central exchequer for the charges for existing loans and, if necessary, earmark a sum in provinces liable to famine for famine fund; and, as stated by the Functions Committee, allot a sum for the reserved services. The Committee themselves do not mention how that sum is to be ascertained. We may take the amount of the previous year or the average of the three years. Then instead of a definite allocation to each half of the Government of the receipts from the reserved and transferred subjects respectively, we may divide the amount available in certain proportions between the two halves of Government. The

proportion, of course, will depend upon the subjects transferred. The share allotted to the reserved department will provide for the normal growth of the reserved services. The non-official Members of the United Provinces Legislative Council at their meeting on the 13th August 1918 suggested a share of one tenth for the reserved department. Any additional amount required may be allotted by the Legislative Council.

11.* A proposal was noticed in the Reforms Report to appoint a joint committee representing both official and non-official views dealing with both reserved and transferred subjects which should hold good for a certain period, always supposing that it can be varied in the meantime by agreement confirmed with the assent of the Legislative Council. The suggestion was rejected by the authors of the Reforms Report on the ground that the Governor's decision would be more popular with Indians. Speaking generally, it may be said that if an impartial committee could be had their decision would undoubtedly be more satisfactory. Under any scheme, the provisions in the Reforms Report which are endorsed by the Functions Committee that the resolutions of the Legislative Council should be binding on the Minister so far as his allotment is concerned and should be binding on the Executive Council so far as the application of their amount is concerned with a power to the Governor to restore any provision so far as the reserved departments are

concerned if he thinks it necessary for the administration of those subjects, should be maintained. There is no harm in giving such power if the claim of the reserved departments is limited to a share as proposed.

12. We may now consider these various schemes including that in the Reforms Report with reference to the proposals of the Functions Committee about the division of subjects. And I hope to show that the scheme put forward is far better than the scheme of the divided purse based upon the division of subjects put forward by my Colleagues. The administrative machinery, it appears to me, would run smoothly, no invidious distinction would exist between Councillors and Ministers or Reserved and Transferred Departments. The Legislative Council would have the same control as allowed to it by the Reforms Report Scheme. There would be no occasion for referring proposals for taxation to the Grand Committee as required by the scheme of my Colleagues. This removal of all question of taxation from the Legislative Council, it appears to me, is a fatal objection. With reference to the division of subjects, it would also appear that the Reforms Report Scheme is far preferable to the scheme of my Colleagues.

13. The following table shows the division of the list of Provincial subjects between the Reserved and Transferred Departments. The omissions are immaterial.

LIST OF PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS.

Reserved Subjects.

1. Irrigation and Canals, Drainage and Embankments, and Water Storage.
2. Land Revenue administration, as described under the following heads:—
 - (a) Assessment and collection of land revenue; (b) Maintenance of land records, survey for revenue purposes, records of rights; (c) Laws regarding land tenures, relations of land-lords and tenants, collection of rent; (d) Court of Wards, Encumbered and Attached Estates; (e) Land Improvement and Agricultural Loans; (f) Colonization and disposal of Crown lands and alienations of land revenue.

Transferred Subjects

Local Self-Government, that is to say, matters relating to the constitution and powers of Municipal Corporations, Improvement Trusts, District Boards, Mining, Boards of Health and other local authorities established in the province for purposes of local Self-Government.

Medical administration, including hospitals, dispensaries and asylums and provision for medical education.

Reserved Subjects.—(contd.)

3. Famine Relief.
 4. Land acquisition.
 5. Administration of Justice.
- Administrator-General and Official Trustee.
7. Judicial Stamps.
 8. Development of mineral resources.
 9. Industrial matters included under the following heads:—
 - (a) Factories; (b) Settlement of labour disputes; (c) Electricity; (d) Boilers; (e) Gas; (f) Smoke Nuisances; and (g) Welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident) and housing;
 10. Police, other than Railway Police.
 11. Miscellaneous matters:—(a) regulation of betting and gambling; (b) prevention of cruelty to animals; (c) protection of wild birds and animals; (d) control of poisons; (e) control of motor vehicles; and (f) control of dramatic performances and cinematographs.
 12. Control of Newspapers and Printing Presses.
 13. Coroners.
 14. Criminal Tribes.
 15. European Vagrancy.
 16. Prisons and Reformatories.
 17. Pounds.
 18. Treasure Trove.
 19. Government Press.
 20. Franchise and elections for Indian and provincial legislatures.
 21. Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards.

Transferred Subjects.—(contd.)

3. Public Health and Sanitation and Vital Statistics.
4. Education.
5. Public Works included under the following heads:—
 - (a) Provincial buildings.
 - (b) Roads, bridges and ferries, other than such as are declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of military importance.
 - (c) Tramways within municipal areas; and
 - (d) Light and Feeder Railways, and Tramways, other than tramways within municipal areas.
6. Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental and demonstration farms, introduction of improved methods, provision for agricultural education, protection against destructive insects and pests and prevention of plant diseases.
7. Civil Veterinary Department, including provision for veterinary training, improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases.
8. Co-operative Societies.
9. Excise.
10. Registration of deeds and documents, subject to Indian legislation.
11. Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, subject to Indian legislation for such classes as the Indian legislature may determine.
12. Religious and Charitable endowments.
13. Development of Industries, including industrial research and technical education.
14. Adulteration of food-stuffs and other articles, subject to Indian legislation as regards export trade.
15. Weights and Measures, subject to Indian legislation as regards standards.
16. Museums (except the Indian Museum and the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta) and Zoological Gardens.
17. Fisheries.
18. Forests in Bombay only.
19. Ports.
20. Inland Waterways

Reserved Subjects —(contd.)

22. Control of members of All-India services serving within the province, and of other public services within the province.
 23. New provincial taxes, that is to say, taxes included in the schedule of additional provincial taxes (v. paragraph 75), so far as not included under previous heads. But see paragraph 76 of the Report.
 24. Borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province
 25. Imposition of punishments by fine, penalty or imprisonment, for enforcing any law of the province relating to any provincial subject
 26. Any matter which, though falling within an All-India subject, is declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province
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Transferred Subjects —(contd.)

14. It appears to me that there is a fundamental objection to the proposal of the Government of India to make the division of subjects any basis for the allocation of revenue. The division of subjects is made on certain considerations which have nothing to do with the revenues derivable from those subjects. The Functions Committee were invited to make this division in accordance with certain considerations set out in the Reforms Report which had nothing whatever to do with the funds to be placed at the disposal of the two halves of the Government respectively. The Report of the Committee shows that they had in view those considerations and none other. My Colleagues, therefore, I think, are not justified in allocating to each half of the Government the revenues derivable from the subjects allotted to those halves on considerations which had nothing to do with the incomes therefrom. It is possibly this fact which made the Committee recommend that taxation should be a transferred subject, because they must have felt that the division of subjects ought not to carry with it the allocation of the revenues derivable from those subjects or the right to raise revenue by taxation from those subjects. If therefore we accept generally the recommendations of the Committee about the division of subjects, I think we are bound also to recognise the fact that they must have felt that the administration of transferred subjects could not be carried on with the revenue derivable from those subjects, and therefore the right to impose taxes, including those which are referred

to in paragraph 75 of the Report, must be given only to the Minister in charge of the transferred departments and should not be a reserved subject.

15. It will appear from this table that the chief earning departments come under the "Reserved" head. The Executive Council will benefit not only by the normal growth but will be able to increase their land revenue by executive action without recourse to the Legislature. The great spending departments on which the real progress of the country depends are the first six items in the list of "Transferred" Subjects. There is very little doubt that the Executive Council in charge of the "Reserved" departments will seldom be under the necessity of claiming any contribution from the Minister in charge of the "Transferred" department for the administration of their subjects. The Minister, on the other hand, will never have a sufficiency for his expanding departments. He will always want the full amount which can be obtained from his Subjects and much more. His Subjects are not expanding sources of revenue. Excise ought not to be, and in Indian hands will not be, an increasing source. But is he likely to get anything from the "Reserved" departments? I feel fairly sure that the revenue obtained and obtainable by the Executive Council will set the standard of their expenditure. The Services are under them and we know from experience that there is no limit to their demands and to the general sympathy with which requests

for new appointments to be filled by English officials, for allowances for them, and for increase in their pay or pensions, is viewed by the Executive Council. The Minister in charge of the "Transferred" departments will be at the mercy of the Executive Council if there is no external control. From this aspect let us see how far the schemes are free from the criticisms which have been urged against the scheme in the Despatch dated 5th March (see paragraph 69).

16. The first objection is that overdrafts on provincial balances, taxation and provincial borrowing would require a clear demarcation of each half of the Government; my scheme provides for a clear demarcation by assignment of a share; further no taxation or borrowing ought to be allowed and no responsible Governor will allow it if the Reserved department is in possession of funds as they will be according to this division of subjects which, considering the comparative needs of the two departments should be shared with the other. If therefore the Governor or some external authority is not allowed to allocate from the Revenues in one Department a certain sum for the benefit of the other, deadlocks are inevitable. There will be none under the Reforms Report scheme or Functions Committee scheme as the power of decision is left in the Governor or under the scheme I have put forward which does not allow comparative disparity of income. If such power is given to the Governor, we stand exactly where we stood under the Reforms Report scheme which also requires a decision in case of difference by the Governor. As to the provincial balance, my Colleagues have not yet decided as to the authority who is to make that division. I presume it must be the Governor. Apparently, we are not therefore better off. Again, it is unlikely that there will be such provincial balances for division in the future, as both the departments unfettered as they will be by the rules of the Imperial Government, will utilize the resources at their disposal or at least earmark the same. It may also be that they may in future utilize the balance, as they ought to, in reduction of the debt.

17. The second objection given is that one half of the Government should not have power to refuse funds which may be required for the working of the other half. I have already pointed out in my Minute of Dissent that my Colleagues ignore the power of the Governor to decide in cases of dispute, and that this objection therefore can never arise under the Reform Report scheme. Disregarding, however, the Governor's power for

the moment, the new scheme put forward by my Colleagues will, if this division of subjects is to be maintained, never leave for the reasons I have given any room for intrusion by the Minister and his Departments except as an importunate supplicant. The work of the Executive Council which will be in possession of by far the major portion of the funds will seldom be interfered with by the other. The scheme therefore does not comply with the condition or meet the difficulty to the same extent as the other two schemes. According to my Colleagues taxation will be possible only for the Executive Council and not for the other; and to me it appears to be out of the question to allow a power of increasing the land revenue in any form either by taxation or by settlements for their benefit, while it is to the land we have to look for the development and expansion of the important transferred departments.

18. The third objection about the friction which the annual allocation of funds will generate will arise in this case also though in a form very prejudicial to the Minister and the Transferred Departments who will every year have to claim contributions from the Executive Council. According to this scheme the Minister will be at the mercy of the Executive Council while according to the Reforms Report and the Functions Committee the Governor will decide between the two—a fairer arrangement; while under the third scheme even the Governor is eliminated and one is not at the mercy of the other.

19. The fourth and last objection concerning the incentive for each department for the development of its own resources is, it appears to me, fatal to the entire scheme. For, what does it amount to? Take the instance of land, which is the most important source of revenue to the province. The Executive Council, under the scheme, will not only take the normal growth of land-revenue, but would be entitled to increase it by periodical settlements without any recourse to the legislature. Even under normal conditions they will have, compared to the Minister, ample revenue for their needs; but there is little doubt that pressure will be put upon them by the English Services for increase in their establishments, pay and services—a pressure to which they would not be unwilling to yield. It is very probable, therefore, that the raiyat already impoverished will be further harassed. The developments of the transferred departments essential to Indian progress will be retarded. The result will be the same with reference to all sources of revenues.

The Minister and the Executive Council are invited by this proposal to raise as much revenue as they could; nothing can be more prejudicial to the interests of the country. It appears to me therefore that the scheme of my Colleagues, under these conditions, will be fatal to the prosperity of the country. Again in principle it is not right that the country as a whole should not benefit by the normal growth of revenue. Neither the scheme in the Reforms Report nor the 3rd scheme is open to this objection. Nor does it appear to me that the scheme of my Colleagues, complies with the conditions which they themselves have laid down that the scheme is intended to tell each department what range of expenditure it may provide for; as in the case of the Minister, the expenditure can never be limited by the receipts from his earning departments and the opening balance at his credit but will be dependent upon what he thinks he should fairly demand from the other departments and also by the proceeds of fresh taxation.

It appears to me that all the reasons which have prompted these new proposals can be attained under the third scheme. It is unnecessary to create two separate pools by receipts from transferred and reserved subjects.

LAND REVENUE

20. Indian poverty is attributable to the land revenue policy and the industrial policy hitherto followed, and it is satisfactory to find that the Committee recommend that taxation for imposing cesses on land and duties upon the unearned increment on land should be treated as a provincial subject (see paragraph 75) and also a transferred subject (see paragraph 76) though apparently by an oversight they do not include taxation in the transferred list. The Government of India also agree that such taxation should be imposed by provincial governments without the previous sanction of the Government of India. The Committee state, however, (see paragraph 79) that as the assessment of land revenue is left to executive action, the periodical settlement of land revenue must be treated as a reserved subject within the jurisdiction of the Executive Council only. It appears to me that these two propositions are incompatible. Cesses and duties cannot be imposed on land by the legislature without regard to the revenue imposed thereon by the Executive Council and *vice versa*. The one is dependent on the other; and if the Committee's views are to be maintained, they will have to be treated as a mixed subject in which the Governor's opinion should prevail in case of any

difference of opinion between the Executive Council and the Minister. In my opinion, however, there should be no increase of revenue merely by executive action. The land revenue or land rent should be treated as revenue pure and simple to be imposed only by the Legislative Council. At present, outside the permanently settled zamindari, the theory maintained by the Executive Government is that land is the private property of the Crown, the landholder being bound to pay any assessment that may be fixed by the Executive Government at their discretion. India is the only country in the world where neither law, nor custom nor competition determines the revenue or rent. This has been responsible to a great extent for the increasing poverty of the country. It has certainly tended to keep away labour and capital from land. It appears to me to be therefore essential that the proposal of the Functions Committee that the entry "Duties upon the unearned increment on land" should be so framed as to make the provincial powers of land taxation as wide as possible should be accepted so as to cover the case of land revenue assessment referred to in paragraph 79. This may be done by altering the entry into "all demands upon land" and by making the imposition of any revenue on land either by legislation or by periodical settlements a transferred subject. In the alternative, I would urge that it should at least be laid down that (1) the general principles of land revenue assessment be embodied in provincial legislation as recommended ten years ago by the Royal Commission on Decentralization, and (2) every proposal of resettlement of a district be embodied in a bill that should be passed by the Legislative Council like any other taxation bill.

INDUSTRIES

21. The proposal of the Committee to transfer all questions of industrial development in my opinion should be accepted. As my colleagues are unwilling to accept this proposal, it is desirable to state the present situation. India we know was a great manufacturing country whose wealth attracted the East India Company. Before the Mutiny, her industries were by deliberate policy of active discouragement in India and by prohibitive duties in England, destroyed. She was thus reduced from an Agricultural and a manufacturing to an agricultural country. The general policy of the subordination of Indian to English commercial interests has since continued to the present day. India has been utilized for the exploitation of her natural resources, for the investment of English capital and for the dumping

of English goods. Instead, therefore, of the Indian industries relieving the pressure on land, their ruin has thrown millions of workmen out of employ to compete with the agriculturists. This attitude of the Government has materially contributed to the unrest and disaffection in the land. It is therefore essential that we should adopt a course which would place us beyond suspicion.

We know now that there are Trade Commissioners whose business it is to find out the natural resources and facilities for trade—English trade in particular—that exist in the country. The results of their observations are to be made the basis of expert advice as to the best mode of utilizing those natural resources in the interests of English trade. It is true that the information would be equally available to the Indian public but we know that it is the commercial organizations in England that would be able to utilize them. There is no objection, of course, to the export of our raw products without detriment to the interests of the country itself, but she should not be deprived of the means of creating her own manufacturing industries and employing her own labouring population. This can only be done if the development of Indian industries is a "transferred" subject, otherwise a great export of food-stuffs tending to the starvation of millions not only by depriving India of her food-stuffs which she badly wants, but also by depriving her of great opportunities which the manufacturing industries will afford her, will be the result.

Similarly, as to the investment of English capital. We know that we cannot do without English capital, but we must obtain it on the same terms generally on which it would be lent to the colonies and other countries. The terms must be those agreed upon between the English capitalists and competent Indians who will protect Indian interests. The English officials in India and the India Office have not in the past protected India. They have submitted to English capitalists and I have no doubt will do so in future. We want also Englishmen to start industries in India but not to the detriment of indigenous industries. It is quite clear to me that unless there is an Indian to protect Indian industries, we will have English firms starting industries on a large scale in India in which the Indians will have very little share to the detriment of Indian industries.

That unfair means have been adopted to hamper Indian industries for the benefit of Lancashire and other capitalists is well known. Unfair competition should not be allowed,

For these reasons, if we do not leave the development of Indian industries in Indian hands, I feel satisfied that the same course will be followed in the future as in the past and will lead to increased irritation between Indians and Englishmen. Development of Indian industries should be a transferred subject. If any right of interference or advice is left to the Government of India, such power should be exercised only by an Indian Minister controlled by the Legislative Council. There is no objection whatever to the Government of India themselves starting any industries. But their further proposals as to advice to be tendered to Local Governments will repeat all the evils which have been condemned in paragraphs 117 to 119 of the Reforms Report. These proposals of my Colleagues to diminish popular responsibility and reverting to the old practice would appear to go against that part of the Reforms Report. The efforts of Provincial Governments in the past, meagre as they have been, have been hampered and not stimulated by the necessity under which they lay of obtaining the sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State at nearly every turn. More progress in the desired direction would have been made if they had had greater freedom of action.

I shall briefly notice some of the objections to transfer the development of industries to the Ministers. It will be noticed that according to the Functions Committee articles whose production, etc., requires control in the public interests and Central Research Institute and such heads as the Zoological Survey—are all-India subjects. In fact, it is a part of the scheme generally advocated by Indians that the Government should itself undertake the responsibility of starting and maintaining certain kinds of industries, which cannot be started or maintained by private enterprise. It is therefore not an argument against the transfer that the Central Government itself should maintain those industries which are required in the interests of military safety or political stability. In fact, such industries would afford scope for the training and employment of those Indians in higher branches who are competent to profit by it. They have nothing to do with the question of the development of industries. If, on the other hand, as my Colleagues seem to contemplate, such industries are placed in the hands of foreign companies, with loans, guarantees or undertakings to purchase products, they will not only stand in the way of the growth of indigenous enterprises but as in the case of railway companies will not

assist Indians. The policy is opposed to the current view to nationalize such industries where-ever possible, and will conduce to labour trouble in an acute form, widen the gulf between capital and labour, and increase racial friction. It appears to me therefore that it is wrong to say that the committee have ignored this aspect of the case. The argument that the Ministers will inevitably be devoid of industrial experience, as if the civilian member has great experience, is a strong condemnation of the proposals of my Colleagues to leave in the hands of the Governor the power of the appointment of Ministers. It is the policy that has been hitherto advocated by Indian publicists that has now been finally accepted even in England and by the Industrial Commission and there is little doubt that Indian Ministers can be found who will be competent to do the work. Lastly, it is said that there is a racial question involved, that considerable influence would be exercised on Ministers to refuse any form of aid or countenance to British enterprise and to favour Indian undertakings. So far as Indians are concerned, this charge is absolutely unfounded. Objection to the English capital and enterprise is raised only when that stands in the way of Indian enterprise and Indian prosperity. And to remove any such misapprehension is it difficult to provide safeguards similar to those proposed by my Colleagues in other cases? But I assert without hesitation from experience that so far as the Government are concerned, the fear that they will unduly favour foreign enterprises to the prejudice of Indian enterprises is well founded. It is true enough that the Industrial Commission makes recommendations themselves unsatisfactory, which in some respects may assist the Indians but here again we know from experience how little we can rely on such recommendations when they have to be carried out in practice.

TRAMWAYS, LIGHT AND FEEDER RAILWAYS

The Functions Committee have recommended that Light and Feeder Railways and Tramways should be in the list of Transferred Subjects under the control of the Indian Minister. My Colleagues would now transfer them to the "Reserved" List. The reason is that the Minister and the Legislative Council might interfere with the scheme of Railway development. Indian opinion is unanimous that District Boards should, in the interests of national progress, be allowed to build light railways; and the decision of my Colleagues is calculated to subordinate national interests to the interests of capitalists, railway companies. Existing contracts and guarantees

will, of course, be protected, and further means can be easily provided for that purpose if the Governor's control is not sufficient. I would accordingly accept the recommendation of the Functions Committee.

EDUCATION

22. It is necessary to have the issue clear before us. The question is not one between official control and university control, as it is supposed by those who put forward the findings of the Sadler Commission against the transfer of the subject of education. The question simply is whether whatever official control is to be exercised by the provincial governments should be exercised by the Minister. If there is no control to be exercised over university or secondary education, *cadit questio*. If there is any control, then should the Executive Council exercise that power or the Minister and the Legislative Council? Again, so far as the Government of India is concerned, what powers should be left to the Government of India; and, if so, who should exercise them? These are the questions.

The Functions Committee have proposed that Education as a whole should be transferred. My Colleagues would transfer only Primary Education. They would fix no limit of age which they leave to be fixed by the Minister, subject to the control of the Legislative Council. They would not fix the curriculum, i. e., whether the entire teaching in all the subjects should be in English or whether English should be taught only as a subject, and what the other subjects are which should be taught. These also are to be left to the Minister and the popular assembly. It appears to me to be impracticable to divide the subject of Education like this. Hitherto no such division has been made anywhere in India.

Assuming, however, such a distinction can be made, should it be carried out? A foreign service with different ideals might be able to impart education to the leaders of the people, leaving it to them afterwards to take the necessary steps to impart education to the people of the country. But it appears to me, with all respect, that it is absurd to expect them to impart national education to a foreign race. The Reforms Report leaves educational progress to the popular assemblies, and there is very little doubt that Ministers alone can obtain the money required for its expansion and improvement. Further, political progress is said to be dependent upon the expansion of sound education, and such expansion should not be left in the hands of classes which

have hitherto opposed political and educational progress. Indians are deeply interested in it.

I have been the head of the Department of Education now for more than three years and I am satisfied that future educational progress depends upon Indian direction. My predecessor in this office, Sir Harcourt Butler, also would make it a transferred subject. The only other member of Indian Government who has been an Education member since the creation of the Department, Sir Claude Hill, who is unfortunately not here to sign the Despatch, has recorded his opinion in favour of transfer. The Governments of Bombay, the Punjab and the United Provinces would transfer education as a whole. The Madras Government would not transfer any branch of education. Bengal and Assam would not transfer collegiate education, but my Colleagues, like myself, are of opinion that this cannot be done if secondary education is transferred. Bihar and Orissa alone is opposed to the transfer of secondary, technical and collegiate education. My Colleagues would transfer primary education, while the reasons given in their report, if they are correct, tend inevitably to the conclusion that it is primary education that should be kept in the hands of the Government and that higher education may safely be transferred. Those who would keep education a reserved subject, do so I fear not in the interests of educational progress but for political reasons. They have themselves no scheme of education in view and their predecessors have been going on making experiment after experiment, all in the face of Indian protest, which they themselves have now to acknowledge had ended in failure. I should like briefly to refer to our educational policy.

A retrogressive policy has been followed since Lord Dufferin's time. Considering the vast problem that lay before the Government, it had been laid down that the Government should welcome every kind of private endeavour to supplement their efforts for the education of the country. Lord Dufferin's Government, however, declared that the Government should retire from any part of the field which could be, or should be, left to private effort and made educational progress depend on private endeavour aided by Government grants. The results on secondary and collegiate education were deplorable. National education not being recognised by Government as an obligation, the pupils were left to study in such schools and colleges as were maintained by private effort. Such schools were inadequate in numbers to receive the crowds who were seeking admission.

Institutions multiplied to meet the ever-growing demand. Government grants were given only to the institutions which complied with its rules which were designed to secure efficiency. The other institutions failed to secure competent teachers. This again stood in the way of Government grants. A large number of inefficient institutions with incompetent teachers was the natural result of a system which does not recognize education as a national obligation, but only aids private effort by 'doles.'

Efforts were then made by the Government to confine higher education and secondary education leading to higher education to boys in affluent circumstances. This again was done not in the interests of sound education but for political reasons. Rules were made calculated to restrict the diffusion of education generally and among the poorer boys in particular. Conditions for recognition for 'grants'—stiff and various—were laid down and enforced, and the non-fulfilment of any one of these conditions was liable to be followed by serious consequences. Fees were raised to a degree which, considering the circumstances of the classes that resort to schools, were abnormal. When it was objected that the minimum fee would be a great hardship to poor students the answer was—such students had no business to receive that kind of education. Managers of private schools who remitted fees in whole or in part were penalised by reduced grants in aid. These rules had undoubtedly the effect of checking the great expansion of education that would have taken place. This is the real explanation of the very unsatisfactory character of the nature and progress of secondary education; and that it will never be remedied till we are prepared either to give education to the boys ourselves or to make sufficient grants to the private schools to enable them to be staffed with competent teachers. We are at present not prepared to do either English education, according to this policy, is to be confined to the well-to-do classes. They, it was believed, would give no trouble to Government. For this purpose the old system of education under which a pupil could prosecute his studies from the lowest to the highest class was altered.

For the masses, a new course of elementary or primary education solely in the vernaculars extending to about 7 years was devised. It was hoped that this would keep them in their present condition confined to their lowly ancestral pursuits. Schools confined to vernaculars were opened and encouraged to draw away boys from English studies. It was intended, and rules

were framed to carry out that intention, that if possible those who commenced their education in these schools were not to be encouraged to proceed to what are called the secondary schools instituted for English education. The masses, the poorer classes of people, were thus deliberately denied all access to any real or English education. The result is that on account of their being prevented from following their English studies, they do not care to continue their studies in the vernacular schools and they cast off the little smattering of knowledge they acquire and lapse into illiteracy again. They are thus denied all means of material improvement, self-development and culture. I am accordingly glad to find that my Colleagues are willing to leave the question of primary education, including the question whether it should be English or Vernacular Education, to the Minister. But what has been our record as regards even primary education? In the earlier years of this century, Mr. Gokhale was pressing the claims of primary education upon the Government, and various statements on behalf of Government were made in the years 1905-7, which were taken to be promises of free education. So stood matters when the reformed councils met. Almost the first question to which the English educated community turned their attention was elementary education. Mr. Gokhale introduced his Education Bill which was opposed by Government and therefore rejected by the Council. But at the end of the year at the Durbar it was announced that the Government have resolved "to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Empire." As a fact, that acknowledgment has not been translated into action. In almost all the local councils attempts are being made to introduce private bills for optional compulsory education. These bills are allowed to be introduced only on condition that no financial responsibility is thereby imposed on Government. Local resources are inadequate and such education as is imparted will not be efficient. Without Government financial assistance the scheme will not succeed or even cannot be put into operation.

With reference to commercial and industrial education we do not give the higher education required to foster manufacturing industries, to start great commercial concerns of any kind, or produce captains of industry or commerce but we have industrial schools to train intelligent artisans or foremen or to further or develop the local cottage industries which are capable of expansion

by the application of improved methods or improvements. Similarly, it was intended to start or encourage schools with commercial courses whose chief aim was to supply practical training for those who were to enter business houses in a subordinate capacity and hopes were held out that every effort would be made to find employment to pupils who received that training. The necessity of engineering and medical colleges is always recognised, but it is assumed that the efforts that should be made should not be in the direction of starting more colleges but in the directions I have indicated.

Now there is no doubt that in all this the Government were actuated by the highest motives, but at the same time there is no use ignoring the fact that the Indians were satisfied that all these changes were made with a sinister purpose. It is the universal belief and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to support it, that, Primary English Education for the masses and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons. Higher professional Industrial and technical education is discouraged to favour English industries and recruitment in England of English officials.

If, therefore, we should have more Indians in scientific and technical professions and more engineering and industrial colleges, experience shows that the present system must be abandoned and that an Indian Minister alone would supply the necessary institutions. Otherwise, we are likely to follow the same course as hitherto; we will tell those few of our young men who have made themselves fit for these professions that such education as they have received is not satisfactory; at the same time discourage them from going to foreign countries to receive education and fail to provide sufficient facilities for education in India itself. The errors of the past are admitted even by those who will not allow education to be a transferred subject and a promise is made to repair them. The subject is far too important and vital to the interests of the nation for any further experiments to be made or for the matter to be left in the hands of those who stand themselves convicted and whose promises have not been faithfully kept. The reason often assigned for mistakes in the past has been want of funds, and conservatism of the rural classes both of which I entirely deny.

For the nature of our mistakes in the past, we have only to look to the Report of the Calcutta

University Commission. They rightly point out that the teachers in the high schools are under-educated and under-paid. The fact is that the Government are not utilising the funds at their disposal to mitigate the evils of the system, which is described by the Bengal District Administration Committee and the Rowlatt Committee, for which we are responsible. The Commission point out that secondary education is unduly dominated by the examination system, which must be the case as long as the educational services are manned by officials who cannot, on account of their want of knowledge of the vernaculars, be responsible for the teaching: but who at the same time, supervise the whole system. They further point out that the stage of admission to the University should be that of the present Intermediate instead of the Entrance examination, as the boys who have passed the latter examination are not fit for University education or their want of knowledge in English language. This is the result of the system to which I have adverted which has discouraged English teaching in the earlier classes even as a language, against strong Indian protest. They also refer to the fact that the Entrance Examination of the University is not a preparation for the medical, engineering professions, or for careers in agriculture, commerce or industry. This, again, is due to the policy which I have referred to, which would only give secondary education fit for clerks and managers of offices and not for higher education in those subjects for which the Department, (that is, the Government), is responsible. The Indian opinion, therefore, is not responsible at all for this result. The Commission accordingly propose, to remedy these defects, the appointment of a Board in which the majority should consist of non-official members—a recognition of the superiority of non-official guidance. They would make the Director an expert adviser “to the Member or Minister in charge of Education” which disposes of the arguments sometimes advanced that, according to the views they entertained, secondary education should be a reserved subject.

As to the University education, there can be no more scathing condemnation of the system than that to be found in the Commission Report. It has to be remembered that the University itself is an officialised body under Government control. They say that the Government and administration of the University is unsatisfactory and ineffective as an instrument for encouragement of learning. They point out that even such a University is

under the unduly rigid control of the Government. “There is far too much detailed Government intervention.” They are perfectly right, and it is impossible under such a system that any University can carry on its work efficiently. It is just for that reason that Indians are anxious to get rid of the bureaucratic control and place the University and secondary education under the control of a Minister. It is not difficult to come to the conclusion that the same state of things will otherwise continue. I am therefore of opinion that the Committee's recommendations should be accepted and Education as a whole should be transferred. Most of the important Native States have gone ahead.

NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

24. The nature of the objections taken to the transfer of subjects is proof of the necessity of responsible government. Among the objections advanced to it, there is one which finds a place in this report which for reasons that will appear later I feel bound to notice. The representative of the Madras Government (and it is said the Madras Government accept his view) has taken objection to the division of subjects on the ground that without adequate protection being provided for by communal representation, the non-Brahmins will be oppressed by Brahmins. I support non-Brahmin communal representation but I demur entirely to the proposition that it should be regarded as an essential preliminary to any responsible government for the reason given. As we are likely to hear more of this contention, I propose to state my view of the situation.

25. For the consideration of this question, it is essential to recognise two divisions among non Brahmins, the high caste Hindus and the lower classes. In the earlier years of the Congress, the non-Brahmin leaders were invited by the officials to stand aloof from it, and, if possible, to denounce it as inimical to their interests. They resolved to disregard the advice. Their main reasons were these: They found that by the British conquest it was the Mahomedans and the non-Brahmin higher castes who had suffered most. The Rajahs and the zemindars who were deprived of their properties by the British Government generally belonged to those classes. By far the majority of them were either deprived of their properties or allowed to retain whole or portion of them on conditions which were very onerous. The revenue payable was very heavy with reference to the properties which they held at the time of British conquest. Their rights were being encroached upon. The ryotwari system before 1857

was iniquitous and destructive of private property. Subsequently, though not quite so bad, it was felt to be oppressive. The merchants and the artisan classes, the labouring classes, were involved in the misfortune of these superior classes. I have already pointed out that the *raison d'être* of the Congress was the intense poverty of the people and the measures which they put forward to relieve such poverty, concerned the non-Brahmins more than Brahmins; the non-Brahmin higher castes, therefore stood to gain from its success more than any others. The other questions which the Congress took up, like the separation of judicial and executive functions, also concerned them more. Under the conditions that then existed, and, to a great extent, even now exist, the Brahmins had far greater chances of success in the services and elsewhere. They had the qualities which were required by a foreign ruling race who wanted good subordinates. The Mahomedan and the Hindu Zemindars and the Hindu martial classes were looked upon with suspicion on account of such of their qualities which are only required for administration and government; and not required in those whose main function was to obey and produce wealth which should be at the disposal of their masters. The non-Brahmin leaders, therefore, felt that they had a better chance of success in the new condition of things which they hoped would be brought about by the Congress agitation when the qualities which they, in their own opinion, possessed in a higher degree than the Brahmins would have a better scope. They found also that, though the old class of Brahmins had faults which are now imputed to them by the leaders of the non-Brahmin Movement, a distinct improvement was visible in the younger generation that was growing up and they hoped that common efforts, common aspirations, and the common good of the country will introduce a change in the Brahmin class. These hopes have not been disappointed. It is true that there are still Brahmin leaders under the domination of feelings and sentiments which are not conducive to harmony or progress, but, on the other hand, there is no doubt that, generally speaking, the Congress movement has brought about a greater *rapprochement* between the various classes. Mrs. Besant, in particular, has brought over the whole of her Brahmin party to discard the Brahmin restrictions which stood in the way of the hearty co-operation with the non-Brahmins. Besides the reasons above referred to, the non-Brahmins were startled at the official attitude. Many of the officials while insisting

upon the existence of this class division as a bar to political progress, not only did not themselves take any active steps to remove them but by their passive resistance foiled every attempt of the reform party to remove such restrictions. The latter were sneered at as Anglicised Indians who had lost touch with the ordinary people and therefore untrustworthy in these matters or denounced as impracticable visionaries. Several officials went even so far as to say not only privately but in public that this ancient caste system was necessary to the stability of the society as it accustoms the people to order and obedience to authority and it is therefore in the interest of the Government to support that system. The non-Brahmin leaders felt therefore that very little could be hoped from officials to remove this caste restriction. These were the reasons, so far as I remember, that determined the attitude of the non-Brahmin leaders then and I do not think those reasons have lost their force now.

I have already referred to a number of reforms that are long overdue and they are far more beneficial to the non-Brahmins than to the Brahmins. If the proposed reforms are carried out in their proper spirit and proper rules are framed I have not the slightest doubt that the non-Brahmin higher Hindu castes will be gainers. I fail to see how they will be worse off.

26. In the case of the depressed classes the conditions are different. It is absurd to say that their position, so far as their material prospects are concerned, has improved under the British Government. It has steadily gone from bad to worse. To mention only a few instances, under the old custom they were entitled to free house-sites, materials free from the jungles for building their cottages, free pasturage and a fixed share of the produce of the land which they cultivated for their wages, which ensured a living wage. All these they have lost under the ryotwari system. With the ruin of the Indian Industries also the non-agricultural labourers lost their fixed wages and they were involved in the ruin of their masters. The agricultural labourers suffered equally from the Government and the Zemindars and the big ryots. The proposed reforms will not directly benefit them to the same extent as the superior non-Brahmin castes, but they are bound to share in the benefits which will accrue to the whole country if the reforms are carried out in the directions indicated and the poverty problem, in particular, is properly dealt with. Amongst them it is very doubtful whether representatives can be found in sufficient numbers to protect their

interests against the higher castes, Brahmins and non-Brahmins who now lead the agitation in Madras and the planters and capitalists, but I think it is possible to devise rules which will enable them materially to influence elections, or, to create electorates, to send their representatives to the Council. In any event, I am fully satisfied that this class cannot possibly be worse off under the proposed reforms, while it is probable that their position can be improved, and it is certain that, if properly safeguarded, it will be improved.

27. I cannot agree with my Colleagues in their proposals in paragraph 23 about inspection and advice. According to them, these officers are to inspect the operations of the Reserved and Transferred Departments, offer criticisms for the attention of the Governor to be called to the defects disclosed so that he might use his influence and authority to secure their removal. The authors of the Reforms Report have pointed out (see paragraph 118) that such official inspirations have increased the disposition to interfere in provincial details; they further point out that a substitute for them,

in future, should be found in the stimulus afforded by public criticism. Though the necessity of publicity and public criticism is recognised by my Colleagues in the paragraph above referred to, I have little doubt that the tendency again will be towards interference with the Transferred Departments and also with the Reserved Departments. It is the Government of India, as is recognised in the Reforms Report, that have stood in the way of reforms which the Provincial Governments had been willing to carry out. I am, for these reasons, unable to support the recommendations of my Colleagues.

Considering the nature of these recommendations by my Colleagues, it appears to me that the further consideration of these questions should not be put off till the appointment of the Statutory Commission, and that the proposals in the Reforms Report empowering the Viceroy to transfer subjects if he thinks fit to do so, should be maintained.

C. SANKARAN NAIR.

Simla, 16th April 1919.

A FEW LINES FROM GHALIB

BY
HAMIDULLAH AFSER.

(1)

Why should we be taken to task (for the committal of sins) on the (one-sided) version of the angels: Was there any man present to speak for us when the record was taken?

(2)

The lover's cottage would have been desolate even if he had not shed tears: For the ocean would have been a wilderness, if not an ocean.

(3)

When the lamp is gone out, it emits smoke: The flame of love appeared in black after I was no more.

(4)

When he honours me with a visit, my face is suffused with a healthy flush: From this (look at the irony of it!) he is led to think that my melody (love-sickness) is showing signs of rapid cure.

(5)

Out of sheer exhaustion my tears turned into a deep sigh: Now I believe that water transforms into vapour.

(6)

'Tis my heart alone that can speak about (the effect of) thy half-draw shaft: Whence would the blissful rancour have come had it pierced the heart through.

(7)

The fore-swore coquetting after he had killed me (with his blandishments): Ah Me! How soon the prompt penitent has repented.

(8)

Alas! the lot of that few inches of cloth, O Ghalib! that is fated to be made into a collar of the distracted lover.

(9)

The real secret of paradise is well-known to me, but still the idea is good enough to humour our fancies.

(10)

The tears O Ghalib! have again welled up in my heart: Ah me! the drop that had not found an outlet broke forth in storms.

(Translated from his Urdu Ghazals)

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

Bolshevism in Asia.

Sir Theodore Morison, contributes under the above heading, an article to the '*Observer*,' in the course of which he points out that to Westerners Bolshevism may appear not only unsuitable but positively distasteful to the East. But it may come to them in a much less questionable shape than they suppose because these wild and intoxicating doctrines, when passed from people to people, mostly uneducated, get transformed, until at the end of the passage, they bear only the faintest resemblance to the original message. If Bolshevism has reached Afghanistan, it is already at the threshold of India and this proximity suggests a train of disquieting speculations. The social organisation of India presents conditions which might in certain circumstances be favourable for some such catastrophic upheaval as Bolshevism or the French Revolution. The upper class in India, under the influence of English education, has put away its reverence for authority and replaced it by an ardent devotion to Liberty and Freedom. Below this small upper class are the great masses of the Indian people, still very uneducated, suffering a great deal of poverty and privation. Now, through books and newspapers, the English ideas of the educated class are beginning to find their way into the vernacular and are becoming part of a common speech of the whole people percolating down the lower strata of the Indian society. They raise wild hopes of resistance to oppression, of visions of old authority overthrown, of the mighty put down from their seats and of the humble and meek exalted. If the time ever comes, the Indian masses will rise like the French peasants in the 18th against the immediate oppressors in the village and against the wielders of authority as they have known and experienced it. In short, it is the upper castes against whom revolt will take place if ever Bolshevism manifests itself in India.

After pointing out that among the untouchables numbering about fifty to seventy-five millions there are mutterings which show that in them the ineradicable dignity of man is revolting against social oppression, Sir Theodore concludes:—

"These grim possibilities are no argument against Mr. Montagu's Reforms. On the contrary, they are strong reasons for them; they show that no time should be lost in making a beginning of the political education of the Indian people. But the possibility of Bolshevism in India does support the plea advanced by Lord Curzon in the House

of Lords that the power of the Government of India should be maintained. While the new ideas are being absorbed and immense social changes are taking place there should be somewhere in the country a sufficient power to maintain order. Society must hold an adequate force in reserve in case the front line should be rushed by an onslaught of brutish anarchy."

The Century of Hope.

Mr. F. S. Marvin's book "A Sketch of Western Progress from 1815 to the Great War" is reviewed in the May issue of *The Positivist Review* by Mr. C. H. Herford. The reviewer says that Mr. Marvin's judgment of the War concedes, if anything, too little to the German case, but his account of German culture during the century is without a hint of bias. The book however does not pretend to exhaust the hopeful aspects of the century of hope; its weight lies preponderatingly in the social, international, scientific and educational directions but there are passages in the book which somewhat impair its character as a kind of microcosm of the genius of the 19th century. Music and painting have no riches in this house; nor the wonderful body of historical sciences, which since the beginning of last century have brought order into the study of language and religion, primeval history, custom and law. The simplification of the complex processes of history is sometimes carried too far. This is especially the case in the chapter on literature which is nothing if not personal and whose most universal utterance must bear the impress of an individual soul. Mr. Marvin interprets Positivism in general with admirable independence. The literature of last century, especially in its last decades was marked by a passionate effort to come to close grips with the infinity of life impelling at once to the most fearless realism in expressing what is felt and seen and the most imaginative symbolism in suggesting what is apprehended; a union of prose and poetry in the common service of truth.

The 19th century has received many a blow at the hands of the 20th; and the events of the last few years have rudely shaken much that it seemed to have left most secure. Mr. Marvin has shown how very much more of it unassailably endures and how its hope is in reality a nourishing substance by which our own century may be sustained.

A Worker on his Home.

In the *Hibbert Journal* (April 19) Mr. G. Butcher declaims against the modern housing system which, as he says, gives the poor man very little respect, and makes coarseness, crowding and noise his portion. The poor, over crowded in slums and tenement houses need some distraction to lull the mind, as fulness of life is denied them. They have practically no possessions, no private life, "no mooring stage where they can pull up and refit for the morrow." It is a pitiable sight to see children running out of houses and preferring the liberty of the streets to the oppression of the house. It should be compulsory for the worker to be housed in a complete and sensible habitation; and it should be compulsory that a decent working man should be able to obtain the means of living as a man. Comfort and beauty in surroundings and in mind must be secured and the soul-sickness stopped. The people must have some of the real things of life. The harsh voice and corrupt language of the poor dweller are the outcome of hard living and constant bodily compression.

The good the children derive from their schooling is much undermined by their home surroundings. Definite house-planning and not deadly profiteering must provide the people. To preserve the mother and the child the home must be improved. Public libraries should be more airy; public wash houses should be more numerous and useful. There must be local workshops where the budding home could be built up by articles made in spare time. Where men have been able to obtain decent dwellings, an increase in the fertility of mind can be noted. To be able to live in peace means the solving of many evils. Then people will get greater self-respect. The man who can keep his door closed at his will is more apt to become a good citizen.

Christian Education in Southern India.

Under this heading the Rev. H. Austin writes in the July number of "*The East and the West*" urging the necessity of a determined effort to raise the Christian community by making it possible to educate a large proportion of its members. This can be done, he says, by increasing the number of scholarships and enlarging the schools. But he would consider it a mistake "to take the bulk of the Christians from their hereditary occupations however desirable it is that there should be a far greater number of well-educated Christian Indians.

The Church's Work in South Africa.

The possibility of great emigration of ex-soldiers and others to the distant parts of the Empire, is according to a writer in the April number of '*The East and the West*' an incentive to the Clergy in the Colonies and elsewhere to prepare themselves for the changed conditions that many of them must be shortly facing. The Europeans in the Dominions and Colonies, scattered in tiny drops, in police quarters, in trading stations or in mines, many miles apart, have few religious traditions, and quite fail to grasp the point of view of the missionary who wishes him to be present at religious services frequently. Not that he is more irreligious than those in England, but organised and regular forms of worship have never had any meaning for him and a sacramental Church life has been quite impossible; and he sees no difference in the doctrines of the various religious bodies, with which from time to time he comes into contact. With the little native congregations that the Missionary finds scattered over immense districts, his outlook is different. They are of a different race and colour, and they worship in a different language; they express a great desire to attend services, they are devout and reverent in Church, regard the Clergyman with affection and confidence. The Church stands to the native convert to-day as it stood to the European in the Middle Ages. It gives him opportunity of education and advancement, offers him medicine and hospitality, advises him in difficulties and protects him against oppression. Finding in the Church his social and physical needs supplied, the native convert asks it to feed his soul.

Can it do something of the same kind for the European? At times he needs religion badly; the Church stands out for the great principles of justice for black or white, for sobriety, business honesty, sexual purity and kindly consideration for the weak. Where the Church can offer more there the great opportunity of the Clergymen lies. The Clergyman must be a man of two trades, one by which he has the authority to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments; the other by which he commends the Gospel and by which he lives. The colonial's religion does not consist so much in Church-going; but his out-look is wider; and the Clergyman is in a fresher religious atmosphere than in the old days at home. He does not quarrel about little things about religion, of convention and sectarianism.

The Intellectual Pre-eminence of Jews.

Thorstein Veblen, *Science Quarterly* (March 19) commenting on the Zionist movement in the pages of the *Political* says that the Zionists always project for withdrawal upon themselves, a scheme of national demarcation between Jew and Gentile. The scheme is one of territorial demarcation and national frontiers of the conventional sort, within which Jews, Jewish traditions, traits and aspirations are to find scope and breathing space for a home-bred culture and free unfolding of all that is best and most characteristic in the endowment of the race. There is the dominant idea of isolation and in-breeding and a confident persuasion that this will bring great and good results for all concerned. The whole project has an idyllic and engaging air. The logic of the Zionist project plainly runs to the effect that whereas this people have achieved great things while living under conditions of great adversity, scattered piecemeal among the Gentiles of Europe, they are bound to achieve much greater things as soon as they shall have a chance to follow their own devices untroubled within the shelter of their own frontiers.

It is plain that the civilisation of Christendom continues to-day to draw heavily on the Jews for men devoted to science and scholarly pursuits. Men of Jewish extraction continue to supply more than a proportionate quota to the rank and file engaged in scientific and scholarly work. So general is the recognition of special Jewish traits, of character and of capacity, that any refusal to recognise something which may be called a Jewish type of hereditary endowment would be impossible. The Jewish type asserts itself with amazing persistence through all the disguises which have been laid upon it. Cross-breeding commonly results in a gain to the Jewish community rather than conversely. The intellectually pre-eminent men among the Jews have been men immersed in this Gentile culture in which they have played their part of guidance and ~~mentement~~. The conclusion is that it is only when the gifted Jew escapes from the cultural environment created and fed by the particular genius of his own people and only when he falls into the alien lines of Gentile inquiry, that he comes into his own as a creative leader. It is by loss of allegiance, or at the best by force of a divided allegiance to people of his origin that he finds himself in the vanguard of modern inquiry. But it will not do to say that none but renegade Jews count effectually in the modern sciences.

The home bred Jewish scheme of things human and divine, are of an archaic origin and bound with traditional varieties and conventions. The young Jew, in such a scheme, will become a sceptic by force of circumstances over which he has no control. Intellectually he is likely to become an alien; spiritually he is more than, likely to remain a Jew.

The Sunday School in India.

Sunday Schools have sprung up in India in connection with Missionary and Church organisations in large numbers. There are four types of Sunday Schools; (1) that which is held in connection with a particular congregation and which possesses teachers whose services are voluntary and whose students are the children of the Christian community of the places; (2) the next type of Sunday School is held in connection with the Mission Day School in which the Scholars are entirely non-Christian. Here the students have a considerable amount of Bible knowledge; (3) the third type is that found in the areas of Mass movements. The children are mostly very ignorant and they have no normal Christian community round them. This is a very potent instrument for the gradual Christianisation of the people; (4) the fourth type is the Evangelistic one.

Mr. E. A. Annett, in the *International Review of Missions* for April describes the efficiency of these potent instruments of Missionary enterprise. The Sunday School in India has rightly been termed the Workshop of the Church, the place where its members may learn to serve. It has room for all classes of workers and is capable of indefinite expansion. Its ideal ought to be that it shall be a place where the child may have an experience in which he feels God to be near and real. The syllabus used vary according to the needs of the children in various localities.

The teachers need training which would draw out their religious nature and clarify and strengthen their religious ideal. The writer urges the necessity of a central school for training which will include courses in child study and in the methods of religious education. Conversion and the laws of the growth of religion in the soul, the principles of home training, rudimentary psychology, the value of discipline are the subjects essential for the due equipment of the trained teacher. The teacher himself is the crux of the whole problem of religious education,

Russia's Revolt against Bolshevism.

The current number of *The Round Table* states that Bolshevism is not likely to succeed for long in a country which is in such a backward state of development as Russia; and though its initial success as a destructive force was easy its failure will be more complete when it should come to constructive effort. Outside Russia the leading Bolshevik movements that have come out into the open and signified their formal alliance with Lenin's Government are (1) the Spartacist movement in Germany; (2) the Communist Government in Buda-Pest and the Italian Official Socialist Party. In other countries such as France, Holland, Sweden, Norway and even Great Britain there are small groups that adhere to Bolshevism but as yet no well-organised party has made its appearance. German Spartacism, unlike Russian Bolshevism, is the enemy of peace; there is no acute land question in Germany as in Russia and the Spartacists are not able to make any appeal to the peasantry; moreover the strength of the German bourgeoisie and the high percentage of educated Germans stand in the way of Spartacist success. Even in Munich the movement has collapsed. And the Spartacists have no leaders of outstanding ability such as Lenin. In Hungary, the Communist Government has ended in a fiasco. And Bolshevik prestige in Europe has gone far to ruin.

The Bolshevik Government in Russia tried to come to terms with the Allies and Lenin's peace propaganda was very active. These were finally dispelled by the Prime Minister's Speech in the Commons which reiterated his intention of supporting the forces opposed to Bolshevism. It is not only the future of Russia that is at stake, but the future of Europe also, for until there should be no Bolshevism in Russia, there can be no real peace in Europe.

The first anti-Bolshevist organisation in Russia, apart from the Volunteer Army in the South, came into being in Moscow about April 1918. These two, together with those parts of N. Russia which were freed from the Bolsheviks by the Allied expedition, co-ordinated the policy of all anti-Bolshevist movements.

The movement in Siberia was promptly arrested by Admiral Kolchak who has not only achieved a series of remarkable victories in the field but has rallied the vast majority of the population. His chief aims are the creation of a strong Army, victory over Bolshevism, the formation of a constituent assembly and the increase of the peasant

proprietors. In Southern Russia, General Denikin is equally firm against Bolshevism. In Northern Russia and in the Archangel the Provisional Government is growing strong and closely reflects the wishes of the local population. There are other anti-Bolshevist forces consisting of Ethomians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians, but there is no co-ordination between them and the Russian Forces; nor are their aims the same.

If Russia is to be liberated from the Bolsheviks it could only be done by a vigorous patriotic and national movement. This is the essence of Kolchack's programme and of those Socialists who take their stand on a national basis. The anti-Bolshevist movements are not necessarily reactionary as many English Liberals imagine; the dangers threatening Russia require a firm hand in restoring and maintaining order.

The Rule of Dora.

The docility with which Englishmen submitted to the abrogation of their most cherished rights was one of the most remarkable phenomena observed in the course of the late war. What Dicey calls the essential characteristic of the British constitution, *viz.*, absence of arbitrary power on the part of the Crown, of the Executive and of every other authority, went into retirement. When any particularly vexatious restriction came along, people shrugged their shoulders and said it was only Dora's little way and for the most part loyally observed it.

Mr. Sidney Clarke, writing in the *Journal of Comparative Legislation* (March 19) writes about this constitutional restriction, in which an almost moribund Parliament, with an exhausted mandate, was allowed to prolong its existence from year to year in order that it might register and give the semblance of law to the decrees of what was to all intents and purposes military dictatorship. The protection of Parliamentary procedure was thrust aside, discussion was curtailed; and government by Parliament was replaced by government by a small inner Cabinet, which in its turn set up government by departments and competent authorities. The citizen was controlled in everything except his thoughts even which were influenced by an elaborate system of censorship, propaganda and information.

The first of the Defence of the Realm Acts was mainly a declaratory measure and merely stated the nature of the Royal prerogative. The courts

held, in one of the earliest cases, that in modern warfare the safety and defence of the Realm required action long before a hostile soldier trod the soil of the kingdom. Later Regulations stretched the prerogative, even to the extent of prohibiting dog-shows and forbidding the sale or gift of cocaine. The Regulations were merely departmental ukases to procure powers which could not be obtained from Parliament. And the persons entrusted with the execution of the regulations were irresponsible to a large extent. The framers of the Regulations spread their net wider than the Prerogative and did occasionally transgress their constitutional authority as is evidenced by several cases denounced in Parliament and by the Press.

Dora and her vexatious orderings have now vanished and there is no longer truth in the taunt flung at us by the enemy—"The Cabinet gives no regular account to Parliament, does not consult the Party leaders and hardly answers the questions that are put. It governs England by means of a bureaucratic machine which interferes in everything, controls everything and is itself as good as free from Parliamentary control."

Universities and their Functions.

In the *Mysore Economic Journal* (June 1919) the Editor lays much stress on Mr. Asquith's conception of the ideals and functions of Universities. Mediæval Universities were cosmopolitan in composition and catholic in their range, where there were no barriers of truth or class or fortune and a comradeship of speech and habit which transcended, though it did not obliterate racial and geographical distinctions. A University should never become a mere technological institute for the creation and equipment of specialists. The modern student may smile at the scanty proportions of mediæval learning and scoff at their jarring Latin; but whatever was knowable, mediæval students knew.

"The limits of the knowable—wherever they are to be placed—have in these days expanded so far that no ambition and no assiduity is equal to the task of taking all that lies within them for its province. Nothing can be more alien from the business of a University than to produce the shallow and fluent omniscience which has scratched the surface of many subjects, and got to the heart of none. But the fidelity of a University to the intellectual side of its mission must now, as always, be judged by the degree in which it has succeeded in enlarging and humanising the mental outlook of its students and developing the love of knowledge for its own sake." Such an ideal as this, Mr. Asquith points out, does not imply a divorce of knowledge from practice. He instances, with telling effect, the truth of this observation by

referring to the work of James Watt and Adam Smith who both belonged to Glasgow University. "It is often," he adds, "at the mouths of professors, and at the hands of Universities, that the practical man learns for the first time the real meaning and the latent possibilities of his own business. Statesmen and financiers and industrialists have never received two more magnificent presents than the *Wealth of Nations* and the *Steam Engine* and both came from within the walls of the Glasgow College."

A University has the duty cast on it to leave its intellectual stamp on those whom it teaches. That however, is not, the supreme or ultimate test of its work. "In the long run," says Mr. Asquith, "it will be judged not merely or mainly by its success in equipping its pupils to outstrip their competitors in the crafts and professions. It will not be fully judged even by the excellence of its mental gymnastic, or its contributions to scholarship and science. It will be judged also by the influence which it is exerting upon the imagination and the character; by the ideals which it has implanted and nourished; by the new sources of faith, tenacity, aspiration, with which it has recruited and reinforced the untrained and undeveloped nature; by the degree in which it has helped to raise, to enlarge, to enrich, to complete, the true life of the man, and by and through him the corporate life of the community."

Mr. Asquith's conception was realised to some extent by the ancient Universities of India which influenced through students the corporate life of the community. A University should create a bond of fellow-ship, a freemasonry of spirit and of understanding which softens the asperities and survives the conflicts of professional or political rivalry. It must breed courage and honesty, courage not to shirk problems, and honesty in facing solutions whatever may be their consequences.

The Late Bishop of Calcutta.

In the July number of *The East and the West*, Mr. H. P. K. Skipton, F. R. H. S. pays a notable tribute to the memory of Dr. George Alfred Lefroy, late Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India. After describing his early life and how he came to occupy the See of Calcutta, Mr. Skipton says that "the discipline, the self-sacrifice, the idea of duty for duty's sake and the danger of the calling especially appealed to him; and his innate gift of leadership, too, intensified his leaning to a life in which loyalty and leadership counted for so much."

Mr. Skipton concludes with the following tribute:—

"It is difficult to find the right words to sum up briefly the many-sided and yet singularly simple and straight-forward character of the gallant Christian gentleman who has been taken from us, and whom those who knew him, however slightly, will remember to their lives' end."

A Glance at the 'Totem.'

A writer in a recent number of *The Theosophist* makes some interesting observations about the primitive institution of the *Totem* and totemic manners and customs. The totem is more than a symbol or a badge, having an actual vitality of its own, as the reincarnation or vehicle of some ancestral spirit. The ideas embodied in it are most certainly religious in their derivation and are infinitely more ancient than mere totemism as a developed social institution. The word 'Totem' itself seems to be derived from the language of the Ojibwas a tribe of Red Indians living near Lake Superior, and it signifies the symbol or device; the kinds of objects used as totems being seen from the names of the different classes into which the Ojibwas are divided, such as bear, beaver, turtle, eagle-hawk, wolf, etc.

Totemism is purely democratic and not religious in its nature, signifying a treaty of friendship and alliance on equal terms, between a clan or individual and a species of animal or thing. The thing itself is quite a different matter and is undoubtedly held in extreme reverence as the symbol of some divine or great spirit in the past. Believing himself to be descended from his totem, the savage naturally treats it with respect. If it be an animal he will not kill or eat it, sometimes he is not even permitted to touch or look at it. A man may not intermarry with a woman of his own totem. The totem bond is stronger than the bond of marriage or of blood; and in the event of a feud, husband and wife find themselves fighting on different sides and the father's relationship to his son is hardly recognised, the son being of his mother's totem. All the members of a totem look on each other as kinsmen and will defend each other to the last breath. The savage depicts his totemic animal in crude colours and grotesque designs on all his belongings. Dead totems are mourned and buried with as much care as human beings. The tribal totem tends naturally to pass into the anthropomorphic god; and as he rises more and more into the human form, so the subordinate totems sink from the dignity of incarnations, into the humbler character of favourites. Traces of totemism are not confined to N. America and Polynesia, but are distributed and can be detected, over many portions of the globe. Many of the strange devices used by undeveloped peoples are not mere barbarous fantasies, but have beneath their weird and grotesque exteriors, a definite and far-reaching significance.

Reconstructed Penology.

Commissioner F. Booth-Tucker, contributing an article in the current number of *The Social Service Quarterly* says that there are obvious faults in our criminal and penal system which directly tend to the maximisation instead of the minimisation of crime. While the criminal is housed and fed, his wife and children are, in not a few cases, left either to starve or to steal, sell their virtue or commit suicide; while we are at the same time undermining or destroying the man's sense of responsibility for the support of his family. The system of releasing criminals is also defective. In fact the release and subsequent treatment of the criminal are calculated to force him, however unwillingly, into a career of crime. If he receives a severe sentence, he probably abandons the attempt to turn over a new leaf as impossible. The watch words of a perfect penal system should be punishment, reformation, organisation, and improvement. An annual conference of penologists might be arranged which will serve as a check on precipitate changes of policy. Settlements of released criminals may be allowed largely to manage their own affairs and settle disputes and complaints arising among themselves.

The Andamans could be revolutionised by allowing every long-term prisoner to have his family with him; by the simple expedient of releasing him conditionally before the expiration of his sentence and of placing him under the charge of some organisation where he will have an opportunity of getting free from the taint of criminality. This can be done under section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which has been largely utilised for the purpose of supplying jail labour to Mesopotamia and elsewhere, for war purposes. A very useful provision could also be enacted that persons committing certain classes of crime should, at the expiry of their sentence, be committed to such supervision as is suggested above for a fixed period. Or, the habitual might be included in the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act, and compelled to live with his family in such Settlements as Government might provide for the purpose. It is certainly not desirable to force the habitual to live where reformation is impossible, or to allow him to choose his own residence, which will usually be some place from which he can most conveniently prey upon society.

Women Lawyers in America.

To the *Quarterly Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* for December 1918, (London), Mr. William Renwick Riddell, LL.D., F.R.S., Can., Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario, has contributed a very interesting article on "Women as Practitioners of Law." In tracing the genesis of this movement he mentions an incident in which a woman by name Miss Clara Brett Martin had applied to the Convocation of the Law Society of Upper Canada, Toronto, to be admitted on the books of the Law Society. After a little discussion, the Convocation of this Society which examines the candidate and gives a "Certificate of Fitness," decided that they had no power to admit a woman upon their books. Thereupon, at the instance of Sir Oliver Mowat, the Legislature of Ontario passed an Act that "Law Society may in its discretion make rules providing for the admission of women to practice as Solicitors." Miss Martin was duly admitted into the books but, not satisfied with that, aspired to be called to the Bar. Again the Ontario Legislature passed an amendment to the previous Act by giving the Law Society discretion to call women to the Bar. Since that time (1897), there have been several cases of women being admitted as Solicitors and called to the Bar in Ontario. The number of women Lawyers is likely to increase in the immediate future. Mr. Riddell observes :—

"The women who practice Law are not 'wild women'; they are earnest, well educated women who ask no favours but are quite willing to do their share of the world's work on the same conditions as men."

While occasionally one of them has been known to take the brief at a trial, this is not usual; they generally retain counsel for such work and confine themselves to chamber practice. Occasionally a woman takes a Court or Chamber motion, but as a general rule, her work is that of a Solicitor. In my own experience, as in that of judicial brethren whom I have consulted, when she appears in Court or Chambers, she conducts her case with dignity and propriety, exhibiting as much legal acumen, knowledge of the law and sound sense as her masculine *confrere*, and she does not trade upon her sex.

The total number of women Lawyers in Canada is very small, perhaps a dozen in all, but in the United States women have joined in somewhat larger numbers (about 1,200).

Hinduism and Image-Worship.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, writing in the *Hindustan Review* (June 1919) remarks that the worship of images has ever been considered a stigma on the bright escutcheon of philosophic Hinduism and has been condemned by Indian thinkers of all ages from Jaimini to Kabir and from Kabir to Dayanand Saraswathi. Yet it forms one of the integral factors of Hinduism and an indispensable stone in its edifice. The feature that appeals most effectively to the popular and the practical mind is that it makes provision for all grades of men and supplies the need of every kind of devotee. This diversity is not confined to the form of worship; it extends to the object of worship also; and a well-known text says, "For the benefit of the aspirations forms have been assumed for the Formless Absolute."

Before long, the unifying tendency of the human mind asserted itself and olden Hindus gave full vent to the unifying tendency of their minds and rising a step higher towards unity, came to the conception of the Trinity, the number appealing to have been suggested by nature herself. The next and final process is the conviction that above the great multitude of Gods there must be one supreme personality. Such traces of monotheism are found in several hymns of the Rig-Veda. With this conception of the Lord of created things as the Supreme Deity, the monotheistic yearning is satisfied. Whatever is the age when the collection of the Rig-Veda Samhita was finished, it was before that age that the conviction was formed that there was but one.

It is not easy to understand the opposition that has risen against image-worship from within the folds of Hinduism itself. The image-worshipper never believes that the object of his worship is God; it is only his *Ishtadeva*, the desired deity, which appeals most to his heart. But he regards it only as an emblem; something tangible upon which he pours out his devotion. Image worship has been rightly declared as religious algebra and involves after all a mere symbolism. What the worshipper does is neither absolutely useless, nor absolutely wrong. No sane monist can deny that God, All-pervading and Omnipresent is present in the image.

Some Flaws in the Peace Treaty.

Mr. O. H. Herford, writing in the *Positivist Review* (July 1919) raises the question whether the terms of peace conform at all points or in their pervading spirit with those ideals of International Policy which are growing in strength among us. He says trenchantly:—

I do not, in the first place, wish to lay too much stress on the grave violation of several of the "Fourteen Points," simply as a breach of good faith with those who accepted the armistice on the strength of them. The "Fourteen Points" do, I believe, constitute an excellent draft-charter of International principles applied to the present situation of Europe. But scrutiny of the cases in detail was almost bound to compel the most scrupulous of legislators to modify conditions which seemed beyond possible exception when seen from the ideal and detached view point of Washington. What matters more than the breach of faith itself is that the "modifications" are all on one side. Where Germany was to be shorn, or Austria to be carved, justice was done with an inflexibility beyond reproach. And both countries had so much to answer for in the past that the simple undoing of their misdeeds involved substantial benefits. The return of Alsace-Lorraine, the restoration of partitioned Poland, the cession of "Italia irredenta," are all capital gains, and hold the promise, though not in equal degrees, of contributing ultimately to the secure peace of Europe. But it is not irrelevant to ask whether, in any single case, the Allies have carried out justice, thus understood, when it told against themselves. Whether they have not treated "self-determination" as a golden rule when it concerned the former subjects of German domination, but as an ethnologist's craze when it concerned the future German victims of Italians or Poles. Whether France, in recovering her own citizens from foreign rule, has even dreamed of concession to the foreigners subject, in Algeria or Morocco, to her own. Whether England herself, so sympathetically responsive to the autonomous aspirations of the Slav provinces of Austria, has even entertained the idea of a future for similar aspirants in Ireland, or Egypt, or Cyprus, or even Persia, outside the British Empire.

The solution of the Saar Valley threatens to prove as deadly an irritant in the European body politic as Alsace proved in the past. Civil war is already raging in the New Poland, between the German and the Pole,

Islam and the Caliphate.

Mr. Roland L. N. Michell, C. M. G. writing to the *British Empire Review* (June 1919) suggests the building up of a polity which being more enlightened than the Turkish, is still fashioned according to the peculiar Islamic culture. The preservation of the temporal sovereignty of Turkey points either to a confederation of states which formed the eastern portion of the Ottoman Empire or to the separate development of these countries under mandates, protectorates or hegemonies—European or American. There is no desire on the part of Great Britain that such tutelage should mean annexation.

What Mohammedans deplore, it is said, is the political weakening, or further dismemberment of the chief independent Moslem State. As regards the spiritual claims, any loss of prestige can hardly, it would seem, be of great significance. What Moslems will value most will be honest, just, and stable government. The religious duties of the Imamate may be safely entrusted in each State to the Sheikh-el Islam and the Ulama. Should the Imamate, or Pontificate, pass to the Sherif of Mekka, now King of the Hedjaz, whose qualifications are undoubted, it might be for the well-being of el-Islam. Opinions may well differ among Mohammedans on the subject of the impending changes. Whatever the solutions may be, they will evoke the greatest interest in an Empire which includes the largest number of Mohammedan subjects in the world.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS

THE FEDERATION OF INDIA. By Mr. Bernard Houghton. [*"Political Science Quarterly,"* July 1919].

THE SALVATION ARMY WORK AMONG THE CRIMINAL TRIBES OF INDIA. By Lieut.-Col. James Bedford. [*"The Asiatic Review,"* July 1919].

A NEW DEVELOPMENT IN PRACTICAL CO-OPERATION; IS IT THE FINAL TRIUMPH? By Captain J. W. Petavel. [*"The Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal,"* July 1919].

THE PROPOSED UNIVERSITY FOR BARODA. [*"Indian Education,"* July 1919].

THE PROBLEM OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA. By Lieut.-Col. H. R. Crompton, C. I. E. [*"The Agricultural Journal of India,"* July 1919].

INFANT WELFARE IN BOMBAY. By Lady G. Carmichael, B.A. [*"Social Service Quarterly,"* July 1919].

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE. By Late Lajpat Rai. [*"Modern Review,"* August 1919].

Sir Charles Munro on India's War Contribution.

Sir Charles Munro has published a lengthy despatch on India's services in the War. The following extracts will be read with interest :

On the outbreak of war, the combatant strength of the Indian Army, including reservists, was 194,000. Enlistments during the war for all branches of service amounted to 791,000, making a total combatant contribution of 985,000. Of this number, 552,000 were sent overseas. As regards the non-combatants, the pre war strength was 45,000. An additional 427,000 were enrolled during the war, and 391,000 were sent overseas. The total contribution of Indian personnel has thus been 1,457,000, of whom 943,000 have served overseas. Casualties amounted to 106,524, which include 36,696 deaths from all causes. The number of animals sent overseas was 175,000. . . . The inauguration of extensive schemes of irrigation and agricultural development in Mesopotamia made heavy additional demands on India during the year, and the extension of railway in the same theatre continued to make serious inroads on the available rolling stock and material.

Sir C. Sankaran Nair on Grand Committees.

In the course of a Minute of Dissent on the Government of India's Despatch on Grand Committees, Sir C. Sankaran Nair wrote :—

Meetings of Grand Committees should not be of frequent occurrence, nor is there reason why all the official members of the Council should not be available to serve on every Grand Committee. More than one Committee would not be sitting at the same time. Official members are rarely absent from Council meetings. It should not be necessary to swell their number merely with a view to provide different sets of men for different Grand Committees nor out of a feeling of want of confidence in the non-official members to support the Government measure. * Almost invariably a number of nominated as well as elected non official members is found in every Council who do not go with the majority of the elected members. This will be so much more frequently in the Councils of the future. Rid of the official *bloc* and with parties among themselves, there will be much more of division of opinion among elected members and there will be no combination among them and nominated members solidly to vote against official measures.

My colleagues have made a pointed reference to our most recent experience in the Indian Legislative Council which shows to their eye that no non-official members can be relied upon invariably to support a Government measure. A Government measure which evokes such a unanimous and concentrated opposition must be an exceptionally controversial measure, and the odds are at least even that the combined opinion of all non-officials is as sound as that of the Government which seeks to force down such a measure on an unwilling people. In this connection, I may recall the words addressed by Lord Morley to the Government of India. In his Despatch of November, 1908, in which he conveyed his decision to do away with official majorities in the Provincial Councils, he pointed out that when all the non officials are unanimously opposed to a measure, it is very desirable that measure should not be proceeded with, for the time being at any rate. The wisdom of this advice will still more be apparent in future with the growing power of public opinion and the increasing necessity of Government's relying upon the support of opinion. If there is any force in this line of reasoning—and I venture to think that on any other footing there is no *raison d'être* for reforms at all—then we can easily accept the Report Scheme of the composition of Grand Committees as well as the Southborough Committee's recommendation. Given Provincial Councils constituted as the Southborough Committee have recommended, Grand Committees consisting of 40 to 50 per cent. of the total strength of the Councils and including a bare majority of nominated members, can certainly be constituted. The non-official element among the nominated members need not be confined to the nominated non-official section of the Council. It is nowhere stated, in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report that the Governor should not nominate elected members. The Governor would make the nomination *ad hoc* and it is reasonable to suppose that he would select for nomination such of the elected members as he may rely upon. If a legislation removed from the purview of the Council cannot be carried through a Grand Committee with the support of a very few elected members in addition to that of the officials, it must be a bad measure ; and I would unhesitatingly conclude that such a measure which has not a single friend among non-officials, even if they have been elected to the Council, had better not be enacted into law at all.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Hon. Mr. Sastri on the Future of India.

Speaking at the Leeds Luncheon Club on the case for Constitutional Reform in India, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said:—

They (Indians) wanted their country to be raised to a position of equality in the Commonwealth with our self-governing Dominions, forming a contented, a peaceful, and, they hoped, a strong member of our sisterhood of equal States. He was rather interested to find that after a good deal of political trouble and travail of spirit, Irishmen seemed to have realised that in the Dominion status lay their salvation. Unlike Ireland, however, which would probably like to rise to that status at one bound, they in India—he was speaking of the Moderates—would be content to rise to the status by stages. The Bill now before Parliament represented the first of these stages. They considered it was a fairly substantial stage, notwithstanding that they considered there were many defects in the scheme, many gaps to be covered, and many improvements to be made. One clause proposed that every ten years or thereabouts a Parliamentary Commission should go to India, and inquire on the spot as to the precise way in which the political institution had been working, and how the constitution, might be made to enter upon a higher state. He would only allude to two of the safeguards proposed. There was, for instance, ample provision made to safeguard the suzerainty of Great Britain. There was, again, ample provision made for the safeguarding of those economic, commercial, and other interests, which the English people had acquired in India.

Why did they want this big jump in their political status? They wanted it in order that they might develop their own country, and their own people in their own way. England had fashioned and moulded them, and, in fact, fixed the framework of their political constitution; but now the time had come when the national life of India, expanding in all directions, was throwing out so many off-shoots, vivifying the social and religious spheres, that it was impossible for Englishmen, however well-intentioned, or however long they might serve in the country, fully to understand their needs and help them to become one political entity. This task must be accomplished by themselves, under British guidance and advice, but the primary agency must be themselves.

His hearers might ask if they were fit for it. He had no hesitation in saying they considered themselves abundantly fit for it. It would be a reproach to British rule for 150 or 200 years if the fact were at all otherwise. England had done her part so well that she had prepared them, by equipment, educational, political, and social, for the task. Educational establishments of vast scope and profound efficiency had been in operation amongst them for a great number of years and they had produced men of eminence in every walk of life to shoulder any system of self-government that we might devise. Were there no dangers to the stability of the British Empire? his hearers might ask. He assured them that the British hold on India was not likely to be weakened at all under the new regime. Among other safeguards there was provision made for the British being in

charge of the military, the internal police, and the system of justice. There was no possibility of their imperilling the maintenance of the British suzerainty in India. There were many schools of political thought in India, but he hardly knew of any which really thought that the future of India was going to be served by attempting to travel outside the boundaries of the British Empire. They were not fools, after all, because, if they did, they might probably fall into the hands of another strong Power, and probably a Power for which they had no very strong affinity. "We like the British Empire," said Mr. Sastri. "We have developed political consciousness within the British Empire. We have derived so much benefit and we look forward to so much more benefit that you can take it that on grounds purely of self-interest if for nothing else, your Empire is in no peril from the Indian quarter." (Applause).

India, added Mr. Sastri, was still in a backward condition, but they might rest assured that the strength of modern civilisation, the vitality of the new spirit, was too great, indeed too vast, to be turned back by merely obscurantist opposition.

Lord Curzon on the India Bill.

In moving the resolution agreeing to the establishment of a Joint Committee on the Reform Bill, Lord Curzon said:—

Government did not desire unfairly or unduly to hurry the supreme momentous task of the Committee, but India was expectant. Hopes had been raised in India which it was undesirable, unfairly to disappoint. Therefore the Committee should proceed with its labours as expeditiously as possible. He also emphasised that things were moving very fast in India. His idea when Viceroy, was that India was a supreme and magnificent trust. He saw India under a just, efficient and humane government moving steadily forward in the direction of self-realisation, and he was content to watch and to the best of his abilities assist that process. He did not then favour leaps in the dark. He preferred a steady advance in daylight. He supposed his ideas would now be regarded as old-fashioned and his pace slow. He recognised that the temper, attitude and aspirations of Indians had greatly changed and movement had been greatly accelerated by Indian participation in the war and the admission of India on equal footing with the Dominions to the Imperial Conference, Peace Conference and League of Nations. These great and significant steps must be accompanied by a corresponding advance in the power of political expression and recognition of responsibility conceded to Indian peoples.

Education in Travancore.

The Travancore State, observes the *Times of India*, has been making remarkable progress in education during the past five years. Two orders have just been issued. One extends the teaching of manual training to vernacular schools. The Director of Public Instruction, after a consultation with Mr. Green, the organiser of manual training, proposed certain reforms, and these have now been sanctioned by the Government. The Inspector of Girls' Schools in the State had also submitted certain proposals for the improvement of female education, and the most important of these proposals sanctioned by the Government provide that more schools have to be opened. Additional higher classes have also been ordered to be opened. New schools will be established in talukas where education is backward, additional funds being provided in next year's Budget. The opening of industrial technical schools for girls will be considered and a general scheme establishing technical industrial schools in the whole State is now engaging the attention of the Government.

H. H. The Maharajah of Kapurthala.

H. H. the Maharajah of Kapurthala, G.C.S.I., writes as follows in the course of an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* :—

With regard to India, the country, like other parts of the British Empire, is rapidly changing. The British Government has quite wisely taken Indians into its confidence, in order to facilitate reforms, the main objects of which, as a whole, are undoubtedly good. * * *

The Viceroy has acknowledged the practical assistance rendered by the Indian Princes to the British Government in the suppression of disorder outside their own States.

I have offered my troops for the Afghan trouble, but it is now probably too late for them to be used. They fought for Britain in the Afghan war of 1878, with the Tirah Expedition of 1897, while, in the present war, I have maintained a force in East Africa. I was about to send another force to Mesopotamia when the Armistice supervened. All my resources have been at the disposal of England since 1914. It will be remembered that my people fought loyally in 1857.

Although I do not consider that conscription is advisable in India at present, I think that some form of military training would be advan-

tageous. Moreover, primary education should be compulsory. I have myself adopted it, I make it a rule not to employ any outsiders in my State unless in connection with some matter where technical knowledge is essential. Even in this latter respect, I send the sons of my own officials to Europe to become proficient in the technical branches of study. One of my subjects is now studying Political Economy at Oxford. Conditions in the Native States are quite different from those which prevail in British India. In my State, for example, 95 per cent of the officials are my own subjects by birth.

The British connection with India is quite necessary. Reforms and changes are required, but with British statesmanship. The Native States need British protection. My own tradition is to do what I can for England.

Education in Baroda.

The annual report on Public Instruction in the Baroda State for the year 1916-17 shows that in the year under review the expenditure of the Department amounted to Rs. 20,43,086 which shows a decrease of a little less than a lakh as compared with the figures of the previous year. The total number of pupils attending educational institutions was 2,42,066 as compared with 2,49,026 in the preceding year. The decline was most noticeable in the primary schools, but it was more than counterbalanced by the increase in the number of pupils attending the secondary schools. It is to be noted that there is on the average one educational institution for every town and village in the Maharajah's territory and that 90 boys in a hundred of the school-going age and 73 girls in a hundred are in schools.

Mysore and the War.

The report of recruitment operations in the Mysore State since the commencement on 25th September, 1917, to the completion at the end of November 1918, shows that 4,403 men were recruited in the State of which 1,389 were rejected as unfit for military duty and of the rest 1,127 were enlisted in various units of the Mysore Army and 1,887 in the British Indian Army. A sum of Rs. 79,855 was spent on the operations. The Government record appreciation of the work done by Mr. P. F. Bowering, who was Director of Recruitment in the State, and thanks to the Chief Commandant and members of the Central Recruitment Board and others who had rendered service in this connection.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Mr. Gandhi on Indians in South Africa.

A portion of the correspondence that has lately passed between Mr. Gandhi and the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes, Commerce and Industries Member of the Government of India, in regard to the Asiatic Trading Amendment Act, passed by the South African Legislature, has been issued to the Press by Mr. Gandhi. It consists of two letters one written by Sir George Barnes to Mr. Gandhi on the 18th instant reviewing the position in South Africa at length, regretting that protests from the Government of India had been unavailing and assuring him that the Government would consider most anxiously further action to be taken when the full text of the new statute is received, and the other being Mr. Gandhi's reply to Sir George Barnes.

In the course of his reply Mr. Gandhi goes on to give at great length what he considers to be the true position. He writes:—

Do you know that the Indians of South Africa raised an ambulance corps which served under General Smuts in South Africa? Is this new law to be their reward? I ought not to bring in war services in order to secure the protection of an elementary right which considerations alike of honour and justice entitle them to. I commend to your attention the report of the Select Committee of the Union House of Assembly. * *

The Union Government, unmindful of their trust and equally unmindful of their written word accepted the amendment "prohibiting the holding of mortgages by the Asiatics on property except as security for *bona fide* loan or investment and providing that any Asiatic Company which acquired fixed property after the 1st instant should dispose of the same within two years or a further period as fixed by a competent court with a rider that in the event of failure to do so the property might be sold by an order of the Court." I am quoting from Reuter's cable dated 23rd May from Capetown. You will see this completes legalised confiscation of property rights throughout the Transvaal and virtually the trade rights within the gold area of the Indian settlers. There was no evasion of Law 3 of 1885. Indians did openly what the law permitted them to do, and they should be left free to do so. I do not wish to prolong this tale of agony. The Government of India are bound to protect the rights of the 5,000 Indian settlers in the Transvaal at any cost.

Indian Trade in East Africa

A committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau have addressed the Government of India on the question of trade between India and East Africa. They point out that trade could be developed to a very large extent if present disabilities are removed.

The committee state they are given to understand that for some time past colour prejudice, which is responsible for a great deal of mischief, has begun to make itself felt even in East Africa. If the allegations are true, the committee fear that Indian trade in East Africa will be subjected to some sort of harassment as in South Africa. With the removal of all grievances and inequalities there will be a natural development in trade between India and East Africa without any interference from Government, on the lines suggested by Major McKerrow in his scheme for a trading company. While the committee are opposed to the proposal of a floating concern with the assistance of Government, they strongly approve the idea of the appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner to watch and develop trade between India and East Africa. The Chamber suggest the appointment of an Indian with commercial experience.

Mr. Gandhi on Indians in Fiji.

Mr. Gandhi in a communication to the Press under date August 14, states:—Following close on the heels of the cable from South Africa comes one from Fiji which reads as follows:—"Indian Imperial Association regrets Fiji Government postpone cancellation Indian indentures. Association strongly protests prays immediate abolition indenture."

I thought after the Viceregal pronouncement about Fiji that we had seen the last of Fiji indentures with which Messrs. Andrews and Pearson have made us so familiar. It is evident from the cablegram that the Government in Fiji Islands had decided upon immediate cancellation, and that they have now altered their decision and intend postponing the cancellation. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would throw some light on this change of programme. The public are entitled to view with strongest suspicion any postponement of the cancellation of indentures.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Cottage Industries in India.

Mr. P. G. Shah, in the current number of *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* puts forward a strong plea for the preservation and development of cottage industries in our land. Cottage industries can be extended to those cases where the limitations of fashion or pattern provide a fixity of market, where the processes of manufacture do not require either intricate machinery or large financial outlay and where the individuality of the artisan finds great play. Cottage industries are very vital; the Indian Industrial Commission reports very favourably about them. They are suited to the genius and temperament of the people. By a better organisation of these industries, it should be possible not only to keep the artisan in greater comfort, but also to widen the scope of his work.

We should not forget the unwillingness with which a born potter or weaver leaves his ancestral employment and village to join a factory; so strong is the hold of ancient family occupations, partly owing to the constitution of the village communities and of the ties of caste and joint family, that he scarcely loses his connection with his ancestral home. There is no doubt that he would be infinitely more happy in his ancestral environments, where he or his relations own their own house or till their own land, than in the slums of factory life. Apart from attachment to ancestral home, there is the love of freedom, and the dislike of the discipline and of the regular hours of factory life, which are common to all factory labourers throughout the world. Then, there is the great gulf between the factory civilisation and the non-mechanical genius of the people. By temperament and by training, the village-labourer has little knowledge of mechanical appliances; and there is little gain in the use of machinery in the design and manufacture of which the indigenous talent of the country finds no scope. Above all, the tropical climate of this country makes strenuous exertion in factories a heavy strain on the ill-fed physique of the labourer, and leaves him open to dangers and diseases in the slums, which are already reported to be worse than those in European countries.

Taking the olden cottage industries first, we find that handloom weaving of cotton woollen and silk goods supports the largest number of artisans. The hand-loom industry is at present holding its own, and the adoption of technical improvements such as warping mills, fly-shuttle slays and jacquard harness would greatly enhance their material prosperity. The weavers need new improvements in their methods of work, and the spread of co-operation and of education among them can make them go forward vastly. Peripatetic weaving schools, the starting of vocational schools where there is a good demand for handloom factories or for other cottage industries

would also solve the problem. It should be possible to tap also foreign markets especially in the case of artistic productions of cloth or metal or wood or ivory.

There are infinite openings for the manufacture of a large variety of products of the hand-loom, weaving from cotton, silk, and wool; and good progress has already been achieved by Missionary Societies and the Salvation Army Depots. The printing, bleaching, and dyeing of cloth turned out from hand-loom is an industry which awaits development; and so also the manufacture of hosiery, i.e. of the goods made on knitting machines or from knitted cloth, and lace-making. Considerable improvement is necessary in the method of making utensils and other metal-ware from copper, brass, and aluminium. Furniture-making lends itself to a very efficient organisation on a co-operative basis, an example of the possibilities of which is seen at Bareilly. The manufacture of gur has derived special help in Mysore from the co-operative cane-crushing power mill, and is likely to help the sugar refining industry. In most of these cases, co-operative industrial societies would be of great use, and, if successfully managed, may not require further help from the financial syndicates.

The case of new cottage industries and other industries to be started on a small scale cannot be helped very much by co-operation at the beginning. Separate financial bodies which will secure proper machinery and tools and insist on the observance of a particular standard of quality and should ensure continuity of production and market, can easily undertake the development of the following cottage industries—toy-making from metal, wood, clay, etc., brush-making, button manufacture, making of steel and brass nibs and of simple forms of cutlery, of pencils and other articles of stationery, of leather goods, boots, bags, boxes, wickerware, cane and bamboo furniture and fruit preserving. The increasing use of electric supply in many towns and cities should make available a cheap and hand source of energy to the cottage worker and should prove a new impetus to production on a small scale. But the central aim in all these things should be to free the artisan from the tyranny of the money-lender on the one hand and the blighting monotony of factory life on the other.

Indian Industrial and Economic Problems. By Prof. V. G. Kale, Fergusson College, Poona, Second Edition. Price Re. 1-8 To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Re. 1-4.

Industrial India. By Glyn Barlow, M.A. Second Edition. Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "I. R." As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Waste Land for Cultivation.

It is estimated that there are about 112,308,000 acres of cultivable waste available for cultivation but not taken up. If 5 acres are enough to support a family, 22,461,600 families can be comfortably settled. Such an outstanding fact ought to be borne in mind by those who desire the agricultural development of the country. It is only criminal negligence or supineness which can account for such a large territory of arable land lying waste. In no other country will it be tolerated. It is a tantalising figure and its full import must be realised by all those who are interested in the economic development of India. The outlay that may be necessary to bring under cultivation this immense area is sure to yield a steady return and will prove a profitable investment. If it is rendered available for cultivation we can unhesitatingly say that it will not be necessary for any Indian to go out of his country for a living and subject himself to degrading and unjust laws abroad. Or the land may be divided into farmsteads of about 50 acres each as a minimum and sold out as well-equipped farms fit for immediate occupation by the purchasers. Some comprehensive scheme, writes the *Wednesday Review*, will have to be devised to prevent this huge waste which with sufficient outlay can be converted into so much agricultural wealth. Any way it is a problem which can no longer be neglected.

Paddy Cultivation.

A correspondent writing to a Madras Daily on the efforts made by the Travancore Agricultural Department, observes :—

About a couple of years ago, thirty acres out of a block comprising more than 250 acres were ordered to be taken up by the Agricultural Department for experimenting on annual cultivation. The condition of the whole block was very poor. The soil was sour and was not very fertile. Cultivation used to be carried on in alternate years only, and even then the average yield per acre was not more than 100 to 120 paras of grain. The chief defects of the lands were the presence of acidity which burned up the crop in patches and the thick growth of weeds. The object of the experimental cultivation started by the Agricultural Department was to see if the above defects could be removed and the lands made to yield a successful crop annually instead

of in alternate years. The results of the experiment carried on during the past two years are very encouraging and the ryots who were condemning the ways adopted by the Agricultural Department have now begun to follow the lead thus given. It has now been demonstrated in ways convincing to the ryots that the "Nanja" (wet) lands could be made to yield a successful crop annually instead of in alternate years as was the general practice. The first crop raised by the Agricultural Department yielded an average of 134 paras of grain per acre and the second crop as much as 168 paras per acre. The Director of Agriculture says that "the work which the Department is carrying out at Kuppapuram is beginning to bear fruit. The ryots who at first scoffed at the Department are now readily adopting its methods. Liming and ploughing in the hot weather have become a common practice in a large portion of the 'punja' area. Manuring is also being resorted to by several ryots and some have also begun to cultivate their lands annually instead of biennially.

Plant Breeding

Mr. W. Bateson M.A., F.R.S., Director of the John Innes Horticultural Institution, in the course of an article on Plant-Breeding and Tropical Crops in 'Production' says :—

There are tropical crops which, though liable to much cross fertilisation, must be raised from seed. Of these, cotton is one of the most important. To the improvement of cotton, much highly skilled work has been devoted. Leake, in India, and Balls, in Egypt not to speak of plant-breeders in America and elsewhere, working on strict genetic lines, had a considerable measure of success in their attempts to raise new varieties of commercial value. The difficulty is, first to work up the seed to a quantity sufficient for economic purposes, and, if that were effected, to maintain the new variety pure when distributed among the agricultural population. Seeing that the country will of necessity, be full of the old unpurified forms hitherto in use, even a small percentage of crossing must soon lead to serious deterioration. To such crossing, the pollen of some wild form in uncultivated ground near by may sometimes contribute. It is, no doubt, conceivable that two cultivated varieties of apples crossed together may produce a crab, but there is no evidence which suggests that this consequence is in the least degree likely.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Home and the World. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

Readers who are familiar with the *Short Stories* of Sir Rabindranath will be interested in the first continuous novel which he has just brought out in English. The story is told in the form of separate narratives by the three principal actors—Nikhil, a landed proprietor; Bimala, his wife; and Sandip, an agitator in the cause of *Swadeshi*. The plot turns upon the opposing claims of Bimala and her husband of their home life and the world outside as represented by the political activities of Sandip. The problems of domestic and national life are skillfully discussed from the point of view of the three characters mentioned, Sandip being the evil genius who brings discord into the relations of husband and wife, and tries to persuade Bimala that the national cause of *Swadeshi* comes before her home duties. The story gives a vivid picture of Indian life and character.

Hurrish Chundra Mookerji's Writings.

Edited by Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, M.A., B.L., The Cherry Press, Calcutta.

Hurrish Chundra Mookerji was one of the pioneer Journalists of Bengal. He edited the *Hindu Patriot* from 1856 to 1860—a very short period for a journalist but one crowded with events of first importance which called forth his best energies. The renewal of the Charter, the Annexation of Oudé, the Mutiny, the Transfer of the Government to the Crown, the indigo disturbances, the foundation of Universities, the Widow Remarriage Act—these are events of no mean significance in the political and social history of India. This compilation contains select articles on all these subjects and it is easy to see from the vigour and lucidity of the articles how effective they should have been among his contemporaries. It is sad to think that political reputations are so insecure that we know so little of the work of Mr. Mookerji. Mr. Nares Chandra has done well to remind us of the services of this great Bengali Journalist.

The Bliss of a Moment. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar, The Poet Lore Company, Boston.

This is a collection of short poems written in English from the original Bengali. Some of these are extracts from longer poems which as the author points out, are "studies in situations and attitudes,"

The Truth About India No 1. By H. M. Hyndman, India Home Rule League of America, New York, U.S.A.

This pamphlet contains two articles from the pen of Mr. H. M. Hyndman: "The British Raj in India" and "The Economic Basis in India," which are reprinted from "Asia."

The Land they Loved. By G. D. Cummins, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

Kate, the heroine, of this story returns from America to her farm in Ireland. She is drawn back by her love of the land and her love for two of three brothers who were rivals for her hand. She finds that in her absence the two brothers had quarrelled bitterly, and one had died fighting for Sinn Féin and the other for the British in France. Kate's relations with Eugene, the third brother, form the main interest of the book, though its theme is partly that of the tragedy of the Irish soldier in relation to the great war.

India's Services in the War. By M.B.L. Bhargava B.A., (Standard Press, Allahabad).

This book is intended to give an idea of the supreme services rendered by all classes of the Indian subjects during the War that has just ended. It is amply illustrated and will serve as a valuable reminder to those who attempt to belittle her great services. It is neatly printed and well got up.

Report of the Industrial Survey of Travancore. By S. G. Barker, P.H.D., D.I.C. Govt. Press, Trivandrum.

This compilation, which is detailed and comprehensive, gives the Industrial position of the State with various suggestions for improvement. It must prove very useful to all who desire an intimate knowledge of the industrial conditions of Travancore.

Monograph on Shakespeare's Richard III. By Prof. V. Swaminathan, M.A. The Guardian Press, Madras.

It requires some courage to write anything of Shakespeare's plays; for all that research and scholarship can do has been done by generations of devoted savants. But Shakespeare students are multiplying and so are books that treat of him. Prof. Swaminathan's contribution to the interpretation of Richard III is lucid and scholarly and his monograph is refreshingly free from wearisome notes and annotations.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- July 23. Sir Sankaran Nair resigns office as Ordinary Member of Governor General's Council from this day.
- July 24. The Privy Council grants leave of appeal to 21 Indians convicted by the Court Martial at Lahore in connection with the Amritsar riots.
- July 25. The Lieut. Governor of the Punjab, reduces the sentence of imprisonment passed on Radha Kishen, Editor *Pratibha*, from eighteen to two months.
- July 26. The Afghan Peace Conference opened this morning, at Rawalpindi, Sir Hamilton Grant addressing the delegates.
- July 27. The Western India Liberal Association gives a reception to Sir Sankaran Nair on the eve of his departure to England.
- July 28. The Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court dismisses the appeal preferred by the 'Amrita Bazaar Patrika' against the order forfeiting security.
- July 29. A despatch by Sir Charles Munro as to the part played by India in the War is published in a *Gazette of India, Extraordinary*.
- July 30. Public meeting in the Mahajana Sabha Hall, Madras, protests against the action of the authorities in the Punjab.
- July 31. The Servants of India Society gives an At-Home to Sir Sankaran Nair in Bombay.
- Aug 1. Public meeting in Bombay gives a send-off to Mr. Hasan Imam and others sailing to England on the Indian deputation.
- Aug 2. The Indian Troops, who had gone to London for the Victory March are thanked by His Majesty for their devotion to the Throne and the Empire.
- Aug. 3 The Lieut Governor of the United Provinces appoints a Police Committee to inquire into the organisation and expenditure of the Police Department.
- Aug. 4 The Lucknow branch of the Tata Industrial Bank is opened to-day.
- Aug. 5. The Lieut-Governor of the Punjab reduces the sentences passed on various persons in the Amritsar and Gujranwala Cases.
- Aug. 6. Three further Despatches from the Government of India to the Secretary of State in connection with the Reforms are published.
- Aug. 7. The President, Indian Association, Calcutta, cables to the Secretary of State, Lord Sinha and Mr. B. N. Basu generally approving the recommendations of the Crewe Committee while suggesting some changes.
- Aug 8 The Peace Treaty with Afghanistan was signed this morning.
- Aug. 9. H. E. the Viceroy accompanied by several officers leaves Simla on a visit to the troops in the North-West Frontier Province.
- Aug. 10 An informal conference attended by leaders of different political parties and presided over by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar is held in Madras to consider the Reform Bill.
- Aug 11. Mr. Andrew Carnegie died at Lenox, Massachusetts.
- Aug. 12. The Ahmedabad Special Tribunal discharges 13 out of 14 persons alleged to be concerned in derailing a troop train from Bombay to Nadiad.
- Aug 13. Lord Gray of Falloden is appointed Ambassador at Washington.
- Aug. 14 Sir Edward Maclagan held a Durbar at Gujranwala to present rewards to those who had distinguished themselves in the recent disturbances.
- Aug 15 H. E. Sir George Lloyd accompanied by Lady Lloyd visits the Servants of India Society, Poona.
- Aug. 16. Insurrection in Anatolia. The insurgent forces entered Suzuk on the Smyrna-Karahissar railway.
- Aug. 17 A crowded mass meeting is held in Rangoon protesting against Sir Reginald Craddock's Durbar speech.
- Aug 18. The Poona Y M C A holds its annual meeting with H. E. The Governor of Bombay in the chair.
- Aug 19. The All-India Muslim-League meeting at Lucknow expresses its alarm at the proposed treatment of Turkey by the British Government.
- Aug. 20. Sir George Lloyd presides over his first convocation of the Bombay University.
- Aug. 21. The Chief Justice, Bombay, adjourned the hearing of the case against pleaders who signed the Satyagraha Vow and against whom notices were issued.
- Aug. 22 The 25th Madras Provincial Conference meets at Trichinopoly under the presidency of the Hon the Rajah of Ramnad.
- Aug 23. The Andhra Provincial Conference meets at Anantapur with Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao Pantulu in the chair.

Literary

National Anthem Revised.

With His Majesty's approval two new verses have been tentatively substituted for the original second and third verses of the National Anthem and were sung after the original first verse at a recent thanksgiving service outside St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

They run :—

One realm of races four
Blest, more and ever more
God save our land,
Home of the brave and free,
Set in the silver sea,
True nurse of chivalry,
God save our land.

Kinsfolk in love and birth,
From utmost ends of earth,
God save us all,
Bid strife and hatred cease,
Bid hope and joy increase,
Spread universal peace,
God save us all.

The Peace of Versailles.

Mr. S. Parameswara Aiyar, M.A., B.L., Acting Under Secretary to Government and Honorary Secretary to the Travancore War Relief Committee, writes :—

Five years of incessant blood-shed and strife !
Five years of lightning, of thunder and storm !
Oh ! let them vanish and bring back to life
Peace, gentle peace, in rejuvenated form !

Drugged by a tyrant whose milch-cow was man,
Nursed in the lap of the doctrine of might,
Mad Prussia had her own ready-made plan
Of winning the globe when she courted this fight.

She counted with care her material for war,
And launched forth her numberless cohorts abroad;
The scheme of her world-rule was perfect so far ;
Its draw-back was only to count without God !

The burglar of Europe was running amock ;
Time-honoured treaties were ruthlessly torn ;
Belgium was ravished ; and feeling the shock,
Freedom lay trembling, her spirits forlorn.

Britain the bulwark of order and law,
Holding the rain-bow of hope unto all,
Britain, the slumbering lion, soon saw
This menace to man and heard liberty's call !

Hers was no craving for power or for glory ;
No prurience for empire : no thirst after gain ;
As oft before in her thrice famous story
She chose the path that before her lay plain

The right path of duty is cut for the bold
By-honor, by justice, by conscience, by God !
To the glory of man be it blazoned in gold
That this was the path that our Great Britain
trod !

And where is her foe clad in martial array
The eagle with beak— or the serpent with hood ?
Gone, gone like a cloud on a summer day,
With his swash-buckler's impudence silenced for
good !

Oft in this strife between darkness and light
The former some day-dream of Victory dreamed
That dream is past : right is stronger than might ;
Virtue has triumphed and truth been redeemed

And India ! it hath been thy privilege too
To wrest Freedom's flag from her insolent foe ;
To bleed in this war for the cause of the true ;
Oh ! stand fast by Britain in weal and in woe !

Now furled is the battle-flag ; sheathed is the
blade ;
Hushed is the war-drum : and God's sky is blue ;
Peace smiles ; the game that old Germany played
With the hatchet lies buried ; her life will be new.

Lord ! in this triumph, we witness Thy hand
Which hurled back our foemen and humbled their
pride !
Lord ! May Thy mercy descend on their land,
And make them new forces on liberty's side !

Mr. Polak and the "India" Newspaper.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak writes from London under date July 16 :—

From to-day I cease to be responsible for the editorial conduct of the newspaper *India*. During my tenure of office as editor, I have sought to continue my work for India begun many years ago, and to maintain unimpaired the journal's traditions created by Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Gokhale. It is therefore with very real regret that I now find myself debarred from serving India in this manner ; but avenues of service are not wanting, nor shall I be.

Educational

Dr. Fisher on "University Life."

At the Presentation Day of the London University held on May 9, 1919, the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education said in the course of his address:—

One of the great advantages of University life is that it affords the first opportunity which most young people receive of coming into contact with real learning and with the process of discovering new truth. When we are at school we are for the most part fed upon books, and for the most part we accept what we find in books, but when we come to the University, many of us learn for the first time how to employ books, how to criticise books, how to make books, and we are brought into the workshop of knowledge itself. We experience—and this experience is not confined only to brilliant students, it may be shared by men and women of quite humble intellect—we experience something of the exhilaration of discovery. Quite young children, when their curiosity is fresh, and when the world is opening before their eyes new marvels day by day, experience this intellectual exhilaration, and men and women of genius never lose it. But I am sorry to say that in school this instinct for discovery is for the most part blunted, and it is part of the function of a University to quicken it and to bring it into life again. I think it is always easy to trace the impress of the mind of a great original teacher upon the lives of his pupils. When a University student has once been brought within the range of a glowing and fresh mind, utterly disinterested and completely absorbed in the discovery of truth, the impression never fades away; it remains as an animating impulse entering into all the ordinary motives and actions of life. I can never forget how, when I was travelling about in India, I found scattered through the length and breadth of that great continent grey haired men charged with heavy administrative responsibilities who told me that the greatest influence in their lives had been the philosophical teaching of Edward Caird of Glasgow. And, when we are considering what the influence of a University may be, we cannot lay too much stress upon the importance to a seat of learning of a few original seminal minds, casting their seed abroad among their students, when they are at an impressionable period of life. This, Ladies and Gentlemen, is all the more valuable because

the appetite for truth is not very widely diffused. There are far fewer people than we generally imagine who are as a matter of fact spending their lives in the pursuit of truth. So difficult is it to be strong enough to resist the sweet vanities of authorship, and all the attractions of popular appreciation; and one of the great advantages which can be brought back from University life is the acquisition of the habit of exact and careful thinking—a corrective to the slipshod ways of thought which are encouraged in every democratic civilisation.* * * *

Adopt the calling which in your view is likely to contribute most effectually to the formation of your own character. Risk everything for that. Do not be tempted by the snug little post, the safe little income; do not lay too much stress upon the prudential advice given to you by your elders. Remember that the greatest capital in life is your mind and your character, and that, if you take a small post offering no opportunities of development, you may very easily contract yourself down to its exiguous dimensions. You have received a University education. Keep your minds alive, keep moving upon broad lines, and remember that even as a mere matter of prudence, the ten years which succeed the degree are the crucial years in your life. If you spend these ten years in a manner which is calculated to develop your powers to their utmost, to strengthen your character and to enlarge your mind, then merely as a matter of business you will be worth far more to the community at forty than if you took a safe and uninspiring job at twenty-two or twenty-three.

And if you ask me whether I can give you any further piece of advice, it will be this: that the career which is most likely to develop you upon wide and generous lines is the career which appeals not only to the head but to the heart—a career with an ideal in it. There is always plenty of room at the top. Our Empire has great responsibilities. We have difficulty in finding men and women to fill the many responsible posts which are now open. The War, and the Peace which succeeds the War, has not diminished—on the contrary, it has increased—the responsibilities of our Empire. It is one of the functions of a great University like this to turn out every year a stream of students, earnest, trained, filled with civic ideals, who will be able to carry a large and elevated view of life into the business with which they are concerned.

Legal

Lord Sinha on Punjab Sentences.

In the House of Lords, replying to Lord Russel on Aug. 7, in regard to the sentences in connection with the Punjab riots, Lord Sinha announced the commutation of Lala Harkishen Lal's sentence and pointed out that the original sentence was the only sentence which could be given if the accused was found guilty of the offence with which he was charged. He laid stress on the revision and commutations of the sentences and declared that time had now arrived for a revision of the actions, necessarily prompt and probably hasty, which were taken to restore order with a view to ensuring the confidence of the well disposed, that the action had been adequate and not merciless. Mr. Montagu had been constantly communicating with the Government of India by cable and he had every hope that a definite announcement with regard to the promised enquiry would be made shortly.

In this connection it is well to remember that the number of persons tried by the recent Court Martial Commissions in the Punjab was 852 of whom 582 were convicted and 270 acquitted.

The Trial of the ex-Kaiser.

Comparing the Kaiser with the condemned sovereigns in history, Lord Curzon said in the House of Lords on July 24 that there was something picturesque about Charles I, and something grand, almost heroic, in the intellectual scope and imagination of Napoleon. But a man who was not only guilty of the war atrocities, but ignominiously fled from his country immediately it was in difficult circumstances, was a man unimaginable as a hero or as a martyr. His presence just over the German border might be a political danger. All the Allies believed that the ex-Emperor, more than any individual, was responsible for the shocking breach of faith by which the war began. He, more than any other man, was responsible for the terrible crimes disfiguring the war and upon his shoulders for ever more rested the burden of the appalling calamity which had overtaken the world. The Kaiser hitherto had always emphasised the commanding nature of his position. It was difficult from the tenor of his speeches to estimate whether he regarded himself as special protege of the Almighty, or whether the Almighty was under his special patronage. Such a man ought to be tried and judged, and, if guilty, punished.

Litigation in India.

According to the "Statistics of British India" published recently by Mr. Findlay Shirras, the love of litigation in India is so great that in 1916, 2,329,000 civil cases were taken up against 2,226,468 in 1915, 2,055,272 in 1914, and an average of 2,153,000 in the last five years. Suits for money or movable property made up more than two thirds of the total and suits under the Rent Law one-half of the remainder. Relatively to the population Bengal appears to be the most litigious of all the provinces of India; Madras and the Punjab next. The suits instituted in 1916 involved a money value of Rs. 48,75,42,538. Fifty-three per cent. were for amounts not exceeding Rs. 50, and 95 per cent. for sums not exceeding Rs. 500. In the Small Causes Courts 352,097 cases were tried, of which the United Provinces had the greatest number. As regards criminal justice the number of offences reported in 1916 was 1,669,670 in a population of 243,607,034. The number of persons concerned was 2,053,656, and 1,011,210 convictions took place. There was a marked increase in criminality in the year—the convictions increasing from 38 per 10,000 of the population in 1889 to 42 per 10,000 in 1916. These figures furnish us with matters for serious consideration.

Punjab Trials.

The *Bengalee* writes:—

We hope the whole subject of the introduction of the reign of the Martial Law, the establishment of Martial Law Commissions and the extension of their jurisdiction by the skilful device of retrospective effect being given to their operations will come for searching examination before the Privy Council and the proposed Commission of Enquiry. The judgments of the Martial Law Commissions have sprung a huge surprise upon the public as to the way in which the letter and spirit of British jurisprudence were respected and their sentences have been received all over the country with feelings of horror and indignation. The judgment in the Lahore Conspiracy case has been characterised with good reason as the saddest commentary on British Justice. The angels must weep when even judges allow themselves to be swayed by political bias. It is satisfactory to note that Anglo-Indian opinion, not coloured by passion or prejudice, is at last coming round to see the judgments of the Martial Law Commissions in their true light.

Medical.

The Leper Problem.

The Rev. Frank Oldrieve, Secretary of the Mission to Lepers in India, delivered an interesting and instructive lecture on the 22nd July at the Regent's Park Hall, Dacca, on "The Leper Problem and How to Solve It." The lecture was illustrated by magic lantern pictures.

H. E. Lord Ronaldshay, who presided, in introducing the speaker, made a reference to the great service the Mission had been rendering to humanity. His Excellency said that it was a matter for regret that very little attention was being devoted by people to the disease of leprosy, whereas malaria, tuberculosis and other diseases had engaged so much of their attention. Out of a total of more than Rs 44,00,000 of annual expenditure, only a small fraction was received from the public.

There was an exhibition of pictures showing the infectious character of the disease and the relief work that the mission has been carrying on in the different centres in India. The total number of lepers in India was nearly 150,000.

The Rev. Frank Oldrieve said that the disease was not hereditary, but, according to expert opinion, it was infectious. The best way to avoid contamination, therefore, was to keep aloof from an affected person. Without proper care the disease was likely to spread, and by way of illustration he referred to a certain village in which there were now to be seen sixty five lepers in place of only one thirty years ago. The Mission had not only made arrangements for the segregation and treatment of lepers, but it had also some twenty homes for untainted children, where 447 children of lepers were being cared for, educated and fitted to go out and earn their living. The latest methods of treatment were being introduced into the Mission's asylums under expert medical supervisors, and very encouraging results had been obtained in the course of the 44 years of its working in India. The Mission has now 36 asylums of its own with 4,030 inmates. It aided eleven other asylums belonging to the District Boards, Municipalities and other public bodies, and provided Christian teaching in nine other asylums with 1,415 inmates. In concluding his lecture, the Rev. Frank Oldrieve made an appeal for funds, and said that Rs 100 would pay everything for a leper man or woman for a year and Rs. 75 for an untainted child in a home or for a leper child in an asylum.

Treatment of Venereal Diseases

In the current number of the *Social Service Quarterly*, Bombay, Professor K. T. Shah of Mysore writes an article based on the report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, on the treatment and prevention of venereal diseases. He draws attention, to the practice in this country of parents and friends seeking to get profligate young men married in the absurd belief that it will put an end to their profligacy. "In our country," Professor Shah says, "there is the gravest reason to fear that not only does this knowledge of suffering (from venereal disease) not prevent the patient—a male one—from marrying, but is often a direct incentive to hasten the marriage. Parental anxiety to reclaim a misguided youth often leads to the celebration of marriages at the most undesirable moments. And there is reason to suspect that medical advisers in this country, even when they are consulted, seldom take up that firm stand which alone might succeed in dissuading. Cases are even known of medical men actually recommending marriages in order to prevent further mischief."

Influenza Preventive.

A committee of medical men of Madras has recommended the following recipe to be used for inhalation as a prophylactic against Influenza. It is as follows:—Oleum Chinnamoni 2 drams, Liquor Formaldehyde 1 dram, Spiritus Reetificatus, 1 ounce. A few drops to be sprinkled on a handkerchief and inhaled at frequent intervals.

World Conference of Medical Women.

Dr. Hilda M. Lazarus, W.M.S. of Surat has received a cable from New York, dated the 17th July as follows:—"A six weeks' conference will be held here of medical women from all parts of the world from the 15th September this year. All expenses of doctors are assumed by the Association. The conference will consider questions of health and social morality. Strongly urge you to represent India" Unfortunately, the Women's Medical Service is so short of hands that Dr. Lazarus cannot get leave to proceed to New York.

Lemocreme.

During the present scarcity of butter and jam says the *Popular Science Siftings* a very welcome and wholesome substitute is found in "Lemocreme," so correctly styled the "Cream of Curds." It is made under ideal conditions in the heart of the farming districts of Cheshire, where all the year round the eggs and butter are daily brought to "The Garden Factory" at Urmsbot.

Science

British Chemical Industry.

Interesting expressions of view on the national work done by British chemists during the war and on the policy to be followed to prevent any restoration of German supremacy in British markets are contributed to the first number of the *Chemical Age* by a number of distinguished British chemists, chemical engineers, and others.

Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, writes: "To-day the co-operation of science and industry is vital to the welfare of the country. The war has been won by the help of science, and it is only with the help of science that industry can be re-established and fitted to meet the demands that will be made upon it by a world seeking to repair the ravages of four years of conflict."

Professor Henry Louis, President of the Society of Chemical Industry, states: "The war was really based on applied chemistry, for the two facts which enabled Germany to go to war were (1) that an English chemist discovered how to make 'basic' steel from phosphoric iron ores, and (2) that Mr. S. Byde, a Norwegian electrician, had practically applied the English discovery of producing nitric acid from atmospheric nitrogen. It was only Germany's pressing need for nitrates to make her warfare possible that caused her to spend vast sums in the direction of elaborate factories for carrying on these already well-known processes upon a manufacturing scale and thus complete the second link in the chain with which Germany intended to fetter the world."

"I have no fear of open honest competition, but with Germany the position is different, and we ought to profit from past experience. The state of scientific teaching in this country is far ahead of what it is in Germany or anywhere else, especially in scientific technology. I have maintained that view for many years, and this war has proved its correctness. We have applied our science and knowledge to war work for not quite five years, and in that short time we have outstripped the Germans at every point."

D. Charles Carpenter writes: "I believe that if the country had been offered in pre-war days 'cheap' energy from Germany through a submarine cable the Government would have supported the proposal. It is wiser to-day, but the price paid has been a heavy one."

Practical Scientists.

At the Imperial Education Conference called to discuss problems presented as a result of the experience of the Army educational schemes Sir Henry Hadow, Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle, said if sometimes, we, as a nation, were not extraordinarily quick at taking up new ideas, we were, at any rate, fairly tenacious when we had once caught hold. For genius, education could do very little, but for talent, for that very valuable kind of secondary ability, a great deal could be done, and not nearly enough had been done in this country hitherto.

"The great German scientists," he proceeded, "have not, I think, been in advance of the great British and Dominion scientists in inventions or imagination; where the German scientists have gained over us is in this, that when a great man over there has invented, or borrowed, an idea, there rose around him at once a phalanx of people who were prepared to carry it out, work its details to show its applicability, and bring it to practical account."

We wanted in our Universities, and to some extent our technical colleges, a great deal more in the way of material resources and laboratory appliances. That was a point in which our technical education wanted improving.

Growth of Trees.

By means of a clever apparatus for measuring the circumferential growth of trees it has been proved that the growth of trees is greater during the early part of the day than later. Actual contraction has, in fact, been observed in Kew Gardens between the hours of noon and 3 p.m. The measurements were taken with a delicate little instrument which has been invented by Mr. A. Mallock, F.R.S. It is anticipated that the apparatus will be of considerable value in forestry work; especially in tropical forests, as many tropical trees do not show annual rings at all.

The Late Prof. Haeckel.

The death of Professor Haeckel, is a loss to the scientific world. Born at Potsdam in 1834 he was a biologist famous alike for his zoological researches and for his generalisations on biology. Haeckel was the first naturalist who drew up genealogical trees to show the descent of animals and was the leading exponent of Darwinism in Germany. Haeckel's greatest and most popular work is "The Riddle of the Universe" published in 1900.

Personal

Prince of Wales.

His Majesty has accepted President Wilson's invitation to the Prince of Wales to visit America as the guest of the Government on the termination of his Canadian visit about October.

Andrew Carnegie.

The death of Mr. Andrew Carnegie on August 11, removes from the industrial world one of its most prominent figures. Carnegie, who was born in 1837 while yet a boy, went with his family to America and started life as a weaver's assistant in a cotton factory. He changed his vocation soon and became a telegraph messenger boy. He learnt telegraphy and entered the employ of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as a telegraph operator, soon becoming the superintendent of a division. But the turning point of his life came when he joined Mr. Woodruff in organising the Woodruff Sleeping Car Company, gaining through it the nucleus of his enormous fortune. He subsequently became the head of the Carnegie Phibbs and Company and Carnegie Bros. and Company. Both the Companies were amalgamated into Carnegie Steel Company which was afterwards merged into the United States Steel Corporation. His daily income is estimated at £ 5,000. He has given vast sums of money for public benefactions which up to July 1918 amounted to £ 70,000,000. Two of his notable gifts are Carnegie Libraries and the Carnegie Scholarships. He is also the author of a number of publications which are interesting and one of them 'The Empire of Business' has been translated into many languages. Mr. Carnegie was also responsible for the Palace of Peace at the Hague. It was a maxim with him that 'a man who dies rich dies disgraced.' The problem of his later life was to frame schemes to dispose of his wealth. How well he succeeded in this, the world knows.

Lala Lajpat Rai's Regret.

Lala Lajpat Rai writes in "Young India" of New York :—

"I am exceedingly sorry that the Secretary of State's order prevents my going to India and England just when I wanted most to be there. India is in the grip of a terrible famine and the conditions there are very distressing. For the last 25 years of my life I have been taking active part in the work of famine relief and it pains me considerably to feel at this juncture that I should be unable to do anything for my

Events are developing rapidly in India and every Indian who feels for his country and is desirous of taking part in its life must feel that his place is there in the midst of his countrymen and not 12,000 miles away from home in a position of comparative safety, comfort and ease. Personally I am not sorry for having been in the United States during the war, but now I am overwhelmed with a sense of guilt at not being in India, to play my part in the great struggle which my countrymen are carrying on against such great odds. Even the fact that it is through no fault of mine that I cannot go to India just now affords me little consolation. It is a good work to create a world opinion in favour of Home Rule for India but the real field of work is India. Not even the world's moral support can help us decisively. India's freedom must be wrought by Indians themselves and in India. Even if one has to suffer for his opinions he must suffer in India. This war was fought to free the world. Its immediate effect is the tightening of the chains of those who were in bonds before and who were induced to fight for world of democracy. Will the governing classes learn nothing from history ?

Sir M. Sadler on Mr. Sastri.

Sir Michael Sadler addressed the following letter to the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri :— It will be some encouragement and satisfaction to you, I hope, to hear how many people have spoken to me of what they learned and gained by your addresses in Leeds. It means a great deal when people say what they have said about your words and personality. You pleaded for a great cause and did not plead in vain. Difficult as it must have been to you to come, and much as you gave up by coming, I trust that you will feel, as I do, that all your long experience and all that India can give to the West and looks to the West to give her, lay in the background of all that you said both in public and in private, and struck deep chords of sympathy and conscience.

To me who had the privilege of welcoming you as our guest it was a visit to which we shall always look with a sense of realities seem more clearly and of a friendship begun.

Hon. Mr. Mahomed Shafi.

The Hon. Mr. Mahomed Shafi, a well known Lahore barrister and a prominent member of the Mahomedan community, has been appointed a temporary Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

Political

Ceylon National Congress Committee.

A meeting of the Ceylon National Congress Committee was held on Saturday, the 12th July at the Tower Hall, Maradana. The following Resolutions were passed :—

1. This Committee is of opinion that the Reform Despatch of the Governor of Ceylon to the Secretary of State for the Colonies should be immediately published in Ceylon to afford the public an opportunity of presenting their views on the proposed Reforms before any final decision is arrived at.

2. This Committee respectfully requests the Secretary of State for the Colonies to sanction the immediate publication in Ceylon of the said despatch and to grant an interview to a Ceylon Deputation.

3. This Committee authorises the Secretaries to correspond with the Government and to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to secure the publication of the said despatch.

4. This Committee is of opinion that Ceylon is entitled to far more liberal reforms than India and is an excellent field for the rapid realization of full self-government. Such treatment of Ceylon, this Committee believes, will be the surest proof to India and the world of the genuineness of the desire of the Imperial Government to carry into effect the British ideals of liberty, self-development and self-determination for all peoples great and small, whether within the Empire or without, the complicated and difficult problems which arise in India being absent in Ceylon.

DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND.

5. That three or more gentlemen be appointed Delegates of the Ceylon Reform Conference of 1918 to interview the Secretary of State for the Colonies with regard to the proposed Reforms.

TELEGRAM TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

6. That the following telegram be despatched to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies :—

"We respectfully beg you sanction immediate publication of Governor's despatch. We appoint three or more of the following (viz) Senanayake, Pereira, Jayatilleke, Barristers, Professor Wickramasinghe, Father Pereira, Doctor Gabriel and Arthur Silva our deputation. We beg you suspend final decision pending interview. Ceylon entitled to more liberal treatment than India,

being excellent field for the realization of self-government subject to Imperial supervision. Such concession will prove to India and world the genuineness of the Imperial Government's desire for the realization of the British ideals of liberty, self-development and self-determination for all peoples. We pray for Reform on the lines of the Resolutions of the Reform Conference of 1918—Arunachalam, President."

Madras Liberal League on Reform Bill.

The Madras Liberal League has adopted a Memorandum on the Government of India Bill. The Memorandum at the outset states that the Bill leaves too much to rules to be made under the Act and this defect should be remedied by embodying the provisions in respect of the more important matter in the Act itself or by framing the necessary initial regulations in respect of important matters and inserting them in an alternative schedule attached to the Act itself. Among other things the Memorandum states that it should be provided by the Act that the Indian element in the Provincial Executive Council should not be less than the non-Indian element. The status and emoluments of the ministers should be the same as those of the members of the Executive Council and method of appointment should be similar. The subject of education should be transferred as a whole to the minister. The Government of India's proposal for a separate purse for the reserved and the transferred departments are mischievous and objectionable and should not be adopted. Provision should be made by statute that the Indian element in the Executive Council of the Governor-General should not be less than the non-Indian element. Beginnings of the system of responsible government should be introduced in the Government of India also and the subjects of education, public health, commerce and industries are eminently suitable for transfer. In any event the subject of customs and tariffs should be left to the control of Indian Legislative Assembly. The Council of India should be abolished and the Advisory Committee constituted on the lines suggested in Mr Basu's dissenting minute. The Indian Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Councils should be allowed to elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents. The Governor of provinces should be appointed from outside the ranks of bureaucracy. The control of public services should be given to Indian legislature subject to the provision that rights and privileges of the existing office holders shall not be prejudiced by any legislature.

General.

Depressed Classes.

A deputation of the Executive Committee of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, consisting of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar (President), Mr. V. R. Shinde (General Secretary), Messrs Hansraj Pragji Thakors and V. S. Sohoni (members of the Committee) and a number of representatives of the several Marathi and Gujarathi untouchable communities in Bombay, waited upon Sir C. Sankaran Nair prior to his departure to England. Mr. Shinde introduced the members to Sir C. Sankaran Nair and acted as interpreter during the conversation that followed. The following memorial was signed by several members and handed to Sir Sankaran Nair:—

We, the members of the Executive Committee of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, and some members of the several depressed or untouchable communities of Maharashtra and Gujarat, representing our respective communities, beg to request you on behalf of the depressed classes in India to be good enough to represent the cause of the said classes, in your evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee now sitting in England under the Chairmanship of Lord Selbourne and in other ways to enlighten British public opinion so as to advance the interests of these classes. In this connection we wish to bring to your kind notice, especially the following three points:—

WIDENING THE FRANCHISE.

The right should be so extended to the depressed classes as a special concession in view of their special social disabilities and poverty as to lower the minimum limit of their property qualification to a fixed income of not lower than Rs 144 per annum, and that of their educational qualification to having passed the 4th Marathi standard in any primary school recognised by Government. A person belonging to any of the classes described as depressed i.e., untouchable, in the Indian Census Reports for 1901, and being qualified in either of the above ways should be entitled to vote.

DIRECT REPRESENTATION.

The depressed classes should be granted the right of electing their own representatives in numbers proportionate to their respective popular strength in their own electorates instead of Government nominating their representative.

This procedure is as much necessary to secure them direct and effective representation as also to educate them to a sense of civic duty and train them to actively participate in the affairs of their own well being.

RESERVED SEATS.

If the above demands be found impracticable to grant, there shall be reserved in each of the Provincial Legislative Councils at least as many seats for these elected representatives of the depressed classes, as there may be territorial divisions in that province, e.g., at least four for the four divisions in Bombay, viz, (1) Southern, (2) Central, (3) Northern Divisions and (4) Sind; and there should be reserved as many seats in the Supreme Legislative Council as there are provinces, i.e., each province should be allowed to return at least one representative of the depressed classes from among the provincial members.

Sir Sankaran Nair assumed the deputation that he would do everything in his power to promote their cause in England and thanked the members heartily for meeting him.

"Mr. Speaker."

The Speaker of the House of Commons usually gets on retirement a Viscounty, a town house, and a life pension of £ 4,000 a year.

Mr. Speaker's nominal salary is one of £ 5,000 per annum, together with the use of a magnificent residence in the Palace of Westminster. But, as a matter of fact, everything needed for the maintaining of his household is provided free by the Government.

Light, heat, furniture, carriages, horses, and motor-cars, all these are his perquisites, while game is sent to him from Sandringham and Windsor, wine from the Royal cellars, and yearly gifts from the ancient Guilds of the City of London.

The procedure, when a new Speaker is to be elected, is both quaint and formal. The House having assembled, the Chief Clerk rises, and having bowed towards the empty Speaker's chair, turns towards the Prime Minister and, without uttering a word, points three fingers at him.

The Premier thereupon rises and proposes the election of a candidate, who has been previously agreed upon, and the Leader of the Opposition seconds the choice.

The Chief Clerk then turns an old-fashioned sand glass on the table before him, and after a lapse of two minutes, no amendment to the proposition having been made, impressively points three fingers towards the successful candidate.



MR. M. K. GANDHI.

Whose Fifty First Birthday (Sunday, the 21st Sept) was celebrated throughout India. Collections were made in different parts of the country for presenting a purse to him as a fitting token of the appreciation of millions of his countrymen for his saintly character and selfless devotion to humanity.



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The Calcutta University Commission Report

BY

DR. SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARI, K.C.I.E.

LORD Chelmsford in his convocation address at Calcutta last year was pleased to announce that no time would be lost in giving effect to the recommendations of the University Commission provided they were fairly unanimous. The Commission had nearly finished its deliberations following upon its visits of inspection and examination of witnesses had been completed and their report was expected almost every moment. The Chancellor's pronouncement was significant and helpful and the members of the Commission as practical men were interested in seeing that their report was not left high and dry and relegated to dark and misty pigeon holes as Lord Haldane's Commission in London had been and like that of Lord Haldane's predecessor ten years ago. There was every inducement after Lord Chelmsford's pronouncement—it may be called almost a pledge—to sink petty differences of opinion and to evolve a working and practical scheme that would be taken up and given effect to without trouble and loss of time, if the authorities so willed. The Commission, which was supposed to have finished its labours about the time that Lord Chelmsford spoke took further time and the Report was not completed and signed for months afterwards and not till signs of popular impatience were begun to be manifest. Lord Ronaldshay in introducing Professor Ramsay Muir to a Calcutta audience described him as a member of a Commission that had “comfortably settled down in the country” and delay in submission of the Report was elsewhere openly spoken of. When the report was at last completed and submitted to Government editing and printing difficulties were in the way and it was not made available for public use till

after the Senate of the Calcutta University on the initiative of its Syndicate protested against delay in publication though subordinate government officers were seen in public with copies of the report in their hand and apparently working on them.

The government was good enough to explain that the report had not been held back on purpose and that the delay was unintentional and that orders for the immediate publication had been passed before the Senate or even the Syndicate had moved in the matter.

There is no reason to believe that any slur or slight was intended; there would be no occasion for it. The Report was intended for the University and would come to it when Government saw fit and could manage publication. The time was undoubtedly well spent for the differences of opinion among the members of the Commission came to be minimised. The University as such had not been consulted or informed about the scope or the constitution of the Commission or about the terms of reference or about methods of work or procedure. When the Chancellor in the course of his first convocation address announced his intention of appointing the Commission, I from my place as Vice-chancellor gave the proposal a warm and loyal welcome in the course of my address that immediately followed the Chancellor's address. Later on I asked my colleagues and the University staff and University Professors to render the Commission all the help that might be needed. I took the members round the University class and offices, gave them all the information they needed, met them in conference when they desired and generally did all I could to make their work easy and useful. That terminated all the

relations between the University as such and the Commission and the University; it did not even receive an official communication from Government regarding the appointment of the Commission.

That is how University matters had been recently conducted. When the Committee for reporting on post-graduates studies had been appointed shortly before the appointment of the University Commission the University had not the good fortune of being taken into the confidence of the Government or its Chancellor and there had been no consultation or communication between the Government and the University regarding the scope, constitution, terms of reference or methods or procedure of the committee. The Committee met and made its report; there was no communication again with the University as such. No resolution or expression of views or opinion of the Government followed the Report. The Private Secretary to the Rector sent a few copies casually to the University and without any covering letter explaining the situation or setting out the requirements. Even copy of the letter of the Government of India was not sent to the University. The University asked for an adequate number of copies, circulated them among members of the Senate. Thereafter on the motion of the President of the Committee the Senate appointed a Committee of its own that framed resolutions on the lines of the Report which became the Post Graduate Regulations now in force when sanctioned by the government undoubtedly afterwards. On the present occasion the Report of the Commission was made available for the public after the Senate Resolution complaining about delay though *not as a result of it* as the Government of India subsequently explained. But now as before there is no covering letter or Resolution of the Government, no explanation of the situation nor statement of requirements. There is only a short letter indicating that the Government of India (or Chancellor) would be glad to know what the Senate of the University thinks about the Report.

The University will have to go into the whole matter practically *de novo* and it has had no lead that could make its work quick or easy. The Senate has taken the first step—appointed a Committee for suggesting points for consideration and then will follow consideration in Committee and probably in the different faculties and the Senate and the Post Graduate Council—if not in

the Board of Studies and Board of Accounts on special points. All this will involve time and labour which might have been minimised if other methods had been followed.

In the same speech that announced the forthcoming Commission Lord Chelmsford indicated that the Governor of Bengal was the rightful Rector as in other Presidencies and Provinces but he did not like to incur the odium of handing to the new Chancellor any but an institution that had been duly reformed and quite able to stand on its own legs. This would necessarily involve initial financial obligation—and heavy financial obligations—on the part of the Government of India before transferring its duties and obligation to the Government of Bengal. This is satisfactory so far from the Provincial point of view, and this is not negligible. Young people setting up house for themselves while duly thankful to their elders for help, would however like to have things in their way and talk it over among themselves. Elderly obtuseness and cut and dry schemes which might have their objection because of elderly handling, would from this point of view hardly meet the situation. The last University Act regulated and still regulates the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and Lahore. Calcutta will now have its own Act in the same way as Benares and Patna had theirs within the last three years. Are Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and Lahore going to have their old, and obsolete machinery continued while Calcutta has its brand new 1920 model? or is the Imperial Legislature going to tinker the existing Universities Act and make it good enough for the other Universities while the Calcutta organisation is to be perfected? Or is there to be one omnibus Act regulating all Universities as the present Act does and that Act is to be on the lines of the Report of the Calcutta Commission, which indeed visited some of the other Universities but did not necessarily take their problems and possibilities fully into consideration?

And if there are to be separate Provincial machineries on the lines of the Calcutta Report without necessary modification are the Provincial Legislatures going to be allowed to handle and shape them?

If so why not the Bengal Legislature in the case of the Calcutta Act?

These are questions upon which timely lead and light would be of great use.

That the government does not intend to waste time is clear. The Dacca Bill has already been introduced in the Supreme Council. It had long been ready and has been tested by the Commission though the reference to the Commission was belated. It has got the hall mark. It will therefore be probably speedily passed. But it involves principles—some of them new which if adopted will be applicable to other situations, except for a strong reason to the contrary. The Dacca Bill has*it is hoped been more fully introduced—in pursuance to long standing pledge and understanding and because there are no insuperable difficulties in the way, though there are objections, that will always remain more or less. The Bill has not been referred to a Select Committee but has been published merely for eliciting public opinion. The Calcutta University has suggested delay and is of opinion that the Dacca and the Calcutta Bills should be handled together. The early introduction of the Dacca Bill will be useful as indicative of Government views and opinions—views and opinions that will control the Calcutta situation. For this reason as also because East Bengal education is of great importance to all Bengal the situation will be considered with great care and anxiety. It is more than understood that the Dacca and the Calcutta Bills will be handled practically simultaneously and therefore greater interest attaches to the situation than if the Dacca Bill was isolated and detached.

When the Senate Committee of the Calcutta University completes its memorandum of points for consideration, public attention should be concentrated upon them. Captious and spasmodic and ill-informed destructive criticism will not help the situation. They will on the other hand be distinctly prejudicial and hurtful.

In the meantime two things stand out clear. The recommendations of the Committee should not be viewed with distrust dismay or suspicion. There is much in them that is good and practical if adequate resource in men and money be forthcoming. The *Times of India* in a recent issue fears that they will be attacked bitterly from interested quarters. I have seen no indication either of attack or of bitterness yet and I do not know what the "interested quarters" are.

The Hon'ble the Educational Member of the Government of India who recently visited Calcutta and came across leaders of thought of all shades, did not, I am confident, carry away any such impressions. I had many prolonged conferences

with Poona and Bombay leaders within the past few days and I found no trace of the bitterness there. I hope soon to visit Madras and as far as I can gather from friends there is no such indication there either. Whence then did the *Times of India* get its idea, that there would be "bitter attacks from interested quarters." Even the strongest expression of honest conviction need not involve bitterness, nor constitute anything like an attack.

If all India is to be affected by the recommendations of the Commission,—as I think it must be—a small all-India conference early summoned by the Government of India, should precede the completion of the Calcutta scheme. The air will be then cleared up and work made smooth. To neglect this precaution would be a blunder.

Another word, before detailed examination of the individual recommendations is attempted. And that is a word of solemn warning rightly spoken by the *Indian Social Reformer*.

"The Commission have not given due weight to the fact that India is fast changing, through a process of peaceful revolution, in all aspects of life, and that its educational equipment should be such as to enable her to cope with the demands of the new era. And our interests and responsibilities overseas are growing. The Commission conceive themselves to be precluded from going beyond the secondary stage, but their recommendations regarding the use of English at this stage, affect the middle stage (between primary and secondary) which is the stage at which a large majority of Indian students leave off schooling. Should this large proportion go without an opportunity of learning English? The fact is that the problem of the position of English in Indian education is a much bigger one than the Commission have conceived it to be: they had not the materials before them for a comprehensive view of the problem, and only a comprehensive view of it can furnish a right and just solution."

Sir Edward Maclagan like the good strong and brave man that he is—undaunted by untoward worries of which he has received a legacy—has set his Government to consider the situation and has appointed a committee. His experience in the education department must however warn him that Provincial Committees will not solve the situation. An all-India Committee must squarely face it so far as all the Provinces are concerned, for the Commission which was to have been and should have been an all India Commission was not so.

II. PROF. P. BASU.

Holkar College, Indore.

IT is needless for me to say that the Report of the Calcutta University Commission is one of the epoch-making documents in the annals of university education in India, perhaps second in importance only to the Despatch of 1854, and certainly unrivalled in comprehensive treatment of all educational matters. The first three volumes are devoted to an analysis of the educational system of Bengal and incidentally of India, as it has developed in the past and as it stands to-day. The analysis is as brilliant as it is interesting. But one is pained to see such a Commission not being able to do proper justice to the Report of the Commission of 1882. Figures of the growth of schools since 1854 have been taken unwarily and marshalled as an argument for too fast development of the school system without, for example, considering the fact that during that period the whole of the Punjab came under the Calcutta University, and that real university education started, during that period, in the greater part of Central India and the Central Provinces.

The most striking feature of this part of the Report is perhaps the condemnation of governmental direction of University matters. The Calcutta University is not free from interference by the Government of India even with regard to the most minute details. The courses of studies cannot be changed without its sanction, as if there can normally be any body on it who will understand and be in direct touch with university curriculum either in India or of other countries. One recalls with interest the interference by the Government a few years ago when it refused to sanction the appointment of some lecturers months after they had been appointed and at a time when they were doing their work to the satisfaction of the university authorities. The condemnation in the Report is borne out by the evidence of witnesses, particularly that of the engineering firms of Calcutta with regard to the Sibpur Engineering College.

The most satisfactory point attracting immediate notice seems to be the recommendations in connection with the residence of students, specially those of Calcutta. The number is too large to be properly handled either by the University or the colleges themselves or by the combined efforts of both. The result has been that a very large number of students has been living in conditions which can neither develop their body or mind nor can give them a healthy moral outlook so essential for the creation of the

future man of society. I am particularly glad to see that the Report recommends the immediate handling of this problem even though its other recommendations may not be attended to. But it seems to me that the calculations of the commissioners in estimating the decrease in the number of students in Calcutta owing to intermediate colleges being established at all possible centres—the policy of educational decentralization as we may call it—is too optimistic. If all the Reforms that are recommended are given effect to—and it cannot be done piecemeal—and if most of the mofussal colleges, new and old, are bound to remain for some time less efficient, it is difficult to see how students, who can afford to come to Calcutta, will be kept at the mofussal centres, unless of course drastic measures are taken by prohibiting, as a rule, immigration into Calcutta of mofussal students. This again will obviously be inadvisable. This dispersion of students all over the country will take a long time to operate, as long as and perhaps more than the time by which mofussal colleges will be sufficient in number and sufficient in work. Perhaps by that time the usual growth of education will bring up the number at Calcutta to its present level. I think therefore that the Report is too optimistic in estimating this reduction in number. To this extent its constructive recommendations as to residential arrangements at Calcutta are vitiated.

The Dacca University scheme is distinctly an improvement on that of the Dacca University Committee. But one is surprised to find, in the Dacca University Bill introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council, that Jagannath College is left out of the new University. So, Dacca will be educationally divided, one part forming itself into a typical university, the other being left to drift as best as it can with the Calcutta University. Perhaps the object is to allow for the difficulties incidental to the period of transition. But this could have been provided by combining the intermediate classes of Dacca College and Jagannath College into a separate intermediate college under the Calcutta University or, better still, by attaching intermediate classes to some of the schools; there are so many good schools at Dacca.

When we come to the Calcutta University itself we are apt to be disappointed a little. The Reforms proposed are a compromise with the fixed structure already existing. The attempt at developing harmony between the colleges

and the University is ingenuous but cannot, in all circumstances, be said to be sure of success. A grave defect is that the colleges may have, to the extent of a large proportion, teachers unrecognised as such by the University. In some colleges it has been the custom to engage teachers by the month or the year at the lowest possible salary. The evil is notorious in Calcutta colleges, as the Report also recognises. Will not this recommendation lead such colleges to continue this practice with greater freedom?

What I view with distrust is the too complex machinery of university control proposed by the Commission. There are so many Boards, Councils, Court, etc. often with interests that are overlapping that it will tax the energy of more than one able man devoting all his time to the University. Perhaps this is provided by the recommendation of a paid Vice-Chancellor of superior attainments with the high pay and status of a Calcutta High Court judge.

The least convincing part of the Report is the reform suggested for the examination system. The analysis is brilliant and the evils patent, but the remedy proposed is not at all satisfactory. What will prevent the student from reading, under the new regime, only for examination? It is difficult to suggest a remedy to uproot the evils lying so deep in the present system without, at the same time, demolishing its really good features. Our hope lies in the fact that the Boards of Studies and of Examiners will devise some method for that. But the constructive proposals of the Report do not suggest any thing for their guidance in this respect. This seems to me to be a serious omission in a cyclopaedic work like the Report.

The proposal for a separate board of secondary and intermediate education is a really good one, and we may hope that it will bring about an efficient school system which will be as much the goal of ordinary education as it will be preparatory to the university course. But the relation between the Board and the Director of Public Instruction's department is not clear. The Report recognises

the evils now arising out of conflict between the University and this department. But unfortunately it does not recommend anything. The notes of dissent on this point perhaps make it worse by suggesting government control of the new board with a university constitution without such. Thus either the government department should be merged into the new board or it should work as a subordinate agency to the board organizing primary education only.

Finally I think that the mufassal colleges are left in an uncertain position. They have heaven or hell to choose between with no other alternative. Either they are embryo universities or they are schools. In the near future, as the Report observes, there is very little chance of any—at least not more than one or two—developing into a university. If so, their prospect is to come under the new Board. It will be too costly for the country if, with the present financial resources, the mufassal colleges aspired to be universities and then failed. It will be taken as a too sure sign of want of educational zeal and activity if they do not at least attempt to be universities. The resources of the University are bound to be spent mostly at Calcutta, as indeed has been recommended by the Commission. So, the mufassal colleges are expected to be aspirants to future universities with all the chances of landslips in their attempt. This is bound to create dissatisfaction and lead to individual effort and consequent financial waste which we can ill afford to view without concern. A clear cut principle for the development of the mufassal colleges seems to be imperative at the present stage.

Here I have pointed out some of the defects which struck me while reading the Report. The analysis (Vols I-III) is very thorough and sound, but the recommendations (Vols IV-V) are unfortunately less so. On the whole, however, I should think that the Report presents a constructive scheme of root and branch reform which, taken roundly, will appeal to all as one that is necessary and practicable for the regeneration of educational vitality in the Presidency of Bengal.

III. DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D.

I have been kindly asked by the editor to express my views upon the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. I am sorry my present pre-occupations do not allow me the time needed to master the voluminous literature embodying it. For the present I content myself with a brief presentation of the bearings of the report upon the

Mysore University. It will appear that some of the Reforms suggested in the Report have been anticipated and perhaps suggested by the Mysore University. The most important of these is that connected with the securing of higher level of capacity in the students seeking admission into the University. The device of the intermediate college as proposed in the report to secure this

end is somewhat difficult from that already given effect to in Mysore. On this point the following extracts may be quoted :—

It is instructive to observe that one of the Indian Universities, and that the youngest—the University of Mysore—has already taken tentative action along the lines suggested by our correspondents. It has organized six of the best High Schools in Mysore so that they may be able to take part of the work hitherto included in University courses; and has provided that 'no one shall be permitted to present himself for the University Entrance examination unless he has studied for a year at one of the Collegiate High Schools recognised by the University after he has successfully completed his High School course.' Though this does not go so far as some of our correspondents recommend, it goes further than any other Indian University has yet gone. (Vol. II: p. 352).

The movement for the creation of the new University (of Mysore) originated in a healthy desire to break new ground.

In the first place the work of the first year of the old college course is to be conducted in a few specially selected High Schools. . . . We believe that the foundations of the new University have been truly laid and that school boys and college students alike will benefit by the new departure." (Vol. III: p. 306).

Next the Report insists upon suitable arrangements to develop the social life of a University. On this point the Mysore University is already ahead of the Report, as will be seen from the following extract :—

We warmly endorse the proposal for the foundation of a University Union on the lines of those at Oxford and Cambridge, as a general social centre for student life; and we think, with the Dacca University Committee that all members of the teaching staff and all the students should belong to it. We saw an admirable institution of this kind at the recently founded University of Mysore. We also approve the proposal to establish a professors' club." (Vol. IV: pp. 225—228).

The report also recommends that the teachers as a class should have a larger voice in the direction of academic policy than can be secured in the existing constitutions of the Indian Universities. On this subject, though the constitution of the Mysore University does not completely realise this recommendation, yet it is an advance upon the constitutions of other Universities in this regard. This is acknowledged by the Report in the following terms :—

How widespread is the feeling that great changes are needed in University organisation in India is shown by the fact that in the constitution of the three most recent Universities—Benares, Mysore and Patna—there have been notable departures from the pattern of which the existing constitution of Calcutta University may be taken as the type.

In all cases an attempt has been made to give to the teaching body a large voice in the direction of academic policy.

The University of Mysore is very similar in its constitution to the older Indian Universities, having

a senate of not less than fifty and not more than sixty members; but it departs from existing practice by giving seats on the senate to the University professors ex-officio. (Vol. III: p. 222).

The Commissioners have declared themselves against the provincial barriers isolating the Universities. They say :—

The signs of isolation is reacted unfavourably both on the Universities and on the teachers. The prospects of the teachers should be widened by hopes of more fruitful service, if necessary, by promotion and transference to other Universities; and the practice of inbreeding is also unhealthy for education generally. A University or College which depends almost entirely on the service of her sons is in serious danger of stagnation and extreme conservatism. An infusion of new blood is always desirable.

During recent years the University of Calcutta has made efforts to combat this evil. It has attracted to its service scholars of repute from other parts of India; and the Bengal Government have been fortunate in the inclusion of some talented Indians from outside the Presidency among its educational officers. Bengal has also been willing to give the services of her scholars to other provinces; for we have met a number of Bengalis serving under other Universities. The newer Universities at Benares and Mysore have also gone far afield in the recruitment of their teaching staff, and with successful results. (Vol. III pp. 294—295).

Thus even in this important matter the organisation of the Mysore University has won its legitimate reward of commendation.

In conclusion, it may be noted that one of the most important of Reforms recommended by the Report, namely, that connected with securing proper material for University education, has been due in Mysore to the initiative of one of her best educationists, Mr. Thomas Denham M.A. (Oxon) who suggested it from his unique experience of Indian education extending now nearly over three decades. The Reform was first pressed by Mr. Denham in the preliminary scheme drafted by him for the University of Mysore upon which so high an academical authority as the Educational Secretary to the Government of India, the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, recorded his warm approval in the following terms :—

Instead of outside colleges Mr. Denham proposes High Schools, preparing pupils for entrance to this University at the minimum age of 17, the abolition of the Intermediate examination, the curtailment of the University course by one year and a system of annual examinations spread over a three-year's course, (page 50). In these suggestions (save perhaps that of annual examinations) I heartily concur. This will be a far more perfect scheme than having any outside second-grade colleges. The difficulties inherent in a scheme which seeks to achieve two incompatible ends will be avoided. The colleges will be purged of the school-boy element, the presence of which is so much complained of by professors whether of Government or privately managed institutions.

§ IR Michael Sadler and his colleagues on the Calcutta University Commission have placed the Indian educational world under a deep debt of gratitude by their monumental report which promises to become one of the land-marks in the history of Indian education. As a mere contribution to educational literature, the report should rank very high, independently of all considerations of its usefulness to the solution of the pressing problems of to day, in the University of Calcutta, or in Indian Universities in general. The writers of the report have wisely gone to the very foundations of all the questions that have come within their purview, and have laid down in every case, in the clearest terms, the ultimate aims and ideals which ought to be kept in mind. It is not often that Government Blue Books contain such lucid exposition of principle and such unswerving adherence to noble purpose, and extend their vision far beyond the removal of present difficulties. It should, for instance, be possible to compile a very handy text-book of education of the most inspiring kind, with extracts from the five volumes which have been issued. In my opinion this is the most valuable aspect of the report which should therefore make a special appeal to the student of education.

Without any idea of underrating the value of the recommendations made by the Commission, I should venture to express the opinion that the first three volumes, containing an analysis of present conditions are more valuable than the remaining two volumes which actually lay down the measures which ought to be taken for the improvement of educational conditions in Bengal. Problems of education have often their roots deep in the social and economic conditions of the land and receive their moulding as much from the operations of the accumulated racial inheritance, as from those of the *Leitgeist* and are therefore most difficult of understanding by foreigners sojourning for a season or two in the country for the purposes of a Governmental enquiry. Enlivened by profound sympathy and breadth of spirit the members of the Calcutta University Commission have however accomplished the task. This will not surprise at least those who have had the privilege of coming into contact with the presiding genius of the body, the wonderful personality of Sir Michael Sadler. Lamenting the death of Goethe, Matthew Arnold said of him in his *Memorial Verses* :—

He took the suffering human race,
He read each wound, each weakness clear,

And struck his finger on the place,
And said—Thou silest here and here.

And in this kind of work, in the diagnosis of the actual evils of the educational conditions of Bengal, the report is all that can be desired. The perception is as critical and unerring as the statement of the case is sober and in good taste.

Having occasion to enter elsewhere, into an elaborate examination of the details of the report, I will only draw attention here to a few *directions* in which the recommendations seem to stand in need of modification. In the first place, the constitution proposed for carrying on the work of the University is unnecessarily complex and if carried into effect, is sure to clog action. A Board of Secondary Education to manage High Schools and Second grade Colleges all over Bengal including the laying down of courses and the conducting of examination, is not a very attractive prospect of work and efficiency. Nor is it desirable to complicate the machinery by adding two parallel bodies to the Senate and the Syndicate, one of them, the Court to contain several 'hundreds of members' It is true that the constitutions of our Universities stand in need of liberalising so as to bring them into more living touch with the community, but it should rather be by increasing the elective element in the Senates and also by providing for the representation of non-academic opinion on them, than by complicating the machinery in the manner contemplated by the Commission. There are besides a bewildering variety of permanent Committees suggested by the Commission which will prove a serious encumbrance to progress.

It was probably not expected of the Commission that they should have had a scrupulous regard for the financial obligation involved in their recommendations. It has always been the privilege of Secretarial experts with Government, to give a gentle quietus to recommendations of Commissions under the inexorable authority of Finance. But the recommendations of the Commission will mean an amount of financial responsibility which will be difficult of solution. The province of Bengal, especially the land-holders, can probably bear some additional taxation, but it is doubtful if proposals in the direction will receive any welcome in the province. It must however be said in fairness to the members of the Commission, that they are perfectly conscious of this disability and have therefore suggested that the reforms should be carried out into effect by instalments, so that in a few years, the educational

system of the Province may stand in rejuvenated strength striking out new paths of progress.

It only remains for the other Universities in India, to take up the matter for their consideration with regard to their own educational affairs, so

that they may benefit by the findings of a report which is sure to be for a long time to come, the most authoritative exposition of the conditions of Indian education and the ablest solution of its some what complicated problems.

THE INDEMNITY BILL.

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

And so the Indemnity Bill has been passed. The protests of all sections of the public have been in vain. It is but the barest truth and it would be wrong to conceal the fact that the Indemnity Bill has rudely shaken the faith of the people in the British sense of justice. The method and manner in which the Bill was introduced in council, the indecent haste with which it was hurried through, and the specious arguments advanced in its favour by its official sponsors have disgusted not only the Indians but a good section of Anglo-Indians as well. *The Indian Daily News*, a leading Anglo-Indian daily of Calcutta has thought fit to observe as follows :—

"The 'debate' now proceeding at Simla is a fair sample of the way India has been governed in the past. The Government adopt an attitude and defend that attitude to the last gasp. They accept nothing, listen to nothing and decline to budge. They do not listen to Mr. Crum or Mr. Sarma or the 'resuscitated' Pundit. They get the Associated Press to give a full account of Sir William Vincent's 'testy' speech as 'Capital' calls it, which is, in their opinion, so convincing that it has only to be read to be accepted as Gospel. Of course, it is not; for it is merely an angry gabble but Simla sticks to its opinion and lives on in the fools' paradise that Simla has always been."

Another Anglo-Indian paper, the *Looker-on* published in the same city writes more trenchantly still.

The session has been a memorable one for many reasons, and will go down to history as the occasion on which unlimited white-washing was done, or sought to be done. The Frontier Blunderers have been plastered with praise by the Viceroy. The Punjab Blunderers are to be indemnified against the findings of the Enquiry Committee. Both attempts at coddling bureaucrats,—at protecting undeserving fools from the slings and arrows of outraged public opinion,—are as futile as they are unwise. And the sequel to the Punjab affairs is the greater political crime, for it is the more foolish. The high-handed doings of the officials in the Punjab, the light-hearted manner in which the Viceroy, gave *carte blanche* order to Sir Michael O'Dwyer to repress the so-called rebellion, the proclamation of martial law and the scandalous and outrageous orders promulgated under it, the arrest, the imprisonment of aged and honoured public citizens and the indignities and cruelties to

which some of them were subject, the flogging of students, the compelling of innocent citizens to crawl in a public lane where an English lady had been cruelly assaulted by a wretched infuriated mob, the absence of a word of regret for such barbarous actions, the appointment of a commission of inquiry by the very authority whose doings have been severely called into question, the refusal to answer in the Imperial Legislative Council a series of interpellations carefully prepared by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, which *prima facie* suggest grave official misdoings, and to crown all, the passing of an act of Indemnity to protect the very officials against whom the injured have a right to proceed, these and other ugly episodes prove once more how utterly irresponsible is the Government of India as at present constituted and what imperative and immediate necessity there is to make the Government really responsible to the people.

Many grave mistakes have in the past been committed by the authorities; some of them have happily been forgotten, but it will be long before the memories of the cruelties and wrongs inflicted on the people of the Punjab by martial law administration are forgotten. In the name of justice and in the best interests of the British Empire it behoves the authorities to proclaim a general amnesty and adopt other measures to regain the confidence of the people. We sincerely hope that the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab who has already begun a change of policy in the right direction will pursue his work, undeterred by the cry of "prestige."

The sorest spot in India to-day is the Punjab and the saddest hearts are there. It is heart-rending to read in the papers the accounts of the tale of desolation and despair prevailing in hundreds of homes in the Province where the administration of martial law has had its many victims. We earnestly trust that the stirring appeal for funds in aid of the sufferers in the Punjab will meet with a very wide and generous response.

The Language—Medium of Instruction.

BY

RAO BAHADUR K. B. RAMANATHA IYER, M.A., F.M.U.

MILTON'S cynical remark that her one tongue was enough for the woman is capable of a wider application. The fewer the languages one has to learn the less time one has to devote to the mastery of what is only a fool for learning. In the conceivable situation of a world dominated by a single nation, believing itself as alone the *élite* of the earth and its language as the only fitting one for universal culture, there might be the utopia going forth that all the various peoples ought to accept its language as the only medium for the transaction of business and for conveying thought from one to another. If there should be enough dragooning and disciplining, mankind might go back to the unilingual stage preceding the Babylonian confusion. Whatever philologists might urge regarding the inherent tendencies of man to diversify his speech, rigorous education would go a great way towards preserving its unity. And for purposes of thought and intellectual advancement, this single—speech world would be more advantageously placed than the present polyglottic Babel. There would be less of the mere study of words and more of the study of things. Such a chance there was really for the world but the *Entente* powers most ignorantly interfered and defeated the consummation of educational reform in this direction and there is to be for sometime to come the continuance of the word-chopping education because of the diversity of tongues.

If, however, language is regarded as something more than a mere tool and as in some fashion enshrining the genius of the speaker, there is sure to be an eager desire to keep it alive and make it flourish exceedingly, rendering it more and more adequate for the needs of the growing spirit of man. This point of view will explain why Charles V rejoiced on his mastery of new languages: it meant for him taking down the walls that separated him from the thoughts and the feelings, the hopes and desires of his fellow-men. Mastery of one's own language means entering on the full inheritance of the spiritual path of his race or nation and the mastery of another is annexing the like heritage of the stranger, the only annexation that does not leave any bitterness behind it. As things are, much of what is called education is, for the majority of those who get the benefit, the study of the mother-tongue and,

perhaps, of another language and the final achievement an imperfect mastery of these. Perfect mastery is the result of native aptitude and painstaking culture and language as other artistic tools can be satisfactorily handled after a great deal of preliminary training. It is wielded with power and beauty only by the well-dowered few.

Any ambitious standard of language acquisition is, for the ruck of us, out of the question. There must be no difficulty with regard to the medium of instruction in the normal condition of things. The mother-tongue is the only natural medium we can think of. That is the *pon sto* whence the world of knowledge has to be moved in. For the mass of men to whom the wherewithal to be clothed and the wherewithal to be fed are matters of pressing concern, and they form the majority everywhere, the language they hear from the lips of their mother is the only one to learn. If from gabbling brutishly, inarticulately and coarsely, they learn to use words articulately and with refinement and in a way adequate to express their purposes, it is so much to the gain of humanity. If further they learn to interpret rightly the symbolism of the alphabet and use the symbols for reading and writing they make further progress in mental culture. With nothing more than a proper understanding of his mother-tongue, with such opportunities as he had of oral instruction, the Athenian attained to a pretty enviable level of intellectual advancement. If the world should consist of a number of autonomous countries, with homogeneous peoples, in well defined geographical areas, using distinctive languages fairly equipped for purposes of civilised communication, there would be no problem to discuss as to which language must serve as the educational medium. If South India be composed, say, of two 'Tamila' and 'Telinga' provinces, the peoples speaking Tamil and Telugu, each a political entity with no more relation to the outside world than they might bear to each other, Tamil would be the medium as the language of instruction in Tamila, and Telugu in Telinga. Similar statements may be made of other parts of India like Bengal and the Maharashtra and the Punjab. It may be conceded at once that Sir Rabindranath logic is irrefutable (Vol I, p. 227 of the Calcutta Commission's Report). The deepest and the most intimate things of the heart are learnt through

the mother tongue; language study as such is a costly acquisition and leaves less energy to spare for the study of things that really matter.

Coming to the question as a matter of practical politics, for the elementary grade of education terminating for the ordinary pupil at about 12, the medium must be the mother tongue of the pupil. There can be no difference of opinion on this point. There is, however, another on which we may not be agreed. What exactly is the function of education in the lowest grade? Who are to benefit by it? Is it for the exclusive benefit of those who, under the present arrangement of things, are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, doing the rough work of the world? Are the elementary schools to be the counter part of the 'Volks Schulen' of Germany with no chance for the better endowed pupils to work their way up to the higher grades? Are the grades to be isolated pyramids or are they to be different parts of a ladder? The idea most in favour seems to be that the better type of students should be given scholarships and exhibitions and thus enabled to pursue higher courses of studies. In South India educational authorities favoured the 'pyramid' theory at one time but there has been some relaxation since and pupils may pass on from the elementary schools to the middle and high schools. In order that such advancement in studies be not hindered we would suggest that the vernacular language should be studied under teachers trained in up-to-date methods of language instruction. The pupils must be carefully drilled in phonetics with special reference to the mother-tongue. A knowledge of the phonetic value of the International Alphabet can be easily made a part of the acquisition in connection with the phonetic drill. An elementary knowledge of spoken English would form part of the course or it might be made optional—from the 2nd or 3rd year. A much better type of the elementary grade teacher and a much better paid one alone can do justice to the work assigned to him. The training schools must equip him with the needed knowledge of phonetics with reference to his vernacular and 'spoken' English. And what Mr. Wood says with regard to the training of the Primary Teacher in England may be applied *with the necessary changes* to the teacher's special language:

"I feel that the mother-tongue should be the chief subject of his training. Not the niceties of English Grammar and Analysis, nor the more specialised re-

finements of English Philology, but a broad and humane study of English as a means of expression. The primary teacher does not read enough, does not write enough, does not speak enough. It would be well for him if he were soaked in English literature from Chaucer to Stevenson and Kipling."

Trained by such Teachers, the pupils would begin the secondary course in a more advantageous manner than now. Those that might go out into the world for the practical training in the rough work of the world would be a manlier, a womanlier set.

What should be the medium of instruction in the secondary course? What is the rôle to be played by the mother-tongue of the pupil and by English? And is there to be any basis for further language acquisition in the high school classes? If in European countries there are the claims of the modern languages and the classical, here in India there are those of English and Sanskrit and Arabic. In the secondary course we deem it necessary for all pupils to carry on the study of two languages, and when the more ambitious parents or parents require it, of three. The first in importance will be the mother-tongue. And the student may be expected to make sufficient progress in it and be qualified at the end of the high school course to appreciate the best available modern literature as also the great poets of the earlier period. He will be able to express his ideas in intelligible and correct modern speech, a happy mean between the pedantic and the vulgar. With regard to the proficiency in English, the start the pupil has had in oral English must be continued and specially trained men—adequately paid as a matter of course—must be made to teach English according to the direct method which has been adopted by all earnest teachers of the modern or classical languages.* It would be an advantage if the work of the earlier English course be regarded as the more responsible and dignified work and the later work in the higher classes be assigned to comparatively fresh accessions to the profession. The instruction in 'information' subjects would go on in the language of the pupil. Mathematics and Science, Geography and History would be taught and in due correlation and in the best up-to-date manner and teachers would use when convenient English technical terms and not go in search of Vernacular periphrases as difficult as their English equivalents. With regard to the additional third language it is a question for the pupil concerned

* Vide Moore: Educational Reconstruction last No. International Journal of Ethics.

either to treat it as an alternative for something he gives up or an 'extra' outside the regular curriculum.

Those who wish to discontinue their studies after the school course may go on with Science and allied subjects, the instruction and textbooks being in the Vernacular languages throughout that stage: as a corollary the same languages must be allowed for the purposes of Examinations. With regard to other students there would be from the 4th Form a difference in the course of studies. Composition and the study of language and literature would form the items of the Vernacular language course common to the whole school. Other subjects will be studied by those proceeding to the University with the help of books in English and the instruction will be in English. A three years' carefully laid out course in the 'direct' teaching of English must enable the Fourth Form boy to read books, in easy English, on Indian and English History and Science, books of the kind now in use among pupils of his standing. Considering the enormous value set on proficiency in English, very few students would prefer to study their subjects with the help of their mother-tongue, once they feel they are well enough equipped to use English books. At any rate there may be two parallel courses of instruction through two different media in History, Geography, Science and Mathematics; with two final tests. Those that desire to matriculate for the University Studies will take their papers in 'English' in subjects other than the mother tongue or their third language.

The Scheme suggested above seems the best adapted not only to secure the advantages of Education being imparted through the pupil's mother-tongue but also to avoid the inconvenience of postponing the acquisition of English to a very late stage and thus leading to the imperfect mastering of the language that is to figure so largely in the University course. The basis of permanent acquisitions that have to serve through life are best laid between 8 and 14. Much exaggeration is indulged in with regard to the overtasking of the pupils' energy in the preliminary task of the language acquisition. What Quintilian said of the youth of his days is still true of the young Indian pupil:

"The temper of boys is better able to bear labour than that of men. For, as neither the falls of children when thrown on the ground, nor their crawling on hands and knees, nor, soon after, constant play, and

running all day hither and thither, inconvenience their bodies so much as those of adults, because they are of little weight and no burden to themselves, so their minds likewise I conceive suffer less from fatigue because they exert themselves with less effort and do not apply to study by putting any force on themselves, but merely yield themselves to others to be formed."

With proper teaching the High School boy must show at the end of his course advanced enough proficiency in his mother-tongue corresponding to that shown by the American High School Student in English. Further studies in the language must be more or less self-directed under the guidance of University teachers—in cases where the student matriculates for higher studies. As regards English he must speak and write in clear and fairly correct English; he must be able to read and understand modern English writers of average difficulty. This is not too high an attainment for the Student who has been pursuing his studies in the High School. He must be able to pursue his University Studies following with intelligence the lecturers on the several subjects.

The ordinary Indian Student beginning his School education at six will have completed the primary grade of Education in his twelfth year. And his High School course may be expected to occupy him till his 18th year. A further interposition of 2 years for the intermediate course will be unnecessary. An additional year at a "Collegiate" School as in Mysore will do if the High School certificate cannot be accepted as proof of intellectual maturity.

Much of the dead set made against English by critics of education in India is due to a kind of chauvinism that consciously or unconsciously sways the Indian and the Englishman alike. The Indian naturally echoes the patriotic indignation of the Chronicler of the Conquest:

I ween that there be in all the world countries none
That hold not to their own speech save England
alone.

The ascendancy of the English language irritates the Indian as much as the marriage ring seems to irritate the new woman symbolising, as it does, submission to the dominant partner in life. This hypnotic surrender to the Western cult there has been enough of. He must get out of the cage, out of the magic circle of the prime enchantress. The ingress to the new land of freedom for the spirit is through his own mother-tongue.

On the other side the Englishman is nettled at the novel spectacle of the multitude of Indian pupils made to study Shakespeare and Milton, to

spout Shelley's lyrics and Byron's dithyrambs to maunder over 'Maud,' to subtilise over 'Saul'. Is there any reality behind it all or, what is more likely, do they play parrots? He is half amused, half indignant much as the Pandits tolerant perforce might witness the spectacle of a class of Bilgrami's chanting the Vedas and the Upanishads. Is there not a great deal of labour wasted? Mere sowing of the wind yielding by and by a crop of whirl-wind! Don't we see already the pernicious effects of this unnatural method of education in politics? Caliban has learnt the 'lingo' and he is voluble in imprecations.

Both these classes of critics from totally different motives deprecate any intensive culture in English. Let there be no non sense, no pretence about the proficiency of the Indian in English. Let it be plainly understood that a working knowledge of English, something higher than the butler's, something lower than the Madras clerk's is the thing to secure.

The Indian must be reminded that every thing distinctive of the renovated India of to day and of its legitimate ambitions is directly traceable to the inspiration derived from that literature whose influence is so decried at present, that we have not yet come to the end of our schooling in Western Arts and Sciences, that wholesome appreciative contact with English literature has a suppling, re-invigorating effect on our literatures, that when sound political tissues are forming out of heterogeneous elements it is suicidal folly to cut off that spiritual circulation so essential for healthy development, that unalloyed good must result from an adequate provision for the spread of the requisite knowledge of English in the different grades of School and College education and for the assimilation of the best spirit of its literature among the peoples of India; that in the curriculum of studies the position of the mother-tongue has been properly recognised and that there is ample scope for the most intensive and extensive study of vernacular literatures. The other class of critics will see that it is too late in the day to begrudge a gift that can be kept without so much as "By or with your leave," that the only chance of keeping back the infectious spirit of English literature was to have Brahman-like made a mystery of what is now as common as the vivifying breath of heaven, that there is plenty of good sense in what Sir Francis Younghusband, no flabby sentimentalist, says about the ultimate goal of India as the promotion—among peoples fusing into unity

under the genial warmth of the new forces—of a life of vital affection and the enjoyment of beauty in nature and art, a life of "staunch comradeship, ardent friendship and tender home-likes,"* that nothing will so materially contribute towards making the goal attainable as keeping the channels of thought and intelligent sympathy between England and India open and free from choking weeds that are only too sure to gather.

There is one thing to which a brief reference must be made. The Commissioners give an accurate account of the position assigned to the vernacular languages from the earliest days of educational reform. The choice was between English and Sanskrit or Arabic as the medium of instruction. The vernacular languages, everybody agreed, had not sufficiently developed to serve as proper vehicles of instruction. Except Brian Hodgson there was no serious advocate of the claims of the living languages as media of education. Macaulay threw the overwhelming weight of his advocacy in favour of English and in the circumstances he was perfectly right. Adoption of Sanskrit or Arabic as the medium would not have resulted in that vernacularisation of knowledge which alone, in Hodgson's words, would liberate men's minds.

From the first there was no faltering as to the position of the living languages of India: even Travelyan admits that the instruction of the mass of the people through the medium of their own language was the object to be kept in view. The Public Instruction Committee records on the 7th March, 1836: "We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed." Since then consistent attempts have been made by Government to improve the position of the vernacular languages and with heartier co-operation from the professed admirers of our own culture, there must be better results to show.

After all it is not the distressing case of the embarrassed lover who cries:

"How happy he would be with either
If t'other charmer were away."

The lady-languages have absolutely no jealousy, And the lady with modester pretensions gains immensely by association with the clear-eyed experience and ripe wisdom of the other.

* Our Aim in India, *The Nineteenth Century*. February, 1918.

The Future of the Ottoman Empire.

A SYMPOSIUM.

The feeling amongst the Mahomedans in all parts of the World is growing more anxious and agitated every day at the very idea of the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. In India meetings have been held in Madras, Bombay, Allahabad and other leading towns protesting against such a proposal and appealing to the Peace Conference not to commit such a blunder in the settlement regarding the Turkish Empire. We are in entire accord, with the sentiments expressed in the address recently presented to the Premier of England by Lords Amptbill, Islington and Carmichael, Mr. Charles Roberts, Sir Theodore Morrison, Sir John Hewett and others and we earnestly plead that Turkish Sovereignty in Asia Minor and Thrace may not be abolished. We are glad to give below a further instalment of the views of representative Mahomedans on this subject.—(*Ed., I. R.*)

The Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan.

THE future of the Ottoman Empire is a topic of absorbing interest to Mussulmans all over the world. The Turkish peace settlement has not yet been made, and the question of the Turkish settlement is really too delicate to be handled satisfactorily by Indian Mussulmans who as loyal subjects of the British Crown have to realise their sense of serious responsibility in the matter. In this instance, our responsibility is two fold. As British Indian citizens, we have little political relation with Turkey or any other foreign power. We may, however, wish well of Turkey and her future. In the next place, our natural sympathies with Turkey arise from religious considerations. As co-religionists and members of the great Islamic brotherhood, we stand related to the caliphate of the Sultan of Turkey. In this sense I share the strong feelings of my co-religionists that the independence and integrity of the caliphate should be preserved. It has also to be remembered that the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire as suggested by some of the greedy allies will probably affect the honour and prestige of the caliphate. Hence Indian Mussulmans with the rest of their co-religionists all over the world are anxious to maintain unimpaired the supreme dignity of the caliphate. "While we do not challenge," said the British Premier, "the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised and neutralised, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national condition." The interna-

tionalisation and neutralisation of the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea is a matter the full significance of which is hardly realised by those Indian Mussulmans who desire the restoration to Turkey of all her lost possessions. Further, the restoration of conquered territories, chiefly inhabited by non-Turkish peoples, is a matter which ought to be decided by the Peace Conference. Opinion, however, is divided as to whether the separate national existence of countries, like Arabia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine is compatible with the Turkish Suzerainty over them in Asia-Minor and Thrace. While recognising separate governments in these provinces, each of them practically independent in its internal affairs, Turkey can yet retain her Suzerainty over all of them.

Since sentiment plays such a large part in the affairs of men that it cannot altogether be ignored, the religious sentiments of the eighty million Mussulman subjects within the British Empire, not to speak of the vast millions outside it, ought to count, when the peace delegates conclude their deliberations with regard to the final settlement in a just and honourable way of the Turkish peace terms. I do hope and trust that great Britain, as the largest Moslem power too in the world, will in the generosity of her international or World policy come to the rescue of Turkey in an evil hour and save her from falling to pieces. The feelings of Indian Mussulmans in the matter, I am glad to be able to write, have been duly represented by the Government of India to whom our grateful thanks are due both to the members of the Peace Conference and the authorities in England.

The Hon. Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy.**Moulvi Raffi-ud-din Ahmad.**

We have heard with consternation that the Turkish Empire is going to be broken up. Constantinople is to be internationalized. Constantinople is the seat of the Khilafat and any interference with this Metropolis of Islam, which has been so for the last four hundred years, will be resented by the Moslem World. It is full of mosques and is in all essentials a Moslem City and must not be internationalized. If other nations desire any facilities they should ask for them through the Turkish Government. The British Prime Minister has also given, what must be regarded as a solemn pledge, that Turkish Sovereignty shall remain intact so far as Constantinople and other places where Turkish people predominate are concerned. * * * *

Now, we come to Thrace. The population of Thrace is predominantly Turkish, some 8 to 11 per cent. of Greek and other nationalities. I ask the Powers that be, on what grounds Thrace is proposed to be made over to the Greeks. Is it on grounds of self determination? According to the principle laid down, every nation is to be given the choice of self-determination, and if this principle is to be observed with regard to Thrace it must decide in favour of Turkey. * * * *

Now, I come to the fate of the other provinces of the Turkish Empire about which we are told that mandates are to be given to different European powers, for instance Hejaz, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. If these provinces are able to manage their own internal affairs just like Australia and Canada, under the British suzerainty, there will be no objection to the Turkish Government allowing them to manage their internal affairs as they wish. But, why should the Turkish Government not have the Mandate for them? First of all the claim is that they belong to Turkey. The second claim is that they are mostly inhabited by Mussalmans, and lastly, these places contain the Holy places and Shrines of Islam, to which Mahomedans from all parts of the World flock in number, and the Sultan being the Khalif of the Mahomedans, he alone should have the right of the Mandate for them and no one else. If it be urged that any interests of the non-Mahomedans, are to be safe-guarded in these provinces, this can safely be managed by mutual arrangement between the Turkish and the Allied Governments.—[From a Speech delivered at Bombay.]

If the Turkish Empire is divided into different Provinces, and if the Provinces are put under the mandate of different European Powers, the result will be that Turkey will be reduced to a small Power. We do not object to the right of self determination being granted to the people of the different Provinces of the Turkish Empire, but these Provinces containing the Holy Places, of Islam ought to be kept under the suzerainty of the Khalifa who shall continue to be the Protector of the Holy Places and the Defender of the faith of Islam. What is required by us is that the temporal power of the Sultan should not be diminished. Besides we have strong reasons to apprehend that the solemn pledge given by Mr. Lloyd George on the 5th of January, 1918, on behalf of the whole British Empire in reference to the renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish by race, is not going to be redeemed. Is it consistent with the principle of self-determination to allow Grecian troops to occupy Thrace and other lands whose population to the extent of 89 per cent. is Turkish by race? Would not the principle of self-determination degenerate into a mockery if such acts were to secure the seal of approval from the Peace Conference?

As I have said just now, Indian Mussalmans have no objection to the principle of self-determination to be granted to the peoples of Hejaz, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. But those Provinces which contain the Holy places of Islam ought to remain under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey. The Provinces should not be cut off from the body of the Turkish Empire and their mandate should not be given to any European Power but Turkey. The proposal to internationalize Constantinople is also inconsistent with the principle of self-determination. This Metropolis of the Turkish Empire which has been the seat of the Caliphate for four hundred and sixty years contains a population which to the extent of ninety per cent, is Turkish by race. Besides Constantinople is studded with many architectural monuments and religious Institutions of Islam. These and other conflicting reports which have appeared in the Press have given rise to intense anxiety, agony and suspense among the Indian Mussalmans and we are therefore justified to request our Government to announce the condition of Peace with Turkey.—[From a Speech delivered at Bombay.]

INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON

MR. C. F. ANDREWS, whose sympathy with Indian aspirations in general and whose keen understanding of Indian labour problems in particular, are well known, recently paid a visit to Ceylon as the representative of the Madras Provincial Conference and the Ceylon Workers Welfare League.

Mr. Andrews was asked in particular to report on the probable effects of the new Labour Ordinance.

He has accordingly visited both tea and rubber estates and has seen and spoken with "officials, planters, kanganis and labourers." It is hoped that his views on the new Ceylon Labour Ordinance which we here cull from his interviews and statements in the press may be read with interest and satisfaction.

In the course of an interview reported by the Madras Publicity Board, Mr. Andrews points out that he had seen and heard things which convinced him that there had once been only too much justification for the bad repute attaching to Ceylon's treatment of emigrant labour. His enquiries went to show that the rest of the past difficulty lay in the indebtedness of the cooly to the estates and Kanganis. He found that not only did the cooly suffer from this system but the estates found it ruinous to their interests. Now it was clear to him that unless this indebtedness was totally done away with it was hopeless to look for any redemption. The abolition of the cooly's indebtedness therefore is the key to the solution of the whole labour trouble in Ceylon. How does the Bill propose to remedy this defect? Mr. Andrews warmly supports the drastic terms of the Bill:—

"Any debt owing by an immigrant labourer to an employer or by any such labourer to a Kanganny or by any Kanganny to an employer, and any security held or given in respect of such debt, shall be and the same is hereby declared to be extinguished and not recoverable by any process of law, in any court in the colony.

"Immediately upon the passing of this Ordinance the Governor shall appoint a Commissioner to enquire into the debts owing by the immigrant labourers to any Kanganny and by any Kanganny to any employer.

"The Commissioner may, upon such evidence as he, on his absolute discretion, may think reliable, fix, by order in writing under his hand, the amount due by any such labourers to the Kanganny and by any Kanganny to the employer.

"The amount so found due by any such labourers to any Kanganny shall be a debt owing by the employer to such Kanganny, and shall be payable by such

employer in such instalments spread over five years, as the Commissioner may, by his order, direct provided that any debt owing by the Kanganny to the employers shall be set off against any debt owing to the Kanganny by the employer under the provisions of this Ordinance, and such order shall be only in respect of the balance, if any, owing by the employer to the Kanganny.

"As from the commencement of this Ordinance, no transaction based upon credit given to any immigrant labourer (while registered under this Ordinance) shall, except as in this Ordinance expressly provided, be enforceable by any employer or Kanganny as against any such labourer."

There are also clauses which prevent the burden of indebtedness accumulating. But there is no use of all this if nothing is done to arrive at a minimum wage and limit the hours of labour. These should be done by organising labour on right lines. For no real improvement is possible so long as the daily wage of the labourer is below the level of subsistence. But the greatest blot on the system is yet to be removed. The penal laws under Section II of 1865 still remain unrepealed. Its provisions are as follow:—

A servant refusing to work without reasonable cause or guilty of drunkenness, wilful disobedience of orders, insolence, or gross neglect of duty or who shall quit his employer's service without the prescribed month's notice, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three months or with fine not exceeding Rs. 50 or with both and a servant making a false statement as to his former employment, or denying his former employment, shall be punishable with a fine of Rs. 30 or with imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months, or with both.

Mr. Andrews very rightly urges that these should be deleted because criminal prosecutions for labour offences were out of harmony with modern labour legislation.

Says Mr. Andrews: The Government of India have already declared abolition of penal clauses for labour offences to be their policy and in the Crown Colonies of Fiji, Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana these penal clauses, making labour offences criminal have been abolished. The same will have to be done in Ceylon and the E. M. S."

It only remains for us to add that the authorities in India and the Government of Madras in particular should take the earliest opportunity to remove from the statute book penal provisions relating to labour offences.

AN INDIAN SHEPHERD

BY

THOS. D. CORNELIUS

THE waning sun in mantle bright
To western regions sped ;
The twinkling stars their glimmering light
Upon the darkness shed.

From hole or break the bat appeared,
Each bird its turret sought ;
Sweet smiling moon to bless she neared
The peasant's weary cot.

His lowly hut of ages old,
Beneath a spreading tree,
Was mansion decked with beaten gold,
For there his soul was free.

His daughter there her hand-loom plied,
A damsel young and fair ;
And there did twenty men abide
And there the fowls repair.

Obscure the rustic board was spread,
With frugal fare prepared . .
The children's clatter o'er their bread
The bleating lambkins shared.

They slept. He dreamt—at kings he frowned,
He mounted Everest peak—
But when he op'd his eyes he found
Himself a farmer meek.

'Gain rattling leaves sang him to sleep,
Up rose the Morning Star ;
The chanting cuckoo broke his sleep
In silvery tones afar.

He led the sheep, his dog withal,
To walk the beaten track ;
He whistled the straying brutes to call,
For oft they tarried back,

Now all his dress was tunic bare,
His head a turban topt ;
In flowing masses fell the hair,
A crook his shoulder propped.

Beside a winding crystal brook,
A sylvan hill behind,
His little flock the shepherd took
To tend, his lot assigned.

And there a pallet rude he spread,
The cattle grazing slow,
The summer sun above the head,
Wide meadows green below.

He took the flute, his feelings sprang,
(The streamlet shyly rolled)
Of thousand household gods he sang
Of mighty men of old.

He bathed in bubbling waters by,
The daily work was done ;
And then as though to bid good-bye
All ruddy shone the sun.

With fondest thoughts of homely ties
The father's heart was stirred :
His children flitted in his eyes,
The infant cry he heard.

The weary party homeward steered,
The cowherd, cattle, hound ;
The village boys the old man jeered
And scared the sheep around.

Day in day out the shepherd wrought
With mind and hands so strong.
He died and found his lonely cot
His sires and sons among.

Taxation and Financial Administration under the Mughals.

BY MR. GULSHAN RAI, B.A., LL.B.

(Prof. of History, Sanatana Dharma College Lahore.)

FROM time immemorial a very important portion of public revenues in India has been raised from land. The Mughal system which was first defined and brought into shape by Raja Thodar Mall, divided culturable land into four classes. The 1st class *Polaj* was annually cultivated for each crop in succession and never allowed to lie fallow. The 2nd class *Parauti* was left out of cultivation for a time in order to allow it to recover its strength. The 3rd class *Chachar* was left fallow for three years, and the last class *Banjar* was land uncultivated for five years and more. Out of the first two kinds of land, $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the produce of each sort represented the share of the State. When lands out of cultivation were brought under the plough for the first time the full land revenue of $\frac{1}{3}$ rd share of the produce was not demanded at the start. In the case of *Chachar* lands the Government share was $\frac{1}{5}$ th in the first year, $\frac{2}{5}$ th in the second year, $\frac{3}{5}$ th in the third and fourth years, and the ordinary $\frac{1}{3}$ rd in the fifth and subsequent years. In the case of *Banjar* lands brought under cultivation, only one or two acres of grain per bigha of land were demanded in the first year, five seers in the second year, $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the produce in the third year, $\frac{1}{2}$ th in the fourth year, and $\frac{2}{3}$ rd in the fifth and subsequent years. The cultivators had the option to pay land-revenue in cash or in kind, according to their convenience. Originally the cash values of land-revenue were determined every year by the local officers. But this method was found to be attended with considerable amount of inconvenience both to the State officials as well as to the cultivators. This system was also liable to much corruption on the part of officials of state, causing oppression to the Agriculturists. So this method was given up, and under the reforms of Raja Todar Mall a Decennial Settlement of cash values was first made. Under this Settlement an aggregate of the actual collection for the past ten years was formed, and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment. After the expiry of five years this assessment was made permanent. Though theoretically this settlement was liable to revision but actually as a matter of fact we know that it was revised after long and irregular periods. In Bengal, for instance, the settlement of Todar Mall made in about 1582 was revised in

1658, for the first time, and in 1722 the second time.

But land-revenue, though a very important source of public revenue, has never been the only source of income to the state in India. From times immemorial taxes have also been levied. They were known by the name of *kar* in Hindu period, and *Jihat*, *Sair Jihat*, and *abwabs* in the Mahommadan period. These imposts were either custom duties, or transit dues on merchandize, or taxes on sale of houses, market places, persons, cattle, trees, professions, and manufactures, fees and royalties charged on marriages, discount on the exchange of coins, fees on fishery rights, and manufacture of salt, lime, and spirituous liquor. Some of these taxes were imposed by the Central Authority, at Delhi, others by the provincial governors, while still others by the district officer. In modern phraseology some of these imposts were Imperial taxes, some provincial rates, and other local cesses. So long as the Central authority remained strong, provincial and local rates were kept within proper limits. But when after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Central authority became weak, there remained no check on provincial and district rulers to increase the number as well as the rates of such imposts. It was also during this period of disintegration of Mughal power in India that the land-revenue settlements of the Central Government began to be seriously interfered with. Originally these settlements once made remained permanent. But as resumption of *Jagir* lands, and increase or decrease of culturable land, due to river action, occurred every now and then, and conquests brought new districts under Mughal rule, settlement records were occasionally revised. When under the successors of Aurangzeb, the Central authority became too weak to enforce obedience to its orders in keeping taxation within proper limits, and when the provincial governors also, in order to become independent, were at this time, trying to increase their resources, fresh settlements were made with the district officers. Assessments of land-revenue were increased, *Jagir* lands were resumed to a greater extent, and local imposts, formerly excluded from revenue rolls were now included therein. In this period provincial rulers enhanced land-revenue settlements, not strictly on the usual basis of land produce, but on

arbitrary basis, fixed on the ability of local officers to pay. When in the middle of the 18th-century, the provincial authority also in its turn became weak, and could not enforce payment of revenues from the district officers, the settlements began to be fixed entirely on the basis of actual realizations. This gave rise to the notorious system of farming so well known in the earlier years of East India Company's administration. Such was the state of taxation in the country when the English merchants of the East India Company arrived on the scene.

In order to enforce this system of taxation the Mughals made use of a Financial machinery which can conveniently be studied in sections. The financial work of the Mughals, was distributed among different classes of officers. One set was entrusted with the actual collection of land-revenue, and taxes. They were also the chief executive officers of the territories under their jurisdiction. Another set was to supervise and see whether the executive officers collected proper amounts from the people and accounted for the revenues under their control, properly to Government. This set of officers was also entrusted with the custody of all records showing amounts of land-revenue due from each land-owner, and taxes from the people residing in each district. The third set of officers was charged with the custody of Government money, who were also required periodically to submit accounts to Government.

In our survey of the functions of these different sets of officers, we have to begin from the village, the unit of administration in all Indian Governments. But at the outset it must be pointed out that the Mahommadan administrative machinery did not change the earlier Hindu system of Government, beyond the *chakla*, *sirkar*, or *zillah*. Throughout the Mahommadan period the system of government in villages and in *parganas* was essentially Hindu and left untouched by the rulers. The Mahommadans did not trouble themselves much about the constitution and administration of villages and *parganas*, so long as revenue and taxes were paid regularly and peace and order was maintained in such areas. In every village a *mukaddam*, *patel*, or *choudhri* was to generally superintend village affairs, settle disputes of the inhabitants attend to police questions, collect land-revenue and other taxes within his village and to summon and preside at the village *panchayat*. Originally this officer was elected by the heads of all land-owning families in the

village or a section of the village, but subsequently it became a common practice to choose the *choudhri* from the same family. By the time the Afghans established their rule in India this officer had become practically hereditary. The *pargana* officer and the government generally recognised in him a leader of the village community. Consequently it was he who was held responsible by government for payment of land-revenue and taxes. He was therefore required to enter into a contract with the *pargana* officer to pay Government dues on behalf of the village community. He was at the same time held responsible by the Government for the maintenance of peace and order within the area under his jurisdiction. For these services the village headmen was originally paid by village land owners by an assignment of land within the village. But subsequently for work done on behalf of government his income was supplemented by allowance by the state of some percentage on land-revenue realized by him. This percentage was deducted by the headman from the village collections.

Along with this village executive officer, but independently of him there was another village officer also, the *patwari*, whose main duty was to maintain the records and keep the accounts connected with land-revenue. But at the same time he was also the chief financial and ministerial officer in the village. He was required to maintain systematic records of all facts affecting the economic and industrial life of the village. In a way he was the master of village statistics. For submission to higher authorities he was to prepare statements, showing the proprietary occupancy and other rights of individuals in village lands whether cultivated or fallow. The simple villagers could enquire from the *patwari* as to what amount of land-revenue or taxes was to be paid by each individual. Originally the *patwari* also like the *choudhri* was appointed by the village land-owners, and paid from village common lands, usually by an assignment of land. But subsequently for work done in collecting statistics for the use of government, the state also supplemented his income by allowing him a small percentage on the value of goods manufactured in the village. In fact he received a share from government duties levied on manufactured goods.

Above the village was the circle, *mandal*, *halqa*, or *zail* which consisted of a number of villages grouped together. The collection of land-revenue and taxes in each circle was in charge of a *tahsildar*. The maintenance of peace and order

in the circle was entrusted to a thanadar, and the inspection of village records and the preparation of circle accounts was the work of a Darogha or inspector. The thanadar was appointed by the Foulidar and was responsible to him for his work. The tahsildar and the Darogha were appointed by the pargana officer. The tahsildar collected land-revenue and taxes from the village choudhries and helped the thanadar, in supplying recruits, in the apprehension of robbers and dacoits, and in the supply of criminal intelligence. The thanadar helped the tahsildar in the collection of land-revenue and taxes from defaulting choudhries and by lending the services of sepoys under his employ. These civil officers *i.e.*, the tahsildar and the Darogha were paid by the pargana officer either in cash or by assignment of lands in the pargana.

Above the circle was the pargana itself. Originally each pargana was administered by a Zamindar, Talukdar, Kardar, or Deshmukh. He was either a representative of some ancient Hindu Rāja confirmed in the administration of a part of whole of his ancestral territory by the Mahomadan Rulers, or he was a government contractor, who in recent years had acquired the chieftainship of the pargana by inserting himself in the place of the original one by inheritance, purchase, or mere force. This chief was answerable for transmission to government of the sovereign's portion of harvest in the pargana, in kind or in cash, and under the Mughal government, at least, his functions were expressed in writing by the terms of his *Sanad* or patent of appointment. On the death or removal or retirement of every chief an heir to the deceased, or successor to the office was required to present to the sovereign a petition for appointment. This petition was to be recommended by the provincial governor and to be accompanied by a report signed by him showing the circumstances attending the death or removal of the previous chief, together with other general information about the pargana territories. On the receipt of the petition thus forwarded, and report of the provincial governor, the Emperor, if favourably disposed, required the petitioner to enter into a written covenant and sign the necessary *machalka*. In this covenant all the duties and obligations of the pargana chief were enumerated. On the execution of the *machalka* the petitioner was required to enter into an agreement to pay into the royal treasury a *Peishkash* or royal fee, which may be looked upon in the light of a succession duty. He was also at the same time

required to pay up all balances that may have been due as arrears. In consideration of the *Peishkash* and the agreement to pay up the arrears, and the execution of the *machalka* the Imperial *Sanad* or patent of appointment was granted to the petitioner. In this patent of appointment all the duties and obligations enumerated in the *machalka* were recapitulated, and at the same time his rights and privileges were mentioned therein. On the grant of this *Sanad* the petitioner forthwith entered upon the duties of a pargana chieftain. The following were the most important functions of this chieftain :—

1. He had to pay up forthwith the *Peishkash* agreed upon.

2. He was to pay up the arrears as shown due in the Government papers.

3. He was to pay the annual assessment each year at the stated time and period. Out of this annual land-revenue he was, however, allowed to deduct *maskurat*, *i.e.*, amounts covering collection charges, recognized fees, religious assignments, etc., and also to take credit for the customary *Nankar*. The original meaning of *Nankar* is subsistence allowance. Under this heading the pargana chieftain was allowed an assignment of land or the proceeds of a specific portion of land for his own maintenance as well as for the maintenance of other state officials in the pargana.

4. He was to observe a commendable conduct towards the *ryot* class and common people at large.

5. He was to exert his utmost in seeing that no trace of thieves, robbers, and disorderly persons remained within his boundaries.

6. He was to employ himself diligently in expelling and punishing the refractory.

7. He was to conciliate and encourage the *ryots*, and promote advancement of cultivation, improvement of the country, and increase of its produce.

8. He was to take special care of the high roads, so that travellers and passengers should pass and repass in perfect confidence.

9. If at any time, the property of any person was stolen or plundered, he was to produce the thieves and robbers together with the property, which was to be delivered to the owners and the culprits were to be punished, either by himself, or to be handed over to the Foulidar for punishment. In case he did not produce the thieves and robbers together with the property stolen or plundered, he himself became responsible for such property.

10. He was to see that no one became guilty of drunkenness or irregularities of behaviour, within the boundaries of the pargana.

11. He was to refrain from the exaction of such abwabs or imposts that may have been prohibited by the Imperial Court.

12. He was to deliver into the Central office of the Government all necessary statements prepared in due form and signed by himself and the *Qanungo* of the pargana.

For the collection of land-revenue, for the maintenance of peace and order, and the expulsion of refractory people, the *Zamindars*, *Talukdars*, *Kardars*, and *Deshmukhs*, had to keep in their employment a large number of police force and soldiers. In frontier districts specially, where they had to look after the defence of the country, they had to keep large military forces. In order to be better able to maintain peace and order in the area under their jurisdiction they were to employ in their service a detective police and to maintain a register of houses and roads. In order to promote advancement in cultivation the pargana chieftain possessed the power to grant temporary loans to Agriculturists, to be recovered in easy instalments. In this connection he also possessed the power to dispose of waste and uncultivated lands in the pargana. To some extent the pargana chieftain was his own Settlement officer. He was to employ land surveyors and other officers for estimating revenue from each village. He was to supervise and watch the extent of cultivation within his area, and after taking into account damages to crops by natural calamities was to submit weekly reports to the higher authorities. Every day he was to compare the actual receipts with the day ledger of the Accountant. He also compared the accounts of his Accountant with the returns of the *Patwari* and the village headman. The receipts were then verified by the signature of the treasurer. The treasure was kept in strong rooms locked by several locks of different construction. One of the keys was to be kept by the pargana chief and the rest by the treasurer. At the end of the month, he was to take from the Accountant, an account of the daily receipts and expenditure, and forward it to the court. When two lakhs of *dams* were collected he was to remit them to the Head Treasury. He was also to submit monthly statements to the Central Government showing there in the condition of the people, the *Jagirdars*, the neighbouring residents, suppression of rebellions, progress of market prices, the current rents of land, the condition of artisans, and the state of the

destitute and the poor. For every trade guild or guild of artificers he was to appoint a guild master and a broker. He received reports from these officers, which were then transmitted to the higher authorities. He was to regulate prices and weights and measures, and was to see that fairs and festivals were properly held. To prevent drunkenness he was to control the manufacture, distribution and sale of liquor and other intoxicants. As regards local taxation, though the pargana chief engaged not to levy prohibited abwabs or imposts, still he possessed very wide powers of local taxation. He levied custom duties, transit duties, market tolls, ferry tolls, and various kinds of fees and royalties on mineral products. Custom-houses or *choukies* were established by the orders of the pargana chief at Gunjee or places of public sale and on the highways by the side of rivers and roads. The *choukidars* or officers in charge of these custom houses were paid fixed sums in salaries. The custom duties were a part of the State revenues, and the pargana chief had to render account to the Central Government of receipts from this source also. In addition to State taxes the pargana chief levied two more kinds of taxes. In the first place he collected those fees from the land-owners, which he was himself obliged to pay to the provincial and divisional officers of the Diwan, Nawab, or the Foudar. In the second place he possessed the privilege of imposing local rates on the people for his own purposes. All these cesses were technically known as *Kharij Jamma*. For the purposes of calculating pargana revenues, these cesses were excluded. Under the head local cesses imposed by the pargana chief for his own purposes *Mangan* was the most important. The pargana chief defrayed the funeral expenses of his parents, marriage expenses of his children, expenditure on the construction of his new palaces, and other household expenditure from this all comprehensive cess *Mangan*. Besides this he was empowered to realise arrears of land-revenue due from absconding land-owners by recovering it from those who remained behind in the village. The *Hoondian* cess was designed to cover losses in exchange of coins. The *Moorkafee Jarib* was a payment made by the land-owner in order to be spared an *Hasthood* or exact valuation of his holding. In the times of Marhatta invasions, the *Chouth* was also added to the local cesses.

Besides collecting land-revenue, maintaining peace, and order, and imposing local and provincial rates, the pargana chieftain assumed judicial

For the administration of Criminal

Justice, he as a subordinate of the Foudar, presided over the Foudari Adalats or criminal courts. His jurisdiction extended to all criminal cases, but in such as were of a very serious nature, the sentence was not to be executed until a report of the case was made through the Foudar to the provincial governor, and orders received upon it. The proceedings in this court were summary and the most frequent mode of punishment was by fine, and every fine imposed by the authority of this court was a perquisite of the pargana chieftain himself. For the administration of Civil Justice, the pargana chief as a subordinate of the Diwan, presided over the Diwani Adalat or civil court. His jurisdiction extended to all civil causes between party and party, and he as a perquisite of his office was entitled to a share of whatever was recovered in his court. This court fee amounted very often to $\frac{1}{4}$ th or $\frac{1}{2}$ th of the whole value of the claim in suit.

From an examination of the functions, privileges and obligations of a Zemindar, Talukdar, Kardar or Deshmukh, it will be observed that he was the chief Executive, Judicial, and Financial Officer in the pargana. To him was entrusted practically the entire civil administration of the area, and to a very large extent he possessed full and autonomous powers. His decision was the final one in most matters. The right of appeal to higher authorities lay only in a very small number of cases. At the head-quarters the pargana chief had several officers to assist him. First and foremost was the *Shikdar* or collector, whose duty it was to collect revenue from tahsildars and cultivators, and pay it into the State treasury. Originally he was paid by an allowance of a certain percentage on the collections, but subsequently he began to be paid in cash. The most important assistant of the pargana chief at the headquarters was the *Karkun* or the Accountant. He took from the *Canungo* a decennial statement showing average village revenues in cash or in kind. He was to acquire knowledge of the customs and regulations of the pargana, and with that knowledge to assist the pargana chief in his administration. He was to record all the engagements with agriculturists, define village boundaries, and estimate the amount of arable and waste land in the villages. He was to specify the total revenue of all villages and the assessment of each cultivator residing therein. It was on the basis of these statements prepared by the Accountant that revenues were collected. The *Karkun* was to receive from the Patwari copies of statements prepared by himself, and also those kept by the *Mukhadam*, as well as

the acknowledgement receipts given by the *Mukhadam* to the cultivators at the time of collecting land-revenue. He was then to scrutinise all these three sets of documents, and if there appeared any falsification in the accounts, he was to fine the man concerned. He was to settle, if necessary, accounts with the cultivators, and enter daily in the ledger receipts and disbursements under each name and heading and he was to have the entries authenticated by the signatures of the treasurer and the pargana chief. To those who brought revenues and taxes to the head-quarters he was to grant receipts signed by the treasurer. He was to record in his books at each harvest the balances of land-revenue and taxes standing against each person, and he was to keep a record of all the munsiffs land-surveyors, thanadars, cultivators, and headmen. He was also to note the kind of produce cultivated and the deficiency in the value of produce in each area. After every month he was to enclose the money in bags and transmit it under the seal of the pargana chief to the Head Treasury. He was also to despatch daily statements showing the assessment, under the signature of the pargana chief. This officer though subordinate to the pargana chief, was appointed by the Crown, and paid in the same manner as the collector.

The other officer at the Head-quarters of the pargana and subordinate to the pargana chief was the *Fotadar* or the Treasurer. He was to receive land-revenue and taxes, from the cultivators, and while receiving this he was to charge discount on the exchange of coins from the payers. In the case of coins of the realm deficient in weight he was to charge the deficiency, and the foreign coins or coins of former reigns he was to receive as a mere bullion. The treasure was to be kept in strong rooms with the knowledge of the collector and the Accountant. Money was to be counted every evening and a memorandum thereof was to be signed by the pargana chief, after he had compared the Treasurer's day ledger with the accounts of the Accountant and put his signature on them. The treasurer was to put his own lock on the doors of the Treasury, along with the locks of the pargana chief, and was not to open it without the cognizance of the pargana chief and the Accountant. On the Treasurer's cash book every receipt entry was to be signed by the counter signature of the Patwari or any other payer. The Treasurer was to consent to no disbursements without the Diwan's voucher, and if any emergent expenditure admitted of no

delay, he was to act under the authority of the collector and the Accountant and report the transaction to Government. This officer also though subordinate to the pargana chief, was appointed by the crown.

The duties and functions of the collector, accountant, and treasurer at the head-quarters show that so long as the Mughal system remained in vigour, the pargana chieftain could not exercise his vast and almost unlimited powers arbitrarily, and to the prejudice of the people under his control. Moreover, besides the check of his assistants, he was subject to another check of independent nature also. In the assessment of land-revenue its collection and its incidence on each land-owner, he could always be checked and restrained by the *Qanungo*, or Registrar of land-records. This officer was appointed directly by the Crown one for each pargana, and he was quite-independent of the pargana chieftain. He was in charge of all land records of the pargana. He was to keep a record of land assessments, and the statements in his charge showed what was due from each land-owner. All sales and transfer of property were also to be carefully verified by him and entered in his registers. He was to see that the pargana accounts were truly and properly kept. All village accounts kept by village patwaris throughout the pargana were open to inspection by him. The transactions with regard to the occupancy of land, and disputes of boundaries came regularly under his cognizance. References were made to him to determine contested boundaries, the use of rivers, and reservoirs for irrigation, or local usages in the pargana. The *Qanungo* was a depository of the established Regulations and his office was intended to be a check on the conduct, in financial transactions of all the pargana officers. He was in a position to report to Government the area of land in cultivation, the nature of produce, the amount of rent paid and generally the disposal of produce. Abul-Fazal the author of the famous *Ain-i-Akbari* says, he was the refugee of the husbandman and it was to him that the land-owners looked up for justice in revenue matters. He was paid out of a cess which amounted to $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the revenue collection.

The next step above the pargana in the administrative ladder of the Mughals was the *Chakla* or *Sarkar*. It was in charge of a *Faujdar* or military governor. He was the chief magisterial and police officer in the division. He was responsible for the administration of

Criminal Justice in all the parganas under him, and he was to assist the Government if any pargana chieftain proved rebellious or failed to pay in his revenues regularly. Besides *Faujdar* the other officers in the *Sarkar* or division were the *Orori* or the *Mutahid*, the *Amil*, and the *Mutassadi*. In revenue administration the pargana chieftain was subordinate to the *Orori*. The pargana revenues were received by him and checked by the *Mutassadi*. The pargana *Qanungos* were responsible for their work to the *Amil*, who received reports from the parganas. The *Mutassadis*, i.e., Divisional Accountants, and *Amils* or Divisional Registrars of land-records were therefore in a position to know the state of the Country. The Divisional officers were authorised to levy local rates on the pargana chiefs, who in their turn recovered them from the cultivators. The *Mutassadi* possessed the power of exacting an annual fee called *Khasmawisy* from the pargana chiefs. The *Faujdar* exacted from him imposts to defray the expenses of himself and his establishments. *Rasum-i-Nazarat* was a fee exacted by the Head peon on treasures brought from the parganas. Cesses were also levied for repairing bridges and banks, etc.

Above the *sarkar* or *chakla* was the province itself. It was in charge of a military governor called the Subedar. He was in command of the local forces and was responsible for peace and order in the province. The entire administration of Criminal Justice, and infliction of capital punishment vested in him. He presided at the Supreme Criminal Court of Appeal in the province. The *Faujdar* and pargana chieftain only possessed powers delegated from him. For the expenses of the army and other establishments, he was assigned lands in the province. The revenue from these lands was to be kept separate from that raised from the *Khalsa* or *Exchequer* lands. The assigned and state revenues were therefore remitted by the pargana and divisional officers, to the provincial capital separately. The assigned revenue was supposed to be sufficient for the maintenance of the provincial army and the establishment and household expenses of the Subedar. The rest of the state revenues were to be received by the provincial *Diwan* who was appointed directly by the Crown, and who was quite independent of the provincial Satrap. The care of the finances was to be his special function, and in the palmy days of the Mughal Empire, he was intended to be a valuable check on the Subedar. If the Nawab showed a tendency to excessive display, or raised too many troops, the

Diwan was instructed to withhold or reduce the proportion of revenues assigned to him, for the expenses of the provincial administration. But the Diwan at the same time was not quite independent of the governor, for he depended on him for any forces, he required for collection of revenues. As the Collector General of revenues, and being mainly concerned with the tenure of lands and with finance, the Diwan became the head of the Civil administration. He was consequently invested with the entire administration of civil justice, and he presided at the Supreme Appellate Court of civil jurisdiction. The chief assistant of Diwan was the Royrayan, who was at the head of the Treasury and the accounts department. The Royrayan had to record the engagements entered into by the Zamindars, Kardars, Talukdars, etc., at the annual settlement which took place usually on the new year Darbar day. To the Royrayan also all subordinate officials in the Divisions and Parganas submitted their accounts. His office also served as an appellate court in revenue matters. The central authority of the Emperor was the final check on all subordinates and the differences between the Diwan and the Subedar were usually settled by the Emperor.

From the above description of the names and functions of the different members in the official hierarchy of Mughal times we can now deduce the system of taxation and financial administration as originally set up by the Mughals. We can classify their system of taxation and discover their methods of financial administration. The people contributed towards the expenses of Government by means of Land-revenue, Customs Duties, Transit Duties, Duties on the manufacture of salt, opium, liquor, and salt-petre, fees on marriages, sale of houses, imposts on persons, professions, and cattle and royalties on fishery rights, court fees, discount on exchange of coins. Peishkash or presents to superior officials, and additional provincial and local rates in the form of abwabs. One of the chief characteristics of the Mughal financial system was that usually speaking State officials were not paid from the Government treasuries. Almost all the departments were required to pay themselves from additional imposts, or abwabs. The expenses of the general administration were met usually not by cash payments from the government treasuries, but by assignments of land, percentages on collections, and levy of additional cesses. The expenses of law courts, whether civil or criminal, were not at all paid from government funds. The

finer imposed on criminals and share of amounts recovered in courts were the special perquisites of the magistrates and judges. Though originally in the time of Akbar some officers of State began to be paid in cash, but subsequently as the authority of the Mughal Government weakened, and the Imperial treasuries became exhausted, due to Deccan wars of Aurangzeb and civil wars after his death, it became more and more difficult to pay officials in cash. Every officer was required to make his office pay its way. At the same time it must be observed that the gross revenues of each department were not transmitted to the Imperial treasuries. The local officers were allowed to deduct the expenses of their departments, in the form of *Nankar* and *Mazkurat* allowances, and remit only the net revenues. It must be pointed out in this connection that departmental expenditure was fixed by higher authorities once for all, in lump sums, so it could not fluctuate from year to year, and was therefore always a constant amount. Within this fixed lump sum amount the local or departmental officer possessed the fullest powers, in expenditure. Under such circumstances, obviously, there was no great need for an elaborate system of checks and counter checks on expenditure. So all the energies of the Finance Departments of the Mughals were concentrated on seeing that all the receipts were properly accounted for, and that only proper rates of taxes, and not more, exacted from the tax payers. It no doubt appears that district, divisional, and provincial officers possessed considerable powers in matters of taxation and expenditure. But in spite of these powers vested in all such officers, it cannot be held that there was no check and supervision on their powers. From the village upwards, right up to the provincial head-quarters, there were independent inspecting and accounts officers who submitted their statements and accounts to the higher authorities direct.

The village receipts could be checked by three sets of documents, i.e., receipt statements of village headmen, Assessment statements of village patwaris, and the actual acknowledgement receipts given to the cultivators for amounts received from them. The receipt returns of the Tahsildar in a circle consisting of a group of villages could be checked by the consolidated accounts of the Darogha compiled from the statements of village patwaris. At the pargana head-quarters the receipts of the Shikdar or collector, and Fotadar or treasurer could be checked by the accounts prepared by the *Karkun*

and *Qanungo's* statements compiled independently from the returns of the *Patwari*. At the same time monthly statements were submitted to the higher authorities independently by the *Fotadar*, *Karkun*, and *Qanungo*. Again at the Divisional head-quarters the *Mutahid's* receipts must tally with the *Mutassadi's* receipt returns, and both these returns must agree with the statements compiled by the *Amil*. Finally at the provincial head quarters the *Diwan* and his assistant the *Royrayan* had to check all the accounts, returns and statements submitted to them. From this rapid sketch of the relations with one another of different financial officers of the *Mughals*, it would appear that they had a very elaborate financial system for checking receipts. The collecting, accounting, and inspecting agencies, were at all stages more or less independent and could thus be a very valuable check on one another. In expenditure also we find a very strict control maintained. Nothing could be withdrawn for expenditure from state treasuries without the written authority of the *Diwan*.

This was so up till the death of *Aurangzeb*, in 1707. After this the system began to be tempered with. The constitution was first violated when the offices of *Diwan* and *Subedar* became amalgamated in one person. The check which the office of *Diwan* was intended to exercise on the *Subedar* was thus by one stroke abolished. The result was the virtual independence of provinces from Imperial authority at *Delhi*. On the dissolution of Imperial ties, and during the times of general scramble for territorial aggrandisement throughout India, the provincial Governments began to strengthen their military powers. This necessitated raising of additional resources in the provinces, and in *Bengal* it was sought to be done by *Nawab* *Murshid Kuli Khan* by the inclusion in state revenues of *abwabs* or additional taxes. All the proceeds of Divisional, and Local rates which were raised by local officers for local purposes, were henceforth to be remitted into the state treasuries for transmission to the provincial head-quarters. That was another violation of the existing constitution. But as local services had to be performed the district officers were compelled to impose additional *abwabs*. Consequently the burden of taxation on the people became very heavy. Cultivators began to desert their lands in large numbers. But as under the *Firari laws* of the *Mughal* revenue law, land-revenue due from absconding cultivators could be recovered from those who remained behind, the burden of taxation became heavier

still. It was under these circumstances that the real character of land revenue assessment became obscured. The assessments were now no longer based on produce of land but on the ability of district officers to pay. It was in 1725 that on his accession as *Nazim* of *Bengal*, *Shuja-ud-din Khan* made fresh settlement on such arbitrary basis. Here there was another breach of the constitution. This settlement was evidently based on the actual realizations of the last ten years. The assessment took into calculation land-revenue and additional *abwabs*, imposed during his time as well as that of *Murshid Kuli Khan*. These heavy assessments, however, could not be actually realized, and coercive measures had to be taken against the *Zamindars*. In this period many such officers were removed, and their *zamindaris* were granted to those who offered to pay the new assessments. It was here that the germs of the notorious farming system, so well known under the system of *Double Government* of *Olive*, were laid. The accounts and inspecting officers, *Mutassadis*, and *Amils*, who during the course of their professional duties, had become thoroughly acquainted with the nature and value of soil in different *parganas* were naturally the first to offer themselves as farmers of revenue from this time the Offices of *Collector*, *Accountant*, and *Registrar* of land records also began to be amalgamated in the same person. The checks, which it was intended, these officers should exercise on one another were consequently automatically abolished. This was the most serious breach of the existing constitution. The amalgamation in the same person of collecting, inspecting, and accounting functions, went far to strengthen the position of Divisional and District officers, and to weaken the position of the Provincial authority. Its direct result was smaller realization of revenue and larger and larger accumulation of arrears due from district officers. This state of affairs brought the farming system still more into prominence. Every collecting officer became a farmer of state revenues. The circle officer, the *Tahsildar*, was converted into an *Ijaradar*, i.e., a contractor. The *pargana* chieftain also became a sort of a contractor. This brought about chaos into the entire financial administration of the country. To such a condition had the Financial system of the *Mughals*, been reduced by the time of *Nawab Mir Kasim Ali*, when the *British East India Company*, took into its own hands the Financial Administration of the country.


OUR CONTACT WITH THE WEST

BY

LT.-COL. U. N. MUKERJEE.

Part I—Action.

1

 **THE** battle of Plassy was for the Indians neither a defeat nor a debacle, it was merely a drive. The so-called Nawab's standing army was a rabble horde, the men had mutinied for arrears of pay and had to be placated before they could be persuaded to leave Murshidabad; the Commander-in-Chief had pledged to keep himself aloof, with his army, during the engagement, and desert his master at the proper moment; most of the leaders were fore-sworn traitors. As happens in such cases, the mercenaries alone remained true to their salt. It was the Frenchman Sinfray on the side of the Nawab with his four small pieces who alone tried to stand for his employer.

At best a battle in India in those days, was more a curious than a formidable affair. Excepting the immediate guards around the person of the sovereign, there was nothing like a standing army; during an emergency anybody who could collect a rabble, swelled the Lashkar. Cavalry was counted to be the most effective arm. Horses, trained or untrained, big or small, but as many as could be collected, with a horde of non-descripts, who could be as occasion demanded,—fighting men, camp followers or spectators, looking to the loot of the enemy's treasury in case of victory of their own side, or to loot of their own camp in case of reverse, and in both cases to the pillage of the people for their remuneration, armed with every sort of weapons from staves, clubs, bows and arrows, spears, matchlocks, billhooks, broken swords, shovels and spades, anything that could give them a pretext to participate in the general plunder,—represented the fighting elements. When the Nawab's army attacked Calcutta during the previous year the attack was led by Gonlas brandishing lathis.

The so-called officers who on these occasions led their respective retainers were nearly all uneducated men; Persian love songs were the limit of acquirements in the case of the most advanced. They never received any military training, had scarcely any idea about the existence of such a thing as Military Science. There was no grading of rank, hardly any sense of subordination or discipline. Every one in or about the court lived and moved in an atmosphere of lies, dissimulation, intrigue and treachery, no

man trusted another, everybody could be bought and sold. Under such circumstances, Europeans or men of European extraction were eagerly sought for as officers. Dutchmen, Frenchmen Portuguese, Englishmen, or Armenians with or without any previous military training could always secure a prominent position in the army. The Portuguese made their first appearance in Bengal about 1530. Within a few years they were invited by Shere-Khan to help him. The scientific arms, artillery and Engineering were almost always entrusted to those foreigners, and they were responsible for whatever discipline, training or organisation the army possessed.

The first thing that a new ruler, who was almost invariably himself a usurper, did, after his accession, was either to kill, blind or throw in the dungeon, everybody young or old who had any connection with the throne; consideration of personal safety enjoined such precaution. He knew that not one of his own adherents could be trusted. Espionage, assassination and seizure of property were his weapons of offence, his power to reward lay in the permission he could give to plunder the people or in the bestowal of the confiscated property of a rival.

In the field of battle, his seraglio and treasures, the latter consisted chiefly of jewellery—generally accompanied him. They could not be left in safety anywhere else; in case of reverse everybody knew what their fate would be. During the battle they were the objects of his greatest solicitude.

The Camp, before the actual engagement came off, resembled an open bazaar. There was no such thing as uniform for the soldiers, anybody could enter or leave, at any hour of the day or night without let or hindrance. On the night before Plassy, Clive found his way to the Nawab's Camp by the noise of singing and tomtomming that was going on. In the early hours everybody could be safely expected to be sound asleep. During the siege of Calcutta in the previous year, an English Subaltern entered with half a dozen men, the Nawab's Camp early in the morning, found everybody asleep, spiked four of the guns, and returned unnoticed and unmolested to his own quarters.

The so-called battle consisted mainly of a series of rushes by the cavalry and the side that could break through the enemy's hordes were adjudged

the victors. The tactics were those of the days of the Crusades. Any formation to receive cavalry, any attempt to keep up a steady fire to break its charge seldom entered into calculation as a part of the day's business. If, after a few rushes a leader did not succeed, his followers accepted it as a defeat, especially if a few casualties had attended such endeavours, and their anxiety now was to secure as much booty as they could, before they left the field. The sight of the first party turning back was the signal for a general stampede, in which every one was as much solicitous about his own personal safety as for his share in the spoils of his own camp.

At Cutwa Clive was undecided for a short time, as the daily emissaries from the Nawab's Commander-in-Chief had not arrived for a day or two. Their appearance removed all hesitation. The issue of the encounter hardly caused him any serious concern. In the early part of the day, leaving his men in the charge of Coote howent to sleep in a neighbouring garden house, waking up by the time the Nawab's Commander-in-Chief had previously arranged to desert his master. After the day's business was over, Clive calmly marched to the capital and secured the sovereignty of the country for his employers, the Proprietors of the East India Company.

The battle of Plassy was symbolic of the contact of the West with the East. There was scarcely any fight or even resistance, it looked like the imposing of the will on one side and its passive reception on the other, the mere contact which hardly produced what may be called a shock, crumbled the feeble and nominal opposition.

At Plassy the two armies met; after the possession of the country the two people, the English and the Bengalis (and subsequently the Indians from the other parts of the country) came in contact with each other: what was the result of the encounter so far as the latter were concerned?

As a matter of fact, however, the people of this country legally came in contact with a private trading company—the East India Company. After the battle of Plassy the Company petitioned the Government of England for the sovereignty of the acquired territories, and for the possession of the loots and spoils. The Attorney-General decided in favour of the Company. The King's troops however and the King's Navy had materially helped the Company not only in Bengal but in other parts of India. Many of its possessions were due to English,

political and military transactions in Europe. A compromise was arrived at—the territories remained in the possession of the Company—while it was agreed that a money tribute was to be paid out of its revenues to the Crown.

After a few years, the doings of the Company and of its officers in India compelled the English Government to interfere, and the Regulating Act was the result. This however scarcely brought India closer to the English Government. This first attempt was marked by the creation of a King's Court in Calcutta with judges appointed in England, on the model of English law courts. The other experiment was the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Council in Calcutta—limiting the number of members to five, of whom three were appointed in the first instance by the Crown from England.

In 1783 however, the first effective curb was put on the East India Company, by the English Parliament by the creation of a Board of Control, a member of the English Cabinet, with the title of the President of the Board of Control became the master of the Executive Committee (the Court of Directors) of the Company. Then followed what is known as the 'Double Government' composed of the authority of the Proprietors of the shares of the East India Company and the authority exerted by the English Cabinet through the President of the Board of Control.

Besides these two authorities, situated in England, there was the Governor-General of India, an official who was appointed by the Crown but who could be recalled at the bidding of the Company. The Governor-General with his Council, and a host of English officials, civil and military, locally managed the affairs of the vast dependency. The authorities in England, represented the driving power, the local officials the rods and pistons of the huge machinery.

During the period that this system of Government lasted, neither Indians nor Englishmen had any clear idea however as to the nature of the so called Government of India. About 100 years after the possession of the country Disraeli asked the question more than once in the House of Commons: "We have had the constitution of India described. One Honourable gentleman gets up for that purpose and says:—It is a mistake to suppose that the East India Company do not exercise, virtually and *bona fide*, authority in India. That occurred on one night of the debates. What happened on another? A gentleman of equal authority, gets up and says, "oh what is

the use of this talking about the East India Company! the East India Company is—to use the elegant phrase that now forms part of the rhetoric of the House of Commons,—a ‘sham’—the Government of India is the Board of Control, and the President of the Board of Control only, what happens next? Why, a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) who ought upon this question of all others to be the highest authority,—for he was once Secretary to the Board of Control and afterwards a member of the Council in India—rises in his place and says ‘you are wasting your breath and your time. Neither the East India Directors nor the Board of Control have anything to do with the matter, the Government of India is the Governor General.’ Now I want to know who is the Government of India.” (Hansard)—The share each of the three above authorities had in the administration, could not possess under the circumstances any claim to definition. “The Court of Proprietors had no control over the Court of Directors, and the Court of Directors had no control over the Secret Committee, and the Secret Committee had no control over the Board of Control. The Press had no control over that body and Parliament itself was deluded, and baffled whenever it attempted to lay hold of anything connected with India.” (Bright). Disraeli repeated his question again in the House of Commons in 1858 when Lord Palmerston gave a reply “The Right Honourable Gentleman the member for Buckinghamshire asked who was the Government of India and to whom he was to look as the authority responsible for the administration of the vast empire. Why, Sir there is no responsibility or rather there is a conflict of responsibilities.” ‘This was the nature of the machinery which had the ultimate power to impose its will upon the Indians.

As to what it was like, may be answered differently by different individuals. Here is the opinion of one who was himself once a Governor-General and more than once a President of the Board of Control. Lord Ellenborough characterised it as “the most irrational Government now existing in the civilised world. It is more irrational even than the Government of the Grand Lama. That Government is like our Government of India, a sham but it is at least a sham supported by the prestige of a religion.”

The Indians had however more than three parties to deal with, and these took considerable interest in the affairs of this country. There was the body of four thousand shareholders of a trading company—the East India Company of

traders. Their number fluctuated every day as the shares were sold and purchased like all other shares in the market. The interest of this body was purely economic—the returns on their shares constituted their chief concern; the English Parliament latterly restricted it to ten per cent. In addition to the actual money value, they possessed in the matter of appointment of thousands of English officials for the vast dependency, a return almost as substantial as the dividends on their shares. The pay of a member of the Court of Directors was three hundred pounds a year, his indirect gains were estimated at twelve thousand.

Besides the shareholders of the East India Company—there were other people in England who were just as anxious to make a little money out of the Land of the Pagoda Tree. These were the body of general English merchants and manufacturers. It is to be remembered that for one century India was legally the “Company’s territories.” For more than half a century before and after the battle of Plassy, they the independent traders were the “Pyratts”, the—“interlopers” who poached on the special preserves of the East India Company and traded with India openly or surreptitiously in defiance of the threats and protests of that body. In 1813 all restrictions to their trading with India were withdrawn—twenty years later the Company closed their own trading business.

Neither the English Government, nor the English merchants doing business in England were left without a share. The East India Company even before they came to the possession of the country proved of great help on many occasions to the English treasury in advancing money at low rates of interest. After they became the sovereigns an annual tribute of half a million was paid for many years. But these were inconsiderable compared to the general prosperity that the connection with India brought to the English people. Below is an extract from the Fourth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons 1812:—

1. That since 1791 British industry has been encouraged by the employment of (£46,000,000.) Forty-six millions of pounds.

2. That the produce and manufactures of India purchased with this sum (forty-six millions of pounds) together with those in China sold in England realised in sale, amount nearly to one hundred forty millions of pounds (from 1791 to 1812).

3. That the purchase of the produce and manufactures of England amounted to £ 29,200,000.

4. That the employment of British shipping amounted to twenty-five millions

5. That the duty on imports collected through the Company, at a trifling expense to Government amounted to £ 39,300,000, and on export to £ 9,60,000—together £ 39,960,000.

6. That the combination of these and other sums reaching one hundred and eighty five millions, nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds has been diffused in various channels through the whole circulation of the British Empire."

The India House in Leadenhall street—the headquarters of the East India Company—cost in building alone half a million of pounds—the clerical establishment of the Company was maintained at an annual expenditure of over two hundred thousand pounds. It is to be noted that all the English Secretariats together did not cost the English Government at that time much more than one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

There was another party who had more to say about India than probably any other. "Do not imagine" said Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons "that it is the intention of Providence that England should possess that vast empire and that we should have in our hands the destinies of that vast multitude of men, simply that we may send out to India, the sons of gentlemen or of the middling classes to make a decent fortune to live on." The number of cadets from 1813 to 1833 was 5092, from 1835 to 1851 4569. The number of Civil Servants at one time in India varies from eight hundred to a thousand. Each of these costs the country taking his pay and pension, anything between fifty to one hundred thousand pounds. And there are scores of other 'services'. There are over seven thousand Englishmen employed at the present day in the higher ranks of the Indian Railways alone.

All these 'services' are regarded as the special perquisites of the English middle class. "No one could devise any means by which we could deal with the vast patronage of India. It was always said, that it was more natural and would be more beneficial that the Government of India should be carried on directly by the sovereign of England, but there has been in the first place a great apprehension that the power of the Crown would be dangerously increased by the possession of all the patronage which would result from such a Government and there has been secondly a great suspicion in this country remembering that India

was gained by the energy of the middle classes and that these classes have long possessed the patronage of that great empire which they had fairly won, that the proposed change to a more direct and satisfactory polity could not be effected without injury to the legitimate interests of the community and a dangerous increase to the power of the Crown" (Disraeli).

From 1840 to 1857, 5477 military appointments were made, of these 1865 were given to the sons of military, medical and marine officers, the sons of chaplains and civil servants, 717 appointments were given to the sons of Royal (as distinguished from Company's) officers, the sons of clergymen received 580 and 2315 went to the sons of professional men belonging to the middle class. General Pollock was the son of a small shop-keeper in the City of London while General Nott's father kept a public house in a remote village in Wales.

Let us put the above together: what the central machinery for their government was,—neither the people of India (nor the people of England either) had any idea; the nature of their connection with this country was most highly favourable not only to the trading and manufacturing classes, but also to the general middle class of England and that the immediate direction of affairs in India was in the hands of the latter class who considered themselves to possess a legitimate claim to the emoluments of the tens of thousands of highly paid offices of which they held almost an absolute monopoly. That is, the middle class of England, the class that controls the English Press and the English Parliament—the most powerful class in the country is—most vitally interested in regulating the relation of the people of this country with that of England

On the other side were the Indians—in the position of a subject race and as Mr. Gladstone expressed it "separated from us, not by distance only but also by blood, by language, by religion, by institution; in fact by all that can serve to draw a line of demarcation between man and man." How far were they in a position to influence the central authority, situated in England by any direct representation? There was no such agency for the purpose. Of course there was such a thing as 'public opinion' in India, but what its nature was, was explained by Lord Ellenborough with his usual engaging frankness. "But in India, the public is not the people, what we here call the Indian public, is composed altogether of English officials whose interests may be

and often are, I regret to say, considered altogether at variance with the interests of the people. The press of India represented Europeans and not the people of India. It may so happen that the unanimous combination of what is called the English public and of the press against the Governor-General may be the surest indication that he is doing his duty by the people." Sometimes only information of a certain kind were allowed to reach the people of England. Before the renewal of the Charter in 1853 when Indian affairs were expected to be discussed in Parliament strict orders were issued that if any Indian official were to give any information unfavourable to the Company he was to be 'instantly dismissed.'

Leaving aside the question of the expression of their opinion, the account of the people that was suffered to reach the English Parliament was considerably modified by the predilections of the officials. During the renewal of the Charter in 1853 questions regarding the Indian people came up before the Select Committee appointed by both the Houses, to hear witnesses on the affairs of India. If any witness spoke anything in favour of the Indians, a dozen questions were put to him by the Anglo-Indian members of the Committee either sneering at his observations, or such remarks were made as were calculated to remove the favourable impression likely to have been created by the witness.

The people of this country, became the passive recipients of the will of a trading company whose headquarters were in England, expressed through an official class composed of the most powerful section of the English people—the middle class.

• To say that the two people came in contact with each other will be to suggest many things—the majority of which scarcely come within the limits of realities. After a century and a half the English and the Indians in India are as wide apart as they were at the beginning. Unless obliged to do so, the two people never meet, there is not the slightest desire for intermingling—the disinclination can be expressed in more pointed language. Excepting for the purpose of buying and selling, the contact between the two races has been almost entirely what may be called administrative contact. The English system of Government includes departments for the administration of Law and Justice, departments for the collection of Revenue, departments for works of public utility. There is the English system of trade, there is the Christian religion introduced

by the English people, there is the English system of education. Similarly other institutions can be mentioned. These the English were in a position to introduce with all the strength of unopposed force. The Indians had similar institutions in their own country before the English came. What was the effect of this meeting of the old and the new? 'Taking the institutions of this country when the English found them, to have been of the nature of organic growths, coming into existence undergoing modifications, acquiring stability in response to the requirements of the life and development of the people, how did they fare in the encounter? Were the modifications introduced by the English in keeping with the old and normal life and favourable to the growth, of the people or were the changes that the English introduced, without any relation to existing actualities or future development? What has been the verdict of time? There was a collision against the natural life of the Indians as reflected in their institutions—did it possess sufficient vitality to maintain its individuality against a foreign and superimposed force or did it succumb or was it that there was no such thing as a national life? What was the result of the contact—as regards the Mahomedans, as regards the Hindus?

In the following papers I have taken a few of the institutions such as, Justice, Industry, Revenue system etc. and have tried to understand what their nature was before the English came and what modifications were introduced and with what result: we have nothing to do with the question of motives, we are concerned with facts, with actualities and realities.

The Punjab, 1919.

By Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

How shall our love console thee, or assuage
Thy hapless woe; how shall our grief requite
The hearts that scourge thee and the hands that smite
Thy beauty with their rods of bitter rage?
Lo! let our sorrow be thy battle gage
To wreck the terror of the tyrant's might
Who mocks with ribald wrath thy tragic plight,
And stains with shame thy radiant heritage!
O beautiful! O broken and betrayed!
O mournful queen! O martyred Draupadi!
Endure thou still, unconquered, undismayed!
The sacred rivers of thy stricken blood
Shall prove the five-fold stream of Freedom's flood.
To guard the watch-towers of our Liberty.

INDIA

THE WAR-NOTE IN RECENT FICTION

BY

MR. K. R. SITARAMAN, B.A.,

THE War, with the innumerable platitudes to which it gave rise in the effusions of statesmen, publicists, and journalists is receding into the back-ground of past and fading events, and the echoes we now hear in contemporary fiction are almost grotesque in their irrelevance and insignificance. Mr. Pett-Ridge, the well-known writer of short stories, has spread himself out into the proportions of a full volume to sketch "the bustling hours" of a munition girl in the period of "munitions stress" and of Zeppelin raids.* Mr. Pett-Ridge is a past master in the art of sketching street-life in London, as also the sub-merged strata, and in the present volume, the career of Dorothy Ganisford, who starts as a munition girl drifts into the position of the Secretary of a war-work committee of aristocratic, if somewhat jejune ladies; again returns to the munitions factory, gets disabled as the result of an accident, and ends up with a rest-cure in a hospital where she meets the elusive airman Betchworth, whom she had been steering clear of since she first gave him first-aid when he landed with more force than intention in Regent's Park in the opening Chapter, and had utilised the occasion to make a lot of billing and cooing on the spot;—the meeting naturally leading to the in-avoidable conclusion—affords occasion for a number of pen-portraits of the various classes of London life, during the mid-period of the war, which has not by any means been as well utilised as one would expect from the author's previous record. A few glimpses of the activities of the Committee engaged in raising money for war-work, and of air-raids, sum up the direct references to the war in the book—all else is the most common-place padding in the way of adventure, relieved by occasional smart dialogue.

Nor is any deeper note struck—in the latest volume from the pen of Dorothy Conyers† B.E.N., by which name the heroine prefers to be known to her intimates and even to the world at large, in revenge for the impossible names—Berenice Ermytrude Necosia—presented to her at her christening by her parents, is a

charming and vivacious, if impecunious Diana, wedged in between two substantial Irish landlords—both eligible young sparks, who do their 'bit' in the war. The whole story, if it can be called such, is a series of hunting episodes in which the heroine takes part and finally ends up by linking herself with the poorest of her admirers, who had always been vexing her systematically, but who in the end unexpectedly turns out to be the missing heir of the greatest fortune among them all. The references to the war in this book also—especially dealing as it does with Ireland—are most disappointing. Of course we are introduced in a distant fashion to the Easter riot of Dublin; the heroine who is doing duty as nurse in a local hospital does some heroic work in rescuing some khaki-clad figures reckless of the open firing, shrapnel and the sniping. But this is the local trouble in Ireland and not the war.

"The Land they Loved" by G. D. Cummins‡ which also deals with the Emerald Isle, is a little more pretentious than either of the other two books, but the war interest is again very little to the fore. The main theme of the book appears to be to give expression to the passionate attachment of every son and daughter of Erin to their land. Apart from this idolisation of "the land they love," every peasant is devoted to his piece of land and to agriculture, to the exclusion of all other interests. The frame-work of the story itself is a rather thin account of common-place adventures, the heroine being a girl-cook who emigrated to America before the war and returned in mid-war to find that two brothers, young strapping fellows, in whom she had been interested, had been ruthlessly sacrificed—one in the Sinn Féin rising in Dublin, and the other 'somewhere in France.' The former had become a revolutionary, the latter had enlisted after reading Mr. Redmond's famous appeal. Kate Karmody, the heroine, finally gives her hand to the youngest surviving brother of the two whom she had idolised in her heart; as she realised that "the best of the dead brothers lived in him."

The moral of the book is obviously to enforce the lesson that all political parties however bitter their differences or dissensions—are after all actuated by equally genuine patriotism and love of

* "*The Busting Hours*" By W. Pett-Ridge: Methuen's Colonial Library.

† "*B. E. N.*" by Dorothy Conyers: Methuen's Colonial Library.

‡ "*The Land they loved*" by G. D. Cummins: Macmillan's Empire Library.

the mother-land—a lesson and a moral that at the moment are even more particularly applicable to this country than to Ireland, with which we have many parallels. That some of the more ardent and impassioned people, became so far unbalanced as to proclaim a republic in Dublin proves nothing, according to the author, except the mistaken overflow of excessive but none the less genuine patriotic zeal. The position of the loyal Irish soldier at the end of the war was one of no little difficulty. As the author puts it in the mouth of one of the Connaught Rangers back from France, he found himself between two stools thus :

"They're mad with me for fighting for the British. My father is bitter because we've been done out of Home Rule, and he wrote and told me there would be no place for me under his roof. And the English were mad with me because I'm an Irishman. My old friends in Kinsale will give me the go-by. Oh, it's all a queer puzzle"

The final solution of the problem is given by the author in the following words :


"Unity begets peace as surely as disunion begets strife. The strife may not be of a physical or material nature, but this much is certain,—where there is division in a nation, the people perish both mentally and spiritually. And the light of peace, the light of individual happiness and union, is a beacon in the darkness—a beacon from which even the dead perhaps, from which at least some other lives with the same sympathies, the same ties of nature, must catch a faint reflection."

The Indian parallels need not be worked out. But one question may be asked. Will the Indian Carsons who seek to usher in an Ulster in India succeed in their attempt? And will the would-be Indian Ulsterites prove in reality such? What is 'Truth?' asked jesting Pilate, but he did not wait for the answer.

LIEUTENANT D. L. PATWARDHAN

BY

MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

 THE *London Gazette* contained, the other day, an announcement that Dattatraya Lakshman Patwardhan had been given His Majesty's Commission as 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Air Force. How many persons who read that prosaic note knew of the arduous struggle through which this adventurous young Maratha went in order to obtain that prize? As an instance of what pluck and perseverance can accomplish to break down barriers, the life-story of Lieutenant Patwardhan deserves to be told—especially for the benefit of young Indians.

While studying at the High school at Ratnagiri (Bombay Presidency) the Maratha blood stirred within him. Like his ancestor Parsharam Bhaui Patwardhan, who commanded an army of 85,000 men, mostly horse,—a great army in those days—and of whom Grant Duff wrote with admiration in his *History of the Marathas*, he longed for a military career. With that end in view, the lad, in his mid-teens, went from one Indian State to another ruled by men of his own caste (Chitpavan Brahman)—namely Sangli, Kurundwa and Jamkundi. Later he visited Kolhapur—where the successor of Shivaji—the great Chhatrapati—ruled. But everywhere he found that he knocked at the door in vain,

Since school-life had no attraction for him, he decided to go to Bombay to qualify as a telegraph operator. He entered the service of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company. But he found that that Railway reserved all the posts that commanded good salaries and carried responsibility for Europeans or Eurasians. Patwardhan, therefore left it in disgust to try the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. While employed there it occurred to him that he might qualify as an Engineer. The Superintendent of the Locomotive Workshops was a kindly man, and he enabled him to acquire a little practical knowledge of mechanics.

While employed in the workshops at Bombay, it occurred to young Patwardhan that he would like to go to sea and if possible, to become a Marine Engineer. He managed to work his way into the crew of a foreign ship—the S.S. *Tratanfels*. When he arrived in Hamburg everybody eyed him curiously, and wondered how an Indian could enter the service of a German Shipping Company. Later he got transferred to another German ship, which plied between New York and Bremen.

On his return home he persuaded his father, who was extremely orthodox, to send him to Europe to study marine engineering. Finally his

insistence won the day and he reached Scotland in the autumn of 1909. He joined the Greenock and Grangemouth Dockyard Co., Ltd., Grangemouth, to obtain practical training, while he studied theory at the Greenock Technical School. During 1911-12, he attended Marine Engineering evening Classes at the Technical College, Dundee. His intelligence and industry won him the highest regard of his teachers and employers. When he returned to India from Scotland he found that an effort was being made to float an Indian Navigation Company. Being the only Indian with Marine Engineering qualifications available, he had no difficulty whatever in being taken up by that company which sent him to Scotland, wherefrom he afterwards returned as Third Engineer on the S. S. *Saint Tookaram*, which that company bought. He stayed on that ship until the middle of 1912 when he obtained his discharge.

Shortly afterwards Patwardhan obtained a berth as an Engineer on a tram steamer belonging to an American. While in the engine room of the S. S. *Horley*, he got his first taste of war. The steamer, flying no flag, entered the Dardanelles, which the Greeks had blockaded. The Greeks suspected it of smuggling ammunition to the Turks, and fired a shot into the water close enough to give a nasty jar to everyone on board the ship.

After obtaining his discharge from that steamer Patwardhan joined the Dundee Technical College, where he qualified as a Marine Engineer (L.M.E.) in 1913. Shortly afterwards he succeeded in securing employment as Third Engineer on the S. S. *Grebe*, on which he was serving when the war broke out. He lost no time in volunteering for service. But while waiting for his reply from the India Office he continued to work on the steamship, which was taken over by the Admiralty and put upon transport work in the English Channel, the Bay of Biscay, and the North Sea. As steamers of that description were at that time without armament, the work was full of danger.

When, in November, 1914, the Indian Field Ambulance Corps was formed, he left the ship to join it. After joining it he was sent to the Netley Hospital, and later to the Indian Hospital at Brighton. Finding, however, that there was no chance of his being sent out to the Front he resigned, early in 1915, and joined the 1st Sussex Yeomanry. After seven months training, he tells me, he was recommended by his Commandant for a commission, but to get one he would have to go to India to apply through the authorities there.

Not being sure that he would meet with success, even if he took the trouble to go to India, Patwardhan decided to stay with his unit as a private, and to continue to move Whitehall for a commission. While with the Yeomanry digging trenches near Seven Oaks (a short distance from London), he was given an opportunity, on December 2, 1915, to go as an "erector" and "fitter" to West Hartlepool, one of the largest naval centres, to build cruisers and submarines. He was employed at the naval works of Messrs. Richardson, Westgarth & Co., Ltd., erected engines on board ships for His Majesty's Navy. After work hours, he attended the Evening Class in the Marine Engineering Department of the Engineers' Academy, to improve his theoretical knowledge.

On July 14, 1916, Patwardhan was transferred to Messrs. Vicker's Gun Factory at Erith. There he had great scope for his mechanical knowledge. He erected large and small guns with calibres varying from 3.03" to 17". Towards the end of that year he qualified as a machine-gun expert and was given the diploma. For six months he tested maxims.

In January, 1918 Patwardhan was taken over by the War Office and placed upon special work. After seven months he was sent back to his battalion, which was there in Ireland, where he remained until last autumn.

In September, 1918, Patwardhan was transferred to the Royal Air Force as a fitter. He passed all his examinations with credit, and in January qualified as a technical officer—the first Indian to do this.

Finally on March 15th, his efforts were crowned with success, and he was given a commission as 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Air Force. Perseverance wins.

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• Warren Hastings and the Bhagavat Geeta.

BY

RAO SAHEB KRISHNA RAO BHONSLE.

THE SONG CELESTIAL OR BHAGAVAT GEETA.

"So have I read this wonderful and spirit-thrilling
speech,
By Krishna and Prince Arjun held, discoursing each
with each ;
So have I writ its wisdom here,—its hidden mystery,
For England ; O our India ! as dear to me as she !"

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD.

"We doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, whether Sujah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or Mussulman"—thus lamented Macaulay. To this I would propose this addition: "or whether Warren Hastings wrote an Introduction to the Bhagavat Geeta." It is not known even to many an Indian and Anglo-Indian that the first Governor-General of India recorded an opinion of the Geeta 135 years ago. But we are told that Warren Hastings was deeply skilled in Persian and Arabic literature and gave, both by his example and by his munificence, a great impulse to learning; though he was not himself acquainted with Sanskrit, yet those who first brought that language to the knowledge of European students owed much to his encouragement. The chief advantage which—in the words of Macaulay—the students of Oriental letters derived from his patronage remains to be mentioned; "the Pundits of Bengal had always looked with great jealousy on the attempts of foreigners to pry into those mysteries which were locked up in the Sacred dialect. Their religion had been persecuted by the Mahommedans. What they knew of the spirit of the Portuguese Government might warrant them in apprehending persecution from Christians. That apprehension, the wisdom and moderation of Hastings removed. He was the First Foreign Ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India, and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence." Thus he discovered "a sublimity of conception, reasoning and diction almost unequalled" in the Bhagavat Geeta—one of the "Five Jewels"—*pancharatnani*—of Devanagiri Literature, which "unfolds the quintessence of the highest philosophical conceptions of the world in a nutshell, blending harmoniously, as it does, the doctrines of Kapila, Patanjali, and the Vedas."

I learnt through Mr. C. K. Srinivasa Rao (District Judge, Guntur) about Hastings' Introduction to the Geeta; he referred to it in a public lecture. I wrote to him asking him where I could get a copy of it; he said that he had read it long ago and could not tell me where to find the reference. I was thirsting in vain to read the Introduction. In the issue of the "New India" of the 29th October 1914, however, there appeared an informative article on the "Song of Songs," in which it was stated that Warren Hastings—almost the first Englishman who revelled in the delights of Indian Poetry and Philosophy and who showed fervent zeal for their advancement, noted in it a sublimity of conception, reasoning and diction, almost unequalled. This allusion made me happy, and I wrote immediately to the enlightened Editor—Mrs. Annie Besant for a copy of Hastings' Introduction; I was able to get an excerpt from it. I mentioned all these facts—in my disappointment—to Mr. McPherson, Librarian of the Literary Society, Madras, who found out the Introduction to my great delight. I found it embodied in Hastings' letter dated the 4th October, 1784 (Benares), addressed to Mr. Nathaniel Smith (the first member of the first commercial body), "recommending through him for an offering to the public, a very curious specimen of the Literature, the Mythology and Morality of the ancient Hindoos." The letter was published as a sort of introduction to the English translation of the Geeta by Charles Wilkins—the Senior merchant in the service of the Hon'ble East India Company, on its Bengal Establishment. In the advertisement of the publication, dated the 30th May, 1785, I find also that the work was published under the authority of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by the particular desire and recommendation of the Governor-General of India; therein it is also stated that "the antiquity of the original and the veneration in which it hath been held for so many ages by a very considerable portion of the human race, must render it one of the greatest curiosities ever presented to the literary world." I published in advance in certain Madras dailies an extract from Hastings' letter and promised to publish the full text of it in the "Indian Review." Here is his letter as well as Mr. Wilkins' letter to him:—

I.—Warren Hasting's Letter.

To

NATHANIEL SMITH, ESQ.

Benaris, 4th October, 1784.

Sir,

To you, as to the first member of the first commercial body, not only of the present age, but of all the known generations of mankind, I presume to offer, and to recommend through you, for an offering to the public, a very curious specimen of the Literature, the Mythology, and Morality of the ancient Hindoos. It is an episodical extract from the "Mahabharat," a most voluminous poem, affirmed to have been written upwards of four thousand years ago, by Kreeshna Dwipayen Veias, a learned Bramin; to whom is also attributed the compilation of "The Four Vedas, or Bedes," the only existing original scriptures of the religion of Brahma; and the composition of all the Poorans, which are to this day taught in their schools, and venerated as poems of divine inspiration. Among these, and of superior estimation to the rest, is ranked the Mahabharat. But if the several books here enumerated be really the productions of their reputed author, which is greatly to be doubted, many arguments may be adduced to ascribe to the same source the invention of the religion itself, as well as its promulgation: and he must, at all events, claim the merit of having first reduced the gross and scattered tenets of their former faith into a scientific and allegorical system.

The Mahabharat contains the genealogy and general history of the house of Bhaurut, so called from Bhurrut its founder; the epithet Maha, or Great, being prefixed in token of distinction; but its more particular object is to relate the dissensions and wars of the two great collateral branches of it, called Kooros and Pandoos; both lineally descended in the second degree from Veecheestraveerya, their common ancestor by their respective fathers Dreetrarashtra and Pandoo.

The Kooros, which indeed is sometimes used as a term comprehending the whole family, but most frequently applied as the patronymic of the elder branch alone, are said to have been one hundred in number, of whom Dooryodun was esteemed the head and representative even during the life of his father, who was incapacitated by blindness. The sons of Pandoo were five; Yoodhishteer, Bheem, Arjoon, Nekool, and Sehadeo; who through the artifices of Dooryodun,

were banished, by their uncle and guardian Dreetrarashtra, from Hastenapoor, at that time the seat of government of Hindostan.

The exiles, after a series of adventures, worked up with a wonderful fertility of genius and pomp of language into a thousand sublime descriptions, returned with a powerful army to avenge their wrongs, and assert their pretensions to the empire in right of their father; by whom, though the younger brother, it had been held while he lived, on account of the disqualification already mentioned of Dreetrarashtra.

In this state the episode opens, and is called "The Geeta of Bhagvat," which is one of the names of Kreeshna. Arjoon is represented as the favourite and pupil of Kreeshna, here taken for God himself, in his last Ootar or descent to earth in a mortal form.

The preface of the Translator will render any further explanation of the Work unnecessary. Yet something it may be allowable for me to add respecting my own judgment of a Work which I have thus informally obtruded on your attention, as it is the only ground on which I can defend the liberty which I have taken.

Might I, an unlettered man, venture to prescribe bounds to the latitude of criticism, I should exclude, in estimating the merit of such a production, all rules drawn from the ancient or modern literature of Europe, all references to such sentiments or manners as are become the standards of propriety for opinion and action in our own modes of life, and equally all appeals to our revealed tenets of religion, and moral duty. I should exclude them, as by no means applicable to the language, sentiments, manners, or morality appertaining to a system of society with which we have been for ages unconnected, and of an antiquity preceding even the first efforts of civilization in our own quarter of the globe, which, in respect to the general diffusion and common participation of arts and sciences, may be now considered as one community.

I would exact from every reader the allowance of obscurity, absurdity, barbarous habits, and a perverted morality. Where the reverse appears, I would have him receive it (to use a familiar phrase) as so much clear gain, and allow it a merit proportioned to the disappointment of a different expectation.

In effect, without bespeaking this kind of indulgence, I could hardly venture to persist in my recommendation of this production for public notice,

Many passages will be found obscure, many will seem redundant; others will be found clothed with ornaments of fancy unsuited to our taste, and some elevated to a track of sublimity into which our habits of judgment will find it difficult to pursue them; but few which will shock either our religious faith or moral sentiments. Something too must be allowed to the subject itself which is highly metaphysical, to the extreme difficulty of rendering abstract terms by others exactly corresponding with them in another language, to the arbitrary combination of ideas, in words expressing unsubstantial qualities, and more, to the errors of interpretation. The modesty of the Translator would induce him to defend the credit of his work, by laying all its apparent defects to his own charge, under the article last enumerated; but neither does his accuracy merit, nor the work itself require that concession.

It is also to be observed, in illustration of what I have premised, that the Brahmans are enjoined to perform a kind of spiritual discipline, not, I believe, unknown to some of the religious orders of Christians in the Romish Church. This consists in devoting a certain period of time to the contemplation of the Deity, his attributes, and the moral duties of this life. It is required of those who practise this exercise, not only that they divest their minds of all sensual desire, but that their attention be abstracted from every external object, and absorbed, with every sense, in the prescribed subject of their meditation. I myself was once a witness of a man employed in this species of devotion, at the principal temple of Benaris. His right hand and arm were enclosed in a loose sleeve or bag of red cloth, within which he passed the beads of his rosary, one after another, through his fingers, repeating with the touch of each (as I was informed) one of the names of God, while his mind laboured to catch and dwell on the idea of the quality which appertained to it, and shewed the violence of its exertion to attain this purpose by the convulsive movements of all his features, his eyes being at the same time closed, doubtless to assist the abstraction. The importance of this duty cannot be better illustrated, nor stronger marked, than by the last sentence with which Kreesna closes his instruction to Arjoon, and which is properly the conclusion of the Geeta: "Hath what I have been speaking, O Arjoon, been heard *with thy mind fixed to one point?*" "Is the *distraction* of thought, which arose from thy ignorance, removed?"

To those who have never been accustomed to this separation of the mind from the notices of the senses, it may not be easy to conceive by what means such a power is to be attained; since even the most studious men of our hemisphere will find it difficult so to restrain their attention but that it will wander to some object of present sense or recollection; and even the buzzing of a fly will sometimes have the power to disturb it. But if we are told that there have been men who were successively, for ages past, in the daily habit of abstracted contemplation, begun in the earliest period of youth, and continued in many to the maturity of age, each adding some portion of knowledge to the store accumulated by his predecessors; it is not assuming too much to conclude, that, as the mind ever gathers strength, like the body, by exercise, so in such an exercise it may in each have acquired the faculty to which they aspired, and that their collective studies may have led them to the discovery of new tracks and combinations of sentiment, totally different from the doctrines with which the learned of other nations are acquainted: doctrines, which however speculative and subtle, still, as they possess the advantage of being derived from a source so free from every adventitious mixture, may be equally founded in truth with the most simple of our own. But as they must differ, yet more than the most abstruse of ours, from the common modes of thinking, so they will require consonant modes of expression, which it may be impossible to render by any of the known terms of science in our language, or even to make them intelligible by definition. This is probably the case with some of the English phrases, as those of "Action," "Application," "Practice," &c. which occur in Mr. Wilkins's translation; and others, for the reasons which I have recited, he has left with the same sounds in which he found them. When the text is rendered obscure from such causes, candor requires that credit be given to it for some accurate meaning, though we may not be able to discover it; and that we ascribe their obscurity to the incompetency of our own perceptions, on so novel an application of them, rather than to the less probable want of perspicuity in the original composition.

With the deductions, or rather qualifications, which I have thus premised, I hesitate not to pronounce the Geeta a performance of great originality; of a sublimity of conception, reasoning, and diction, almost unequalled; and a single exception, among all the known religions of mankind, of a theology accurately corresponding

with that of the Christian dispensation, and most powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines.

It will not be fair to try its relative worth by a comparison with the original text of the first standards of European composition; but let these be taken even in the most esteemed of their prose translations; and in that equal scale let their merits be weighed. I should not fear to place, in opposition to the best French versions of the most admired passages of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, or of the 1st and 6th Books of our own Milton, highly as I venerate the latter, the English translation of the Mahabharat.

One blemish will be found in it, which will scarcely fail to make its own impression on every correct mind; and which for that reason I anticipate. I mean, the attempt to describe spiritual existences by terms and images which appertain to corporeal forms. Yet even in this respect it will appear less faulty than other works with which I have placed it in competition; and, defective as it may at first appear, I know not whether a doctrine so elevated above common perception did not require to be introduced by such ideas as were familiar to the mind, to lead it by a gradual advance to the pure and abstract comprehension of the subject. This will seem to have been, whether intentionally or accidentally, the order which is followed by the author of the *Geeta*; and so far at least he soars far beyond all competitors in this species of composition. Even the frequent recurrence of the same sentiment, in a variety of dress, may have been owing to the same consideration of the extreme intricacy of the subject, and the consequent necessity of trying different kinds of exemplification and argument, to impress it with due conviction on the understanding. Yet I believe it will appear, to an attentive reader, neither deficient in method, nor in perspicuity. On the contrary, I thought it at the first reading, and more so at the second, clear beyond what I could have reasonably expected, in a discussion of points so far removed beyond the reach of the senses, and explained through so foreign a medium.

It now remains to say something of the Translator, Mr. Charles Wilkins. This gentleman, to whose ingenuity, unaided by models for imitation, and by artists for his direction, your government is indebted for its printing-office, and for many official purposes to which it has been profitably applied, with an extent unknown in Europe, has united to an early and successful attainment of the Persian and Bengal languages, the study of the Sanskreet. To this he devoted himself with

a perseverance of which there are few examples, and with a success which encouraged him to undertake the translation of the Mahabharat. This book is said to consist of more than one hundred thousand metrical stanzas, of which he has at this time translated more than a third; and, if I may trust to the imperfect tests by which I myself have tried a very small portion of it, through the medium of another language, he has rendered it with great accuracy and fidelity. Of its elegance, and the skill with which he has familiarised (if I may so express it) his own native language to so foreign an original, I may not speak, as from the specimen herewith presented, whoever reads it, will judge for himself.

Mr. Wilkins's health having suffered a decline from the fatigues of business, from which his gratuitous labours allowed him no relaxation, he was advised to try a change of air for his recovery. I myself recommended that of Benaris, for the sake of the additional advantage which he might derive from a residence in a place which is considered as the first seminary of Hindoo learning; and I promoted his application to the Board, for their permission to repair thither, without forfeiting his official appointments during the term of his absence.

I have always regarded the encouragement of every species of useful diligence, in the servants of the Company, as a duty appertaining to my office; and have severely regretted that I have possessed such scanty means of exercising it, especially to such as required an exemption from official attendance; there being few emoluments in this service but such as are annexed to official employment, and few offices without employment. Yet I believe I may take it upon me to pronounce, that the service has at no period more abounded with men of cultivated talents, of capacity for business, and liberal knowledge; qualities which reflect the greater lustre on their possessors, by having been the fruit of long and laboured application, at a season of life, and with a licence of conduct, more apt to produce dissipation than excite the desire of improvement.

Such studies, independently of their utility, tend, especially when the pursuit of them is general, to diffuse a generosity of sentiment, and a disdain of the meaner occupations of such minds as are left nearer to the state of uncultivated nature; and you, Sir, will believe me, when I assure you, that it is on the virtue, not the ability of their servants, that the Company must rely for the permanency of their dominion.

Nor is the cultivation of language and science, for such are the studies to which I allude, useful only in forming the moral character and habits of the service. Every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the State; it is the gain of humanity: in the specific instance which I have stated, it attracts and conciliates distant affections; it lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection; and it imprints on the hearts of our own countrymen the sense and obligation of benevolence. Even in England, this effect of it is greatly wanting. It is not very long since the inhabitants of India were considered by many, as creatures scarce elevated above the degree of savage life; nor, I fear, is that prejudice yet wholly eradicated, though surely abated. Every instance which brings their real character home to observation will impress us with a more generous sense of feeling for their natural rights, and teach us to estimate them by the measure of our own. But such instances can only be obtained in their writings: and these will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance.

If you, Sir, on the perusal of Mr. Wilkins's performance, shall judge it worthy of so honourable a patronage, may I take the further liberty to request that you will be pleased to present it to the Court of Directors, for publication by their authority, and to use your interest to obtain it? Its public reception will be the test of its real merit, and determine Mr. Wilkins in the prosecution or cessation of his present laborious studies. It may, in the first event, clear the way to a wide and unexplored field of fruitful knowledge; and suggest, to the generosity of his honourable employers, a desire to encourage the first persevering adventurer in a service in which his example will have few followers, and most probably none, if it is to be performed with the gratuitous labour of years lost to the provision of future subsistence: for the study of the Sanskreet cannot, like the Persian language, be applied to official profit, and improved with the official exercise of it. It can only derive its reward, beyond the breath of fame, in a fixed endowment. Such has been the fate of his predecessors, Mr. Halhed, whose labours and incomparable genius, in two useful

productions, have been crowned with every success that the public estimation could give them; nor will it detract from the no less original merit of Mr. Wilkins, that I ascribe to another the title of having led the way, when I add, that this example held out to him no incitement to emulate it, but the prospect of barren applause. To say more, would be disrespect; and I believe that I address myself to a gentleman who possesses talents congenial with those which I am so anxious to encourage, and a mind too liberal to confine its beneficence to such arts alone as contribute to the immediate and substantial advantages of the State.

I think it proper to assure you, that the subject of this address, and its design, were equally unknown to the person who is the object of it; from whom I originally obtained the translation for another purpose, which on a second revisal of the work I changed, from a belief that it merited a better destination.

A mind rendered susceptible by the daily experience of unmerited reproach, may be excused if it anticipates even unreasonable or improbable objections. This must be my plea for any apparent futility in the following observation. I have seen an extract from a foreign work of great literary credit, in which my name is mentioned, with very undeserved applause, for an attempt to introduce the knowledge of Hindoo literature into the European world, by forcing or corrupting the religious consciences of the Pundits, or Professors of their sacred doctrines. This reflection was produced by the publication of Mr. Halhed's translation of the Poostee, or code of Hindoo laws; and is totally devoid of foundation. For myself I can declare truly, that if the acquisition could not have been obtained but by such means as have been supposed, I should never have sought it. It was contributed both cheerfully and gratuitously, by men of the most respectable characters for sanctity and learning in Bengal, who refused to accept more than the moderate daily subsistence of one rupee each, during the term that they were employed on the compilation; nor will it much redound to my credit, when I add, that they have yet received no other reward for their meritorious labours. Very natural causes may be ascribed for their reluctance to communicate the mysteries of their learning to strangers, as those to whom they have been for some centuries in subjection, never enquired into them, but to turn their religion into derision, or deduce from them arguments to support the intolerant principles of their own.

From our nation they have received a different treatment, and are no less eager to impart their knowledge than we are to receive it. I could say much more in proof of this fact, but that it might look too much like self-commendation.

I have the honour to be, with respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

Calcutta, 3rd December, 1784.

P.S.—Since the above was written, Mr. Wilkins has transmitted to me a corrected copy of his Translation, with the Preface and Notes much enlarged and improved. In the former, I meet with some complimentary passages, which are certainly improper for a work published at my own solicitation. But he is at too great a distance to allow of their being sent back to him for correction, without losing the opportunity, which I am unwilling to lose, of the present dispatch; nor could they be omitted, if I thought myself at liberty to expunge them, without requiring considerable alterations in the context. They must therefore stand; and I hope that this explanation will be admitted as a valid excuse for me in passing them.

W. H.

II.—Mr. Wilkins' Letter.

To

The Honourable
WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,
Governor-General, &c., &c.

Honourable Sir,

Unconscious of the liberal purpose for which you intended the *Geeta*, when, at your request, I had the honour to present you with a copy of the manuscript, I was the less solicitous about its imperfections, because I knew that your extensive acquaintance with the customs and religious tenets of the Hindoos would elucidate every

passage that was obscure, and I had so often experienced approbation from your partiality, and correction from your pen: It was the theme of a pupil to his preceptor and patron. But since I received your commands to prepare it for the public view, I feel all that anxiety which must be inseparable from one who, for the first time, is about to appear before that awful tribunal; and I should dread the event, were I not convinced that the liberal sentiments expressed in the letter you have done me the honour to write, in recommendation of the work, to the Chairman of the Direction, if permitted to accompany it to the press, would screen me, under its own intrinsic merit, from all censure:

The world, Sir, is so well acquainted with your boundless patronage in general, and of the personal encouragement you have constantly given to my fellow-servants in particular, to render themselves more capable of performing their duty in the various branches of commerce, revenue, and policy, by the study of the languages, with the laws and customs of the natives, that it must deem the first fruit of every genius you have raised a tribute justly due to the source from which it sprang. As that personal encouragement alone first excited emulation in my breast, and urged me to prosecute my particular studies, even beyond the line of pecuniary reward, I humbly request you will permit me, in token of my gratitude, to lay the *Geeta* publicly at your feet.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
with great respect,
Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

CHAS. WILKINS.

Benaris,
19th November, 1784. }

FRANCHISE FOR INDIAN WOMEN*

BY MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU.

NOT without a due sense of my great privilege do I venture to lay before this Committee, in briefest outline, some of the reasons on which the women of India base their claim to equal franchise in the Scheme of Reforms to inaugurate Responsible Self-Government for India.

* Memorandum submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

I may observe that my sole title to be regarded as an All-India representative of my sex on a question of such far-reaching importance lies in the fact that I am intimately aware of every shade of orthodox and progressive opinion alike, throughout the country, and I am closely associated with all the larger public movements of the day, especially in relation to the vital and delicate problem of the Hindu-Muslim unity.

There are two reasons why I desire to dwell for a moment on the ancient and historic Indian tradition of women's place and purpose in the civic and spiritual life of the nation, and to recall the versatile and illustrious record of her contribution to the National achievement by her wit and wisdom, her valour, devotion and self-sacrifice as scholar and statesman, soldier, saint, queen of her own social kingdom and compassionate servant of suffering humanity.

Firstly: To refute the reiterated argument of the illiberal or uninstructed opponent of women's suffrage as being too premature or too novel and radical a departure from accepted custom likely to offend or alarm a sensitive and stationary prejudice.

Secondly: To demonstrate that the Indian woman is essentially conservative in her impulse and inspiration, and so far from demanding an alien standard of emancipation, she desires that her evolution should be no more than an ample and authentic efflorescence of an age long ideal of dedicated service whose roots are deep hidden in the past.

I do not for one instant deny that the story of her progressive development has suffered severe interruption and shared in that general decline—I had almost said decadence—that befalls a nation with so continuous a chronicle of subjection to foreign rule; but of recent years the woman of the Indian renaissance, largely owing to the stimulus of invigorating Western ideas and influences has once more vindicated herself as not wholly unworthy of her own high social and spiritual inheritance. And already she is beginning to recover her natural place and establish her prerogatives as an integral part of the National life.

It is, indeed, a curious and startling irony of fate that the trend of a doubtless conscientious, but over cautious official decision is to refuse her a formal legislative sanction for a privilege which is already hers in spirit and substance, tacitly acknowledged and widely exercised; for the power of the Indian woman is supreme and her influence incalculable in the inner life of her own people. I do not exaggerate when I assert that there is no summit to which she might not aspire or attain in any sphere of our National energy or enterprise unhampered save by the limitations of her own personal ambition and ability.

Wherein has her sex disqualified the Indian woman, or disinherited her, from the rich honours she has earned in equal emulation and comradeship with her brother in every field of intellectual or patriotic endeavour?

In our universities she has won brilliant distinction in the arts and sciences, medicine, law, and oriental learning. She holds office in the Courts and Senates of Universities, like Bombay University, the Hindu University of Benares and the Women's University of Poona and the National University.

She has evinced her creative talent in literature and music, she has proved her consummate tact and resource in administering vast properties and intricate affairs and demonstrated beyond all question her marvellous capacity to organise and sustain great educational institutions and large philanthropic missions for social service. She has been pre eminently associated with the political life of the country, uplifting the voice of her indignation against all measures of unjust and oppressive legislation, like the Partition of Bengal, the Press Act, the Defence of India Bill and the Rowlatt Bill, she has accorded her cordial support to all beneficent social and economic measures, like Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory education, the Civil Marriage Bill of Mr. Basu, the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill of Mr. Patel and the Swadeshi Movement inaugurated by my friend and leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and all efforts to ameliorate the condition of the depressed and afflicted members of our Society.

Moreover, not only has she participated in the programmes of our great periodic National Assemblies, like the National Congress, the Muslim League, the Social Reform and Social Service Conferences but has not infrequently been called upon to guide their deliberations, direct their policies, harmonise their differences, and unite their ideals towards a common goal of self-realisation.

Where then lies the logic of their refusal of a franchise to Pandita Ramabai, or Swarna Kumari Ghosal? To Ramabai Ranade or Kamala Satthianadham? To Kamiti Sen or Shireenbai Cursesji? To Nagutai Joshi or Anasuya Sarabhai? To Abala Bose or Cornelia Sorabji? To Indra Devi or Sarala Devi? To Sarala Ray Fuji Petal or Uma Nehru Vidya Ramanbhai? To Mrs. Chandrasekhara Aiyar of Mysore or Mrs. Sadasiva Aiyar of Madras?

And what of that group of women in the seclusion of the Purdah, whose culture and accomplishments rival the golden age of the Saracens? Sultan Jehan of Bhopal and Nezli Raffia of Janjira? Abru Begum, Tyaba Begum, Khujista Sultana Begum; Abadi Baru, the lion-hearted mother of the Ali brothers: to the courageous young wife of the poet Hasrat

Mohani; the late Suhaiwardja Begum, who from her sequestered corner set papers in oriental Classics for the Calcutta University and Amina Hydari who won the Kaiser-i-Hind decoration for her selfless services in a time of tragic distress in the Hyderabad State?

But it is the Purdha which constitutes the chief weapon in the armoury of opposition against franchise for Indian women. I readily concede that it might in its initial stages seriously inconvenience and complicate the electoral system, and perhaps even be attended with temporary danger of fraudulent votes.

Although it is no part of either my mandate or my mission to ask for any concession or preferential treatment for women, I am still constrained to say that I fail to understand, when the interests of small political minorities of men are safeguarded with a scrupulous care, why it might not be possible in course of time to extend a similar chivalrous consideration to the Purdah-nashin in those local and limited areas where this custom is rigidly enforced, for I am sure that her vote would usually be exercised with intelligence and discretion and prove a valuable acquisition to the country.

Without discussing the merits or demerits of this old social custom, I am convinced that like the other all time-honoured but already obsolete social observances and usages, the Purdah system can no longer remain immutable, but must readjust itself to the needs and demands of a widespread national re-awakening. And after all, the terrors of the polling booth would scarcely daunt the Purdah-nashin who in the course of her religious pilgrimages habitually encounters immense multitudes and becomes no more than a casual unit of a heterogeneous pilgrim democracy.

What, however, of the unsequestered women of Malabar and Madras, the Maharashtra and Gujrat and the Central Province? Of the enlightened women of the Parsi, Sikh and Christian Communities, of the Arya Samaj of Punjab and the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal? Whether the franchise be one of literacy or of property their inclusion would in no wise disturb or deflect the normal electoral arrangements.

In the name of the women of India, I make my appeal to the statesmen of a glorious country whose cherished freedom is broad based upon a people's will. There is not one citadel of Hindu civilisation, or one centre of Islamic culture, where I have not scattered broadcast my message of India's duty and destiny among the free

nations of the world. I have spoken to the youths in their academies, to the women in their walled gardens, to the merchants in the marketplace, to the peasants in the shade of their fig and banyan trees, but how shall my prophecy be realised and how shall my country take her predestined place worthily in the noble world federation of liberated peoples, until the women of India are themselves free and enfranchised, and stand as the guardians of her national honour and the symbols of her national righteousness?

APPENDIX I.

WOMEN'S LITERACY IN BRITISH INDIA.

(STATISTICAL ABSTRACT 1915-1916.)

COMMUNITY.	VERNACULAR PROFICIENCY	ENGLISH PROFICIENCY.
Hindus	814,810	23,569
Muslims	137,867	3,940
Parsees	31,218	8,347
Christians	252,295	112,643
Jains	24,120	209
Sikhs	17,280	238
Aggregate Literacy	1,600,763	152,026
STANDARD OF EDUCATION.	PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.	PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.
Arts Colleges	469	1,873
Professional Colleges	131	
Secondary Schools	93,997	
Primary Schools	993,459	73,400
Special School Instruction	2,405	

APPENDIX II.

WOMEN'S OCCUPATION IN BRITISH INDIA.


CENSUS REPORT 1911.

Women living on their own income	62,614
Department of Medicine	11,298
„ Instruction	25,745
Letters Arts and Sciences	88,471
Aggregate of Women following Professions and Liberal Arts	402,586

THE RISE IN PRICES

BY

MR. S. A. PANDE, M.A., LL.B.

 THE extraordinary rise in the prices of all commodities is the topic that appears to have engaged the attention of nearly all the principal countries of the world, and in many of them committees of experts have been appointed to enquire into this somewhat alarming phenomenon. Naturally our own country which is only a big dependency, even in economic matters as it is in the political,—nay it is even worse in the economic sphere, for in this sphere all the big countries of the world seem to be mandatories in relation to this dependency—has had its share in the universal rise. Like all the unusual phenomena, this rise must also have excited much of the curiosity of laymen and many must be eager to hear what has contributed to the rise in prices.

An advanced student of Economics will explain this rise by what is termed in Economics the “quantitative theory of money” which means that the more the money is available in any country at any time, the higher is the level of prices in the same.

A shrewd business man also knows this causation and would surely explain this rise by saying that the prices are high because the money is cheap, and the money is cheap because its supply is abnormal. He will know that the rise in prices is due among other things to the monetary machinery not working smoothly according to its normal laws. The history of prices all the world over since the precious metals came to be used as the principal and in fact, only media of exchange, since the barter system was abolished in favour of specie payments for goods, since exchange came to be settled in terms of money and money only in the form of the two precious metals of gold and silver, will show very clearly that there is a very close and immediate connection between the rise in prices and the increase in the supply of these two precious metals, gold and silver.

Any layman wishing to understand this interesting sequence can read, for example, Mr. L. L. Price's book on “Money and its Relation to Prices” which is an able attempt at a sound exposition of this interesting yet very intricate subject. It illustrates very lucidly how the increase in these precious metals brought about by discoveries of gold in America and Australia occasioned a similar increase in the prices of other commodities and how a fall in the supply of these metals brought down the general prices as well.

The author has taken every new discovery of mines of these metals and has shown that every time such discovery has raised prices to higher levels; prices rose in Europe in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries consequent on the discovery of America and her mines; they went on increasing till A.D. 1810 when they fell for some time because of the mines of America being closed to Europe owing to the revolt of the Spanish-American Colonies; they again have gone up after 1850 up to the present day; all along since the opening of the gold and silver mines of the world, there has been a constant and regular rise in prices.

The credit system which enables modernity to rear up a huge superstructure of cheques, bills, and currency notes on the basis of the metallic money has aggravated this mischief all the more.

Let us therefore see how the influx of precious metals works on the level of prices. First, in the countries where mines are opened, the level of prices goes up because of the cheapness of money. The metals being abundant there, they act on the current of prices and raise them up. The factor is both a mental and an economic one; the miners having abundance of the metals naturally are rather anxious to get other commodities in exchange for the same and give more gold or silver for the exchange, the metals being cheap. The economic factor is that the more any commodity is put up on the market, the less is its price in terms of other commodities; that is, the metals being more in the countries of mines, their value gets less, and hence you have to pay them more in exchange for other commodities thus both these aspects increase the prices in the countries of mines first. This increase then spreads itself to other countries trading with the mines-countries; metals go from these latter to other trading countries in exchange for the imports received by the countries of mines, prices are thus raised in other countries also: thus this goes on till all the countries trading with each other are affected by the same. Prices rose first in America where metals were mined; then they rose in Spain, for this country was the first to trade with America; and then they increased in the Netherlands. We all know that our fore-fathers in India never had so much money as we have now, neither their services nor their commodities used to be paid for so highly as are ours now, simply because there was not much money available then; but now the money of the world has in-

creased because for metals and other superstructure of credit in the form of cheques, currency notes and bills; the money is more even for the increased transactions of the world; and hence we witness all over the country a constant rise in prices. The foreign trading firms, for example, have huge amounts of money with them and hence to get your commodities they are prepared to pay you more money than they would have done, had they less money on their hands. This would be illustrated better by a more homely example of two men, one with a fat salary and another with a lean pay; the former having more money with him he is always ready to pay more for the same commodity than the latter. The money having no value with the former will pay his barber, milkman and others more than the latter for the same service rendered.

This naturally has the effect of raising the prices of the commodities. So this abundance of money is the one potent factor in the rise of prices; there are other factors too; such as the supply and demand for the commodities and we shall deal with these presently. Naturally with the increased facilities of transport, every commodity is made available to any part of the globe and hence desirable commodities have a wider circle of customers in these days than in the days of our grand-fathers; this is another factor in the rise of prices.

Then there is perhaps the third factor also, namely, of supply, though, I think, there are very few commodities which have undergone a decrease in their production.

Thus the whole phenomenon of the rise of prices can be attributed to these three factors, *viz.*, more money, increased demand and perhaps in some cases, diminished supply.

Now we shall see how the late War has brought about such a huge rise in prices. There are however one or two propositions to be stated in this connection and I shall state them before we dive deep into the abyss of the war.

I have stated above that the rise spreads from country to country; it also spreads from commodity to commodity and from one class of producers to another. Again what is known as speculation also affects this rise and fall of prices more than mere money would do; and this speculation business can be done many a time without much money in your hands; I think, what are in the markets called "forward deliveries" is perhaps an instance in point. Speculation means increasing a demand for any commodity or commodities

more than necessary, and thus increasing their price. This speculation has many a time a marked effect on the level of prices, and unfortunately modern business has in it so much of speculation.

Now we shall trace the war phenomena.

During the war all the above three causes of the rise of prices were working potently and hence the rise all around. There was certainly an increased demand for nearly all commodities necessary for life. The armies, because of the increased physical strain, required more food than in ordinary days; the navy because of the increased maritime activities required more coal and other things necessary for its proper working; the other means of war were also in urgent demand on a very huge and stupendous scale unknown to history.

The supply of these necessities of war and civil life was naturally curtailed because of the less production, as much of the usual labour and capital was diverted to war avenue from its usual occupation. We know Germany, Austria, Russia and Belgium and also a part of France were in a state of much devastation, very little food being grown in these regions. Naturally the supply of food and other necessary things was curtailed with the result that higher prices had to be paid for the same according to the economic law that the less the supply of any commodity, the more is the price of the same, the demand being constant. As already noted even the demand had increased; so naturally prices went up very high.

Then the third factor of money also worked very powerfully. The exigencies of war know no law. Everything had to be purchased by the belligerents at any cost that the producers demanded; cost was no consideration then; efficiency was everything. The armies had to be provided with every necessary of life at any cost at once; and the other means of war had to be supplied in the same way. The result was money had to be increased to purchase all these things on a larger scale than usual. Money was increased, gold was stored in the bank-vaults, and a huge quantity of paper money was issued to the public; the sellers of every commodity seeing the urgency of the demand, and the shortness of supply of all commodities, increased prices, and governments also seeing their own urgent needs increased their own supply of money more than they would have done in normal times with the result that prices rose almost fabulously.

Governments could increase their money-resources because of the paper currency to which the public have long been used. Had it been a matter of paying in metallic money only and in no other medium it would have been difficult; for metallic money cannot be produced and made available by the states so easily as the paper money which the governments can produce to any extent; paper money is only promissory notes passed by the government in fact it is raising so much debt from the public; All metallic money was withdrawn from the public by means of public loans and other Government debts and paper money was issued to the public in any amount; thus the states doubled their resources. They withdrew all metallic money from the public, refused to issue metallic money from their vaults and issued in return paper money which could be manufactured very easily; the usual principles of paper money being based on an adequate supply of metal in the metallic reserves of the state was disregarded in the name of war exigencies and thus paper money was made inconvertible. Having thus secured the very easy means of paper money, that is promises to pay in future for the commodities bought in the present, governments did not mind paying even more for those commodities than they ordinarily would have done; we all know how willing we are to pay a little more if the payment is to be made on some latter date; government were in this respect in a superior position; for the currency notes of the states, which are in fact promissory notes for which we sue our debtors, could remain unpaid for any length of time. You cannot force the state to pay you in cash for the currency note that you possess; Government may pay you in cash or may defer the payment with impunity to any length of time; an ordinary debtor would be declared a bankrupt in such circumstances; governments are not declared so. Naturally being thus favourably circumstanced and being hardly pressed by the needs of war, governments paid and could pay higher prices with their cheaper paper money and thus contributed to the increase of prices of all necessary commodities. The commodities being equally required for combatants and non-combatants, the latter also had to pay the higher prices and hence they felt and feel the increase. Besides these important factors other subsidiary factors such as the difficulties of transport and the wide spirit of speculation and profiteering also had a marked effect on the prices, in fact, of all the commodities.

Speculation was especially rife during the war period; both profiteers and governments were speculating, profiteers to make huge profits and governments to provide against future contingencies and shortage. Both were trying to make large purchases unwarrantedly and were thus raising prices. The difficulties of transport also played their part in this increase. Money must have increased in volume so much that it must have overpowered the other factors in the rise; that paper money was added to any extent is shown by the discount-rate on encashment of currency notes in India, and the inability of banks and treasuries also to encash the same.

The paper currency—nay abundance of currency is a double curse—makes the giver give more and the acceptor demand more for the same commodity, thus raising prices.

Then one commodity affects another also; we find in our market purchases that not only the commodities required on the battle fronts are dear but even other commodities for which there is no demand from the front have also become dear; and the reason for this again is the same monetary theory of greater money and higher prices; when the producers of these last commodities find that they have to pay higher prices for other commodities around them and required by them, they also raise their prices; for example, our labourer and milkman naturally demand higher prices for their commodities when they have to pay more for their food and clothing and other necessities of life. These then in short are the reasons of the increase in prices.

Whether these prices will go down and whether our past golden days of low prices will come in are questions depending on the above factors; your milkman and labourer, barber and washerman, grocer and gardener will continue to demand higher remuneration for their wares so long as they have to pay higher in return for their own necessities; and they will have to pay higher as long as Government does not stop and withdraw the superfluous currency and speculators do not cease from their game of higher bids; for it is these latter namely, the speculators and profiteers, who are instrumental in bringing about the increase in the prices of these goods.

Governments also are a type of speculators; they being in a position to produce any amount of money and also having many a time huge amounts of money, they always are ready to pay higher prices than ordinary customers and thus always tend to raise prices; during wars, governments naturally raise prices too much by

their extravagant demands and waste. The effects of the rise in prices however are always everlasting ; once prices go up, they always remain at the higher level long after, partly because the producers of various commodities get accustomed to higher prices and are afterwards naturally reluctant to accept lower rates. Therefore states and profiteers should be on their guard in their zest for their respective goals which are immediate advantages ; they of course serve their immediate good by raising prices by their great demand, but the proletariat has to suffer from these evils for long afterwards. The richer classes of the community are always instrumental in raising prices because they have more money to offer and the more the money, the higher the prices.

The above reasoning will show that even after the war, for some years at least, prices will remain at this higher level ; the producers will like to demand higher rates they have been accustomed to ; the big and rich nations will like to pay the same because they want to make up for their past loss by producing more wealth ; and in this game the poorer nations and the poorer classes of India will suffer ; especially those who have fixed incomes and varying expenditure and those who have been living on their past earnings such as pensioners, widows, and landlords having ancestral estates to live on. Again the volume of money created for the large war transactions will not diminish at once ; so supply of things also will not increase at once ; prices will thus remain high for some time.

If the paper money is withdrawn, or if the paper money is issued on the basis of a metallic equivalent which should not find vent out of the bank vaults, then alone prices will go down.

We will have nothing to say against paper money so long as that money is not in excess of its metallic basis, for in such a case, the paper money does the function of the metallic money only, and does not perform the additional function of swelling the total amount of money which latter takes place when the paper money is partly based on metal and is partly without that basis when its metallic basis is invested in securities and their like. Therefore the first thing that we have to ask our governments to do is the curtailment of money ; the present policy all the world over of increase in state money, state expenditure, state salaries of all officials is very injurious to the masses of the populace. Money must be curtailed and then governments should not increase the expenditure of their departments and the salaries of their officials. This increase in salaries has also a marked effect on the prices

of the country ; the officers getting fat salaries are ready to pay more prices for the same commodities than the other sections of the public who have no fat salaries with the result that these former increase the prices on the same old principle of cheaper money and higher prices. The more the money you have, the more you are ready to give the same in exchange for other articles that you need. The curtailment of money need not however mean that efficiency will suffer ; you get the same work done with less money, making money dearer by its supply being made shorter ; the prices will go down, and every body will get commodities cheap.

Therefore the present bad policy of states in increasing their money resources to pay more all the services cannot be too much condemned in the light of the above observations ; that is a misery to the public.

I shall illustrate this rather abstruse chain of reasoning by an instance from nearer home. In India there has been a move at present in all the departments of governments for an increase of the salaries all round ; even state pensioners demand an increase. And the Government has to do the same in view of the prevailing high prices all round ; now if we consider the object of this demand on the part of the state officers for an increase in their salaries, it will be found to have the same old necessities of life, with of course a little increased standard of comfort, bought at higher prices because of the general rise ; the officers say " we want the same old things for life " but we have got to pay for those very things higher prices than before and hence an increase in our salaries is quite so necessary ; therefore if the Government shortens the supply of money by cancelling all paper money, prices will go down, and if they go down, public servants would not press for an increase in their salaries.

I would advocate therefore a temporary increase in the state salaries till the prices go down ; but as soon as the prices go down, lower the salaries too ; for if you allow the salaries to remain at this famine level in future also when prices go down, then you allow one of the subsidiary causes of the rise of prices to remain in existence.

Of course all this means that this will necessitate a world-wide movement, a commission of international appointment to solve this question on these right lines of curtailment of fabulous money. The problem is not of India only ; the problem relates to the whole world, all the parts

of which are in close communication with one another.

Let us hope the Peace Conference takes up this question of curtailment of money in future. I however look askance at this present movement of a permanent rise in the salaries of state officers in all countries and especially in this poor country of India which is already pressed with a topheavy alien administration; they further intend to make it bottomheavy also; miserable will be the lot of the populace then; they will suffer from two curses in that eventuality; one will be the higher taxes to pay the increase, increased salaries and the state expenditure and the other will be the higher prices.

A rich and moneyed class in the nation, be it official or otherwise, always tends to increase the prices in the nation.

This proposed measure of increased salaries of the state officers must therefore be dropped at once or attempted only for the time being, till prices are reduced to their previous level.

I am sure if money is made scarce and if speculation is checked we will have in India the same low level prices which reigned in this country before the famine of A.D. 1900. Of course one thing is needed for this desideratum and that is, that either India must be completely isolated from the other countries of the west which are maddened with the increase of their wealth

or the same movement must take root in all the countries of the world; the former alternative is impossible, the latter is desirable.

Then the second thing is, we must curtail all fictitious and speculative demands for the necessities of life; we must discourage pools and corners; this will also bring down prices; and the third desideratum is that we must increase the supply by all rational means of all the necessities of life; let all countries produce more those commodities for which they are fitted, necessities being attended to at first; and let us prevent all waste, ignorant or rash, both in consumption and production, private or public.

These are the problems for the future which demand the close attention of all the statesmen of the world:

We have had enough of cunning politics, superficial solutions, and hurried remedies leaving the material evils of humanity still unremedied.

The future demands more international honesty, more deep-rooted attention and more thorough-going cures for all the social evils; and all this requires a deep study of the subject. Fashionable savants going about their daily rounds of tea and shave, bath and lunch, tennis and football can scarcely do the needful if they are not in earnest and serious.

With these words I close.

CHARACTER

BY

SRI PRAKASA, B.A., LL.B. (CANTAB), BAR-AT-LAW.

NE of the many misunderstood or imperfectly understood—but, none the less, constantly used—words is “Character”. What does the word mean? What idea does it convey to one’s mind? Is its significance the same in every case? Let us take some illustrations: A. is a character; B. ’s character is good; C. is a man of strong character; D. is a bad character. In every one of these expressions the same word “character” means a different thing. The first means that A. is original, that he has certain peculiarities not found in others, he may be unconventional or have certain specialities that distinguish him from the average lot of people among whom he lives. The second means that B. is a truthful, honest, kind-hearted and pure-lived man. The third means that C. gets things done, he is not deterred by opposition or unfavorable

circumstances. The fourth means that D. is unreliable; immoral and untrustworthy. Though these might be regarded as merely pieces of school boy exercises, they have been specially mentioned here as there is undeniably a certain amount of confusion in the ordinary mind regarding the significance of the word “character”: most persons invariably take the moral stand point, specially in the sexual aspect, when judging a person’s character. And this attitude of mind would naturally result in wrong, one-sided and even wholly unfair estimates of historical personages. Most of the greatest figures that have left their indelible marks on the pages of the world’s story, have been, unfortunately, such as would be convicted of bad character in private and public life, if judged by average standards. All warriors would go down to posterity as cruel;

all conquerors as rapacious; all statesmen as liars; and almost all religious teachers as immoral.

Despite all these drawbacks, those that have distinguished themselves in life have received, and justly received, the appellation of the "great"; and private vices and shortcomings have been eclipsed in the dazzling light of their eminence. This greatness is due to character. This is always preached and also judiciously taught to students in school and college; the zealous teachers throwing the mantle of oblivion on the ugly parts of the heroes' lives. What is this character? This character and moral conduct have to be sharply differentiated. The two cannot be judged by the same standards. Character here does not necessarily mean speaking the truth, being kind to one and all, generous, forgiving and philanthropic. Unfortunately these virtues, more often than not, are conspicuous by their absence in persons who have achieved greatness in life. Character, here, really means perseverance, steadfastness, accompanied by capacity—and crowned by success—to do and dare everything for the accomplishment of a certain definite aim, goal or ideal. That is really the test of character and, knowing or unknowingly, we have to—and, as a matter of fact, we do—apply this test in determining our heroes' work and worth. It is always a recognised canon—though never openly confessed—that success is the criterion for judging one's character. Whatever the aim or end in view may be, the firm and stern determination that carries a man through all odds to his ideal, in the achievement of which he looks neither to the right nor to the left and for which he is willing to let go everything else including social and domestic joys—is *character*. A man's aim may be to conquer the world and subdue human beings to his will; it may be his ambition to amass a huge fortune; to lead a nation's political life; or it may be some humbler aspiring—the man's character will be judged by the energy he spends on his work; his one-pointed concentration on it; his elaborate mastery of all the necessary details; his absolute indifference to other things despite jeers, sneers, jealousies and hostilities of fellowmen, and, above all, the measure of success he attains in his undertaking. Shri Krishna has declared in the Bhagavad-Gita that wherever there is eminence, wherever there is greatness in any department of life, be it good or bad according to the ordinary standards, there is He. He has removed the whole subject from the arena of the nicely balanced moral and immoral, to the sphere of the

non-moral, for has He not said that He is the skill of the eminent gambler, the speed of the eminent racer, the greatness of the eminent man. In fact he says:

"Whatsoever is glorious, good, beautiful, and mighty, understand thou that to go forth from a fragment of My splendour."


Our countrymen, at this particular time seem greatly to lack the element of character, as I have attempted to depict it above, in their individual as well as communal lives. They start work with great energy and enthusiasm but are not able to keep on with firmness and dogged perseverance at it and cheerfully to brave the difficulties and discouragements that are natural and inevitable concomitants of every work, great or small. It is, I believe, this fatal lack that is responsible for a great many failures in various directions in India—individual or national. And that is not only telling on the morale of the race it is responsible for the discredit of the nation in the eyes of others and their want of confidence in our capacity and even our honesty and sincerity. It is high time that we, by our own solid work, washed this stigma and falsified this reproach from ourselves and determined, once for all, to do the work we have taken in hand through thick and thin, through good report and evil; and either crown our efforts with success or die making our best efforts to the last. So many institutions in the land—educational, industrial and financial—wither for want of the support of men of character—again in the sense in which I have used the word—so many works started with high hopes and ambitions languish and die, for the men who started them have withdrawn at the first breath of inclement weather.

In the immediate future, when our hearts are trembling as well as hoping, when expectations have been roused and great things may happen, it will be more than essential that we should be prepared to adhere to our respective jobs with iron determination and carry to a fitting conclusion the work we have taken in hand. Character tells in great as well as small work; and though it is not given to all of us to embark on gigantic undertakings, we shall have done our little bit of our country and our people if we do the little tasks allotted to us with industry, steadfastness and firm determination. And if we all do our humble best, all will be well and much work will be successfully and usefully accomplished in a surprisingly short time.

IS THE WORLD GROWING BETTER ?

BY

MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

OT without reason may the question be asked, after so many years of unparalleled slaughter and bloodshed : "*Is the world growing better ?*"

The vast upheaval of the recent world-catastrophe, contrary to all other Wars, has certainly left us with a great sense of levelling up. The victorious end which we have attained in the greatest of ordeals indeed conclusively marks the close of an epoch. For a New World has been called in to redress the balance of the Old. A fresh international system has been brought to birth in which the old ambitions can have no place, from which the old rivalries have been expelled, and in which there is a well-grounded hope that by common counsel the nations, great and small, will in future settle their differences without inflicting upon mankind the losses, horrors, and agonies of War.

Speaking, therefore, in a general way, a reply is at once suggested. Compared not with one period only, but, so far as we know, with all time, the world is undoubtedly growing better and happier. In taking the broadest and longest view of the material and spiritual condition of mankind, there can hardly be any doubt about this point.

A new ethical sense, in fact, prevails to-day. People are now no longer regarded as mere chattels. For we have passed out of the era of Militarism and now face mankind with a new proposition—the idea of preventing all wars and racial quarrels. It is an idea which represents progress, not science, for, as will readily be appreciated, science can be as easily abused as any other mechanism if the mind so wills it. For great discoveries naturally do not signify progress unless they are utilised progressively. Nor does physical action. What Caesar left was Shakespeare's play. All that Napoleon has left are his roads.

Beyond all this, and possibly the greatest contribution which has been made to the world's progress, is the altered political status of man. Not even the miraculous developments of mechanical invention seem to be so wonderful, or so important to human welfare, as the relation which civilised man now bears to the State. In this age of progress, indeed, no one will dispute that the new epoch on which we have

entered will see marvellous advances and improvements on every hand. To try to peep into the future, of course, is the work of the seer or the prophet, and no claim is made to be either the one or the other. But there are certain tendencies of modern progress and discovery which will become translated shortly into actual facts, and it needs no prophet to forecast what these will be.

For the purpose of argument let us regard England as a typical standard and ask ourselves : "*Is the world growing better ?*" Let us look back to the condition of a great part of the people in Shakespeare's day. Compare his clowns with England's present agricultural population. It is clear that they had few rights which were greater than the rights of dogs and horses, and, even the large-hearted Shakespeare, in making sport of them, for the most part regards them with a sort of lofty pity. Huddled together in vast rookeries they were destitute of anything which could be regarded as sanitation. Notwithstanding the comparatively smaller population and the greater facilities for feeding the people off the country soil, it is obvious that the food of the people at large was of the poorest quality. Even Shakespeare's pictures of feasts and festal days sufficiently indicate that when the poor were fed on roast beef and drank ale they were enjoying a rare and gargantuan feast.

As a remarkable testimony respecting the perceptible lengthening of the physical span of the intellectual life brought about by better housing conditions, with the consequent immunity from great plagues, and better foods, it is well to observe that a man in Shakespeare's plays is considered old when between forty and fifty years of age. Indeed, it is understood that John Gaunt, whose age is so much played upon, was a man of forty-nine ; while Shakespeare, after a period of retirement from active life, himself died at fifty two and this was reckoned as a ripe age.

By the development of the sciences of medicine and surgery an enormous contribution, too, has been made to the health of the human race. What the germ theory of Lister has done we are hardly yet in a position to say, but it is clear that the discoveries of the past century in surgery are greater in scientific value than those of any

antecedent period. The discovery of the anaesthetic principles of ether and chloroform has of itself been of incalculable service in relieving the sufferings of humanity.

Again, we may claim that with the improvement in social conditions, morality has also made effective headway. The morality of the world, indeed, is now better than at any previous period. And, although the vice of drunkenness in many lands is still a terrible and awful curse, the evidence before us goes to show that in relation to the population there is less excess in drink now than at any other period.

Education has also made extraordinary strides. Formerly it was regarded as a matter largely for private enterprise and not until quite recent years did the State recognise the principle that the poor had a right to be educated and that ignorance constituted a positive danger against which it is the duty of the people to guard. Many indirect forms of popular education, too, have arisen. These include cheap postal facilities, in expensive literature and popular newspapers. With regard to the pen, which is said to be mightier than the sword, it is quite possible that journalism will advance by leaps and bounds in the new epoch upon which we are entering. What precise forms of journalism may become fashionable we will not dare to predict, but there are certain directions which may be indicated in which the mechanical production of the newspaper will probably advance.

Travel again has had a great educating effect. When you recall that in 1815 the first passenger railway between Stockton and Darlington travelled at ten miles an hour, you can realise a little what mechanical invention has done to make travel more practicable. The very disposition to travel, in fact, is a great factor in making the world better and happier. The ocean greyhound of the present day, however, will probably be quite eclipsed by the rapid ships of the future. On land, also, great advances will be seen in the way of locomotion. It is now an established fact that a suitably designed car can be safely run at a speed of 120 miles an hour on the monorail system. Man, too, as we all are aware, will shortly confine his travels no longer to land and sea—he will navigate the air as well, and who can foresee the possibilities of this form of travel within the next decade?

Nothing is more indicative of the civilisation of a nation of course, than its treatment of women. Where a woman is free and held in honour, civilisation is high; where she is held in

subjection, civilisation is low. The chivalrous attitude which secures her position on an equality with man always goes with the highest condition of human enlightenment. Macaulay says that if there is a word of truth in history, women have always been, and still were playthings, and captives and beasts of burden. This was no doubt to a very large extent due to the fact that men have hitherto been the creators of the laws. Just before the European War, in fact, the women of almost every clime were fighting for political emancipation. Who would even argue against their rights now?

A revolution has taken place at the very base of our civilisation. The home in course of time will be affected, divorce, marriage, property, morality, even politics, which are the last always to improve. For a New Era is opening—a woman's era, and this must necessarily denote a great change in economics, pushing forward to equalisation, to better conditions, to higher ideals. Never before has woman been accorded such opportunities, and who will prophesy where she will stop? All this is nevertheless sudden, revolutionary, full of promise. We cannot, however, gauge the results. All that we know is that a new reality has arisen; the World has a new idea of woman.

The new epoch, too, will undoubtedly witness a great progress in the attitude of the people towards international affairs. The principle is gaining recognition on all hands that War is a barbarous, brutal and impossible means of settling international disputes. The world knows, in fact, that another great war on the modern scale means annihilation for us all. It realises that the new science with its new weapons will wipe us all out if we do not wipe out war as an arbitrament between nations. It now recognises that the morality of a nation ought really to be no lower than the morality of the individual, and that bloodshed is an outrage against the natural law. The League of Nations must therefore control man, the savage animal, or he will tear himself to pieces in the slime of science. All must unite to save the mothers of the future from the inferno of anguish heaped upon the broken-hearted mothers of to-day. It is to the reign of moral force that we must look for the appeasement of national rancours and rivalries, for the unification of races, and for the establishment of a true world partnership based upon mutual interests and the formation of a common brotherhood of the world's peoples.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The Federation of India.

Mr. B. Houghton writes in *The Political Science Quarterly* (June 1919) that Indian protest is not confined to a limited *intelligentsia*, as some would still vainly have us believe and that soon the tide of national feeling will cover the few spots as yet untouched. He says that the essential point in a federation is that the component states should each possess a corporate life, common interests and historic traditions of its own, and that this is true of Indian provinces and therefore they are fit subjects for federation. It is immaterial whether they come together as separate entities, surrendering in a *fœtus* certain individual rights, or whether they do so after control has been exercised over them by a central government at Simla. Not "the outward semblance of some form of federation" in the halting words of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, but federation itself in the precise modern sense is beyond question the future form of Indian Government.

In the case of provincial governments the Report commends the single-chamber system. The writer would support a division of functions between *reserved* and *transferred* subjects but the division should take place not by naming the subjects to be transferred, but by naming those reserved, all others being under the control of the popular body. He would also recommend that the popular ministers should be removable by the legislatures, and should not continue in office for the life-time of the latter. The legislatures must have full powers of taxation, outside the heads reserved to the central government, and of borrowing. The Government of India, though allowing a large popular majority in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, proposes to create a second or nominated chamber, the Council of State, which is more or less, the old official majority in another form. Unlike the famous Report of Lord Durham on Canada in 1837, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has been influenced by supporters of the existing regime. Assuming that the goal of the Indian Government is federation the Council of State should be designed to represent the provincial governments, at first perhaps with a strong official tinge in the membership. This and not the saving of official face should be the underlying motive for a reformed central government.

The Reform of the Secretary of State's Council so as to make it really conversant with the conditions of a changing India is good,

The Indian Cotton Committee.

Dr. Harold Mann, writing in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* (June, '19) says that the Report of the Indian Cotton Committee is probably the best account of the present condition and future prospects of cotton in the country. The first point about which the Committee were impressed is that cotton grown everywhere in the Bombay Presidency is hopelessly mixed; and in one type of cotton grown in one field, there may be as many as 7 or 8 varieties, and of each of these, there will be dozens of strains of very varying value. Their first recommendation is about the evolving, either by selection or by breeding, types of cotton for each of the districts, which can be produced on a large scale and which will give a larger yield of better cotton and hence a greater profit than anything now produced and which will gradually replace the mixed cottons now produced.

Having got pure strains of the most profitable types of cotton suitable to any tract, the next two difficulties are (1) to see that the growers get full value for their cottons, and (2) to prevent the types getting mixed and thus deteriorating rapidly. As long as cultivators are growers on a small scale, this will form a very great difficulty. The second danger of deterioration owing to new admixture, whether deliberate or accidental is also particularly serious; and it is chiefly due to the fact that the interests of the ginner are not identical with those of the cultivator and lie only in a secondary sense in the maintenance of high quality cotton in the field, or in the purity of the seed he afterwards sells to the cultivator. The only remedy is to make the interests of the ginner and cultivator identical or in other words to develop co operative ginning.

"There are thus indicated three portions of the cotton producing industry where co operative societies may be considered to have a fair chance. The first is as seed-growers and seed-sellers, and where new and improved types have been evolved and where supervision of the exports of an agricultural department is available, such societies may achieve a great success, as has been the case in Berar. The second is in the organising of auction sales of improved types of *kapas* when grown, as is being done, and with success, in the Dharwar district at the present time. The third is in the co-operative ginning of *kapas* on behalf of societies of growers, and so preserving improved seed from all possibility of deterioration. This form of co-operation is developing."

Fragmentation of Holdings.

Mr. B. C. Burt, Deputy-Director of Agriculture in the United Provinces writing in *The Agricultural Journal of India* for July discusses the question of the fragmentation of holdings as it affects the introduction of agricultural improvements. He says that the size of what may be considered an economic holding must vary considerably with the nature of the soil, the crops grown and the nature of the sources of irrigation. In the United Provinces, for typical canal irrigated land, eight acres of mixed farming probably represents the area which can be managed with a single pair of good cattle to advantage. How far smaller holdings are really uneconomic and how far they represent allotments cultivated by labourers who are partly dependent on them, it is difficult to say. But it is only as the country develops and other outlets for labour arise, that the holdings below the economic size will vanish. The small holdings held by labourers will probably always remain. The desire of this class to obtain land is often intense, as it affords practically their only chance of social betterment.

A compact holding of eight or even of six acres is vastly better than a larger holding which consists of scattered trips. Sub letting is practically due to the difficulties of managing a scattered holding particularly of providing for the watching of crops. Scattered holdings usually mean small fields, and even if drainage is not interrupted, such fields are difficult to plough correctly or to cultivate well. Farming as distinct from the cultivation of a miscellaneous collection of fields is rendered the more difficult by the scattered nature of the land and by the difficulties encountered in any attempt at obtaining compact areas. A compact holding would be more easily irrigated and more economically managed. Fragmentation of holdings imposes distinct limits on the introduction of agricultural improvement, whether it be the introduction of new crop, new variety or improved method. In many villages inadequate surface-drainage is purely a matter of small and scattered fields. With compact, if small, holdings great improvement would be possible at merely nominal cost. One is justified in asking whether such changes in the tenants law are not possible in Zamindari-Provinces as will enable men to take steps to get compact holdings, and reduce the present tendency to further fragmentation.

India's Currency and Exchange.

Sir James Meston, K. C. S. I. writing in the pages of *The Wealth of India* (May 1919) says that the first great problem which India had to contend with was to find funds on an unprecedented scale for war work in India and in countries where Indian troops were fighting. A large share of this outlay was on account of the British Government who gave India a corresponding credit in London. To convert this credit into remittances was the difficulty; gold was unobtainable and silver was exceedingly scarce. The repayments of our war advances banked up in London and were of little help in meeting our expenditure here. Neither the issue of notes without a strong metallic basis, nor the coming of gold which was only on emergency ration was advisable. Silver price was rapidly growing and threatened the stability of our exchange; and the actual amount which could be produced in the open market was wholly inadequate to the demands upon us.

In the first months of 1918, our visible reserve of silver had dwindled into insignificance, every ounce of silver that could be laid hands on was poured into the mints; and it appeared at one time probable that our paper currency would have to be declared inconvertible. The arrival of 8 million ounces of silver from America in June 1918 marked the turn of the tide; and it was soon followed by the Pittman Act of America by which India was allowed to have 200 million ounces of silver released from the U.S.A. Treasury Dollar Reserve. By the beginnings of July shipments of silver under the Pittman Act began to arrive in large quantities; and a position of relative safety was gradually reached. This would have been attained more rapidly but for the repeated attacks of influenza and the concurrent demands for small coinage. By the beginning of the present year (Feb.) our rupee balance stood at 13 crores.

The expansion of the paper currency during the war has been striking. High prices and the disappearance of rupees from circulation rendered the use of notes imperative, particularly for the finances of our staple crops like jute and cotton. It was necessary to concentrate the available silver stock in the Head Currency Offices to meet our legal liability for the encashment of notes there. Free encashment at District Treasuries was not feasible, as well as free transmission of specie by rail, post or steamer,

Movements in Indian Literature.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar writes in the August Number of *The Modern Review* about the various aspects in the development of Indian Literature (specially in Bengal), conditioned by the example of English and the needs of the modern age. He says that in the early British period, vernacular prose was in a primitive condition everywhere wanting flexibility, variety of expression and naturalness of movement. About the middle of the 19th century appeared Madhu Sudhan Dutta, the poet, and Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, the prose writer, in Bengal. Both of them modernised the Bengalee tongue and made it a proper vehicle for the varied thoughts and feelings of modern life. But they followed the classical style, used Sanskrit words and idioms and avoided homely expressions. However their style was neither stiff, nor pedantic, nor obscure.

Harish Chandra achieved in Hindi what Vidya Sagar had achieved in Bengalee. He introduced a simple, varied but sweet and vigorous prose rather less sanskritised than that of Vidya Sagar. A similar translation of Marathi prose took place in the last quarter of the 19th century.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee improved Bengalee prose; his sentences are shorter and simpler than those of Vidya Sagar and he has a richer variety of expression and of feeling and far wider interests than the writings of Vidya Sagar especially his later books are easily intelligible to common people.

Rabindranath Tagore deliberately avoids the Sanskritised vocabulary of the predecessors, uses a simple style, so far as his prose is concerned, but does not absolutely reproduce the language of the man in the street. Another solvent in Bengalee prose-style has been the growth of public oratory, both religious and political, and the phenomenal progress of the Bengalee newspapers. There are opponents of the complete colloquialising of Bengalee Literature.

The English drama was just adopted in Bengalee about 1860. The historical plays were popular, then translations from Shakespeare, then religious dramas and at present the dramas in Bengalee, Hindi and Urdu are very poor works and are dangers to the aesthetic faculty and morality alike.

The new spirit in Indian Literature has given rise to the growth of the modern drama and the modern novel in nearly all the Indian vernaculars. The change in poetry has been striking

but not wholesale. The cast-iron rigidity of metrical forms and the slavish imitation of the Sanskrit classical models has given way to more varied and often lighter metres. In respect of spirit, analysis of character is now prevalent, historic truth and local colour are more scrupulously observed producing greater naturalness and individuality and in the drama especially modern social, ethical problems are treated. Our best writer now are mainly didactic and our nationalistic spirit and historical sense have been vastly developed.

The Bhakthi School.

Mr. W. B. Patwardhan, writing in *The Fergusson College Magazine* (July 1919) about the literary mission of the Bhakti poets and preachers of Maharashtra, says that Marathi literature, even before it came into contact with the literature of the west, had reached a stage of development and growth both quantitatively and qualitatively that the Marathas may well be proud of. It had a wealth of the lyric of war, heroism and patriotism, of ballad-poetry, of epic and narrative poetry in the production of which the Bhakthi School played no small part. The Bhakthi School broke down the tyranny of literary aristocracy, democratised literature and nationalised it. The saints taught them to worship their mother-tongue as their mother, weaned the talent of the land from an all-absorbing attachment to Sanskrit; and the literature was no longer of the Brahmins, of the Sudras or of the Mahars. The Abhangas of Namadeva, Tukaram or Chokamela were chanted and rechanting with gusto by all—the learned pandit as well as the illiterate peasant. The process of nationalisation culminated in the works of Ramdas though he was not a direct product of the Bhakthi school.

The saints of the Bhakthi School made literature romantic, whose joys are of a region far removed from the sordid world, of a life purer and finer, sublimer and holier than the humdrum life we ordinarily live in this world. The literature is lyrical and entirely subjective and throbs not with art or by art, but with rhythms of the heart. Closely associated with the lyrics there arose a narrative literature, which again had the breadth of romance and lyric passion sustaining it. All this literature is thoroughly healthy in character and ennobling and humanising in its effects. But it has made Marathi literature, one-sided in one way, viz. confining itself to the inward life of man.

Is India Fit for Democracy.

In the course of his notes in the current issue of *East & West* the Editor writes :—

There seems a great divergence of opinion whether in an eastern country like India western institutions will ever prosper. It is argued that the present system is based on Indian traditions and must endure and that benevolent despotism is suited for all times. Those who argue thus ignore completely the changed conditions and fail to recognise that the old machine of Government cannot meet the demands of new times. Government by a group of individuals who have no direct stake in the country and consequently never have any direct experience of life and labour in the land which they govern is not in a position to measure the hopes and needs of the people and work towards the fulfilment of these. They compare the present system not with other forms of Government, existing or in the past, but with some ideal Government which they do not describe. Naturally they are satisfied with the ideal which satisfies them. But does it satisfy the people? If not, change is inevitable. The group that governs being unrelated to the people it governs is conscious of group-power, group-will and group-intelligence. It is impatient of outside opinion. India can achieve self-government gradually and by successive stages, but the journey along these stages must begin. Men become themselves only in right relation with other men, which is not a relation of self-abnegation but rather of a self-realisation and common-will. How then can it be wrong for India to aspire to some measure of self-government? The proper aim of a ruling nation cannot be to gather all the power in its hands, but to reach a compromise in which it will forego some part of its purpose, to attain to a new purpose richer, wiser and stronger in which Indian people too will learn "the will to will the common will."

'The Parsis and Their Future.'

Writing in the special number of the *Sanjvartman* Mr. Dadabhoi deplors that Parsis have fallen off from their old high standard and have fallen into the common error of indiscriminately imitating the ways of the European. Mr. Dadabhoi observes :—

The modern Parsi has become too anglicised in his manners and his ways of life. With wealth he has become more or less of a sybarite, fond of pleasure and sport, of high living and jaunty style. He is the patron of clubs, gymkhanas, theatres, band-stands and other pleasure resorts. He has developed a passion for bridge-playing, for the race-course and all manner of speculation. He has become a staunch votary of the Stock-Exchange whether he owns any capital or not. With many honourable exceptions, his daily life is lived in a round of pleasures, unhampered by cares and worries, by hard study and manual labour, by serious thought and earnest pursuits. As a result he is losing his former influence in Indian society. He is inevitably sliding to a back seat in politics. Commercially and industrially too,—and this is a very serious matter—the Parsis are losing ground."

Domestic Service

The Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, writing in the *Reconstruction* Number 11 of *The Social Service Quarterly* about the service of domestic servants in our country begins by stating that in India the outlook of life is different and the standard of human values is also different from those prevailing in England, and that even allowing for the difference in the relative efficiency of an English and of an Indian servant there is still so much room for improvement. The village servant comes to be in the town, often careless, then exacting, finally impertinent and often dishonest. The domestic servant looks with an envious eye on the lot of his brother in a factory and on that of even the day-labourer; and the disadvantages of the position of the latter, his bad food and execrable lodging, his indebtedness, his uncared for state at a time of sickness, his falling a prey to drink and other vices are not seen. The demands of the domestic servant for regular hours, fair wages, some stated hours off for amusement at his free disposal, and for kindly and self-respecting treatment are thoroughly justifiable. To persons of the middle class, the growing expensiveness of servants is daily brought home; also the work of a domestic servant is generally done much less efficiently than if done by oneself. The writer suggests certain palliatives as a sort of solution for the servant problem.

Most important of all is a change of attitude and a wider element of sympathy on the part of both the employer and the servant, especially the former, because he or she is generally more educated and is better able to understand the other. The better education of the servant class will remove certain difficulties on the parts of servants, and make them more efficient in their work, but will, at the same time, render them more exacting in the conditions of work and more watchful of their self-respect. Another palliative would be the inculcation of a habit of punctuality in both. To anybody who gives a little thought to the matter it is obvious how much increase in domestic work is caused by habits of unpunctuality, irregularity in the times of meals, etc., on the part of the master, and indifference on the part of servants.

A third point in which improvement can be effected is a certain change in our manners, especially in regard to ceremonial washings and pollutions. A careful observation of the economy of the kitchen will show a number of needless washings, because some kinds of food are *kacha* and some *pakka*. Among some of our people each person is to have his own separate *choula*; this is especially observable among the people of northern India about whom the Marathas say that there are three *chulas* (cooking places) to every two persons. Of the same nature is

the pollution of food by sight common among the Brahmins of southern India. A large number of servants has to be employed, and in fact a cook of one's own or a higher caste is so necessary that he can always dictate his own terms on account of his rarity. But if it were allowable to employ a cook of any caste the difficulty would be a good deal minimised. But on this question one is trenching on the wider question of caste and religion, and I shall only content myself with the remark that our religion and caste institutions are so all-pervading that even an innocent looking problem has perforce to deal with it.

Finally, I would venture to suggest that some of our domestic arrangements will have to be radically modified if we are to be able to do with a smaller number of domestic servants and make their lot better. The modification is already coming on gradually.

Divorce and Decency.

Demos writing in the current number of *The English Review* protests against the incredible indecency of the machinery by which marriage is dissolved in England and the humiliating moral code which renders such conditions possible and necessary. Divorce is a comparatively small matter where no family is concerned but it becomes serious when children are involved. It is the light heartedness with which people enter into marriage which is the foundation of the evil; and this again is largely due to the social code of western civilisation. Formerly divorce carried with it social ostracism. But this form of persecution is out of date, and the war has changed that irrevocably. The dodge called an application for the restitution of conjugal rights is very effective when both parties agree. As a rule the husband bears the blame, and leaves the woman to apply; and the couples are free with a modicum of stigma and what scandal there is, is private.

It is when separation is not mutually connived at that the trouble begins, leading to indecent subterfuges. The man who wants divorce, but cannot get it, has got to resort to adultery, or substitute adultery. The conditions are more complicated in the case of woman wanting divorce. If a man's wife goes mad, he cannot get a release. If a husband is an incurable drunkard or suffers from an incurable disease, the law is adamant. If a man and a woman, cannot live together, no redress is possible. A man may ruin a woman, yet she cannot get a divorce.

For more than half the divorces to-day are connived at—a thing which the law does not admit, because Law functions on technicality. The Divorce Law must be modernised.

The Proposed University for Baroda.

Mr. P. Seshadri's *Memorandum on a University for Baroda* is criticised in the pages of *Indian Education* (July '19) on the ground that it is distinctly disappointing, and in spite of many interesting and sensible views fails to carry conviction. It fails to show that there is any real demand for a new University, gives no details as to the financial responsibilities involved and is lacking in local knowledge and omits to take any notice of the claims of Ahmedabad for a separate University for the whole of Gujarat. It assumes for granted that the University should be primarily of the *residential unitary type*. As regards the curricula, it urges that prominence should be given to the Indian aspects of subjects like Economics, Philosophy and History and lays special stress on æsthetic education in Music, Painting etc, which are of considerable educative value. It has got something really illuminating to say on the Tutorial system, Library and Research work. But it wastes a lot of space in discussing such topics, as the University Union, Magazine, a separate college for ladies, and the plea for a Vernacular University; for the last of which the demand has been neither widespread nor insistent. A discussion on University Extension work is premature at this stage, and the proposal for introducing religious teaching might lead to accentuation of denominational differences. It advocates the establishment of professional schools of Law, Technology, Agriculture, Teaching, etc., but not one for commerce and another for medicine at present.

We need not discuss Mr. Seshadri's remarks concerning the constitution and administration. We have briefly indicated what we consider to be the chief defects of this Memorandum and we are sure that the author has failed to get at the root of the matter, the necessity for and practicability of the new University. This is the really important question but, as stated at the beginning, Mr. Seshadri simply assumes the point at issue and passes on to discuss buildings, curricula, professional schools and other subjects of no less importance. Secondly, the absence of a detailed financial scheme is a serious omission and we trust that no attempt will be made to start a University on cheap lines. Cheap education is seldom good education and it would be bad policy to attempt to found a new University without due appreciation of the large expenditure involved. Thirdly, the Memorandum largely treats only of Indian University education in general.

Re-construction in the Pacific.

Mr. Schofield, lecturing before the Royal Colonial Institute (published in *The United Empire* for July, '19) traces the evolution of the present political conditions prevailing in the Pacific Ocean. Until 1840, England was doing admirable work in the civilising and the pacification of the savage peoples in the Pacific, but was perfectly innocent of any desire for territorial aggrandisement. In the Tahities, France under Louis Philippe was a proud and vigorous rival of Great Britain here. And it was only when France formed a New Zealand Colonising Company, that British sovereignty was declared throughout the islands of New Zealand. In Tahiti France declared a protectorate, which was a very serious rebuff to English prestige. Both the nations hastened to guarantee the remainder of the Society Islands and the Hawaiian Group against any infringement of their independence. The French Government showed much more imagination than the British and when the Panama Canal Project came to be discussed in the forties, it promptly seized the fine post of New Caledonia—another of the proffered gifts which England had rejected.

The negative character of British policy in the Pacific persisted throughout the 19th century. Fiji which had been under offer since 1847 became British in 1874, much against the will of Government. With the same object of avoiding responsibility, Britain adopted, in Samoa and New Hebrides, understandings with France and later on with Germany, which should prevent either party from taking possession.

By the end of the century, every group in the West Pacific was accounted for between England, France, Germany and America. When the great War broke out in 1914, the British system in the Pacific was a strange congeries of units. There were Crown Colonies, Protectorates, fictions of native sovereignty and jurisdictions of the Commonwealth of Australia; as well as the system of the maintenance of consultation with Native Chiefs. The development of the islands, their communications, their organisation for defence should not be left to chance. The system of water-tight compartments as between group and group, native and white interests, Dominion and Imperial interests, must be done away with. Shipping and telegraphic communications must be vastly improved. Economic policy requires a new bent and the decrease in the native population, which is due, not so much to severity of the

whites, as to restriction of fighting, introduction of disease and effects of European dress and drinks, must be attempted to be checked. Indian labour which is on the increase in Fiji, the missionary problem, the problem of the education of natives, are all urgent. And the best means of improvement is by an Imperial Conference at which the views of the communities most interested will get full consideration.

Nationalization of Christianity.

Mr. K. T. Paul, General Secretary, Y.M.C.A., India, contributes an interesting article on the above subject to the June Number of the *Harvest Field*. He says that a Hindu gentleman of a sincerely transparent earnestness in matters of religion, reform and politics put to him that startling question, which was meant to be entirely in sympathy with missionary enterprise in India. But the resistant forces were that Christian religion so completely identified with the ruling race and that Indian Christians were not thoroughly identified with national movements. After describing the difficulties which prevent the Indian Christians from being nationalists Mr. Paul observes:—

In fact the superior attitude which the Indian Christian Catechist takes towards Hindu culture, while it may be ridiculous from one point of view, is very much of a tragic nemesis. Here is Christ come to India with so much that Hindu culture really desires. But he is advocated only by those whom Hindu culture cast out in its pride and selfishness. And a Church is growing rapidly in numbers and tradition, storing up trouble for the future.

The Indian Christian is truly an Oriental so far as these limitations of mentality go. When he enters a religious sect he surrenders his reason entirely to authority as completely as Rome desires. 'His not to reason why, his but to do or die.' Paradoxical as it may sound, the Indian Christian is truly Oriental in his unquestioning acceptance of all the shibboleths of a foreign religion.

Mr. Paul says that Christianity is doing wonders for the Indian out-caste, but it is only substituting golden chains for steel ones—more pretty but heavier and harder to break.

I shall be asked for constructive suggestions. I know not what to say, for what is required is an adequate change of heart in my own countrymen, and in my foreign friends. Will the Indian Christian turn his eyes from the ground and look at the Crown which his ancestors have wrought for him in the patience and faithfulness of centuries? Will the foreign missionary endeavour to share the life of India, realizing that it is not that of the 'submerged sixth' but of 'the other four-sixths'? How impossible, you will say. True, but not impossible if of the 'other four-sixths' real co-operation and direction are secured for the work among the inaccessible sixth.

The Indian Church.

The Rev. H. A. Popley of the London Missionary Society in South India writes on the conditions of evangelistic work in the present Indian Church in the current number of *The East and the West*. He begins with a careful distinction which he draws between Mass Movement work which deals with whole classes of people, particularly the depressed classes moving *en masse* to Christianity and the evangelistic movement. In the latter movement emphasis is laid on the Church and not the mission which comes in only as helping the church to realise its aim. It attempts to stir up the whole church to realise its evangelistic responsibility and enlist men and women in the Church in definite evangelistic service. The pastor and lay leaders of the church are the natural leaders in such a movement and the leadership has been largely in their hands; and the movement has materially contributed to the development of Indian leadership in many ways. The centre of the movement is in personal evangelism. Far more emphasis is laid on this than on large meetings or even on evangelistic bands, though all these have their place. Personal work, house to house visiting, conversation and distribution of literature have been the striking features of the movement. Both missionaries and Indian Christians have felt this emphasis. Personal work includes personal testimony as well as personal service.

The Decay of Craftsmanship.

Mr. Otto Rothfield writing in the new year number of the *Sanjivartan* has made the following observation on the part the Swadeshi movement is playing in reviving ancient arts and crafts:—

What is needed is that the movement should be led and conducted, not by dry and ascetic "reformers" only, with their gaze fixed upon dull and unreal Political Economics, but by men, with a fiery enthusiasm, burning in the cause of fine art and noble workmanship, informed by good taste and some artistic training. The leaders should be men who can distinguish good work from bad and who should be inspired with a love for the art work of their country in the past. They should have no asceticisms and no austerities. They should recognize that luxury is on the contrary necessary and the proper mark of an advancing culture; but they should seek that the luxuries are those consonant with the glories of the country and the artistic traditions of the past. They should guide their countrymen and countrywomen to the right choice of fabrics and furniture, to the beautifying of their houses in an Indian style, to the rejection of all that is imitative or machine-made and the selection of the loving workmanship of country craftsmen."

The Greatness of Common Life

Writing in *The Christian Life* some time ago Mr. W. E. Channing beautifully expressed the greatness of common life as follows:—

Their condition is indeed obscure; but their importance is not on this account a whit the less. The multitude of men cannot, from the nature of the case, be distinguished; for the very idea of distinction is, that a man stands out from the multitude. They make little noise and draw little notice in their narrow spheres of action; but still they have their full proportion of personal worth and even of greatness. Indeed every man, in every condition, is great. It is only our own diseased sight which makes him little. A man's great as a man, be he where or what he may. The grandeur of his nature turns to insignificance all outward distinctions. His powers of intellect, of conscience, of love, of knowing God, of perceiving the beautiful, of acting on his own mind, on outward nature, and on his fellow-creatures, these are glorious prerogatives. Through the vulgar error of undervaluing what is common, we are apt indeed to pass these by as of little worth. Yet as in the outward creation, so in the soul, the common is the most precious. Science and Art may invent splendid modes of illuminating the apartments of the opulent; but these are all poor and worthless compared with the common light which the sun sends into all our windows, which he pours freely, impartially, over hill and valley, which kindles daily the eastern and western sky; and so the common lights of reason, and conscience and love, are of more worth and dignity than the rare endowments which give celebrity to a few.

Let us not disparage that nature which is common to all men; for no thought can measure its grandeur. It is the image of God, the image even of His infinity, for no limits can be set to its unfolding. He who possesses the divine powers of the soul, is a great being, be his place what it may. You may clothe him with rags, may immure him in a dungeon, may chain him to the slavish tasks—he is still great. You may shut him out of your houses; but God opens to him heavenly mansions. He makes no show indeed in the streets of a splendid city; but a clear thought, a pure affection, a resolute act of virtuous will, have a dignity of quite another kind and far higher than accumulations of brick and granite and plaster and stucco, however cunningly put together, or though stretching far beyond our sight."

The State of Ireland.

Mr. Henry W. Nevinston in the course of an article in the *Nation* on the above subject writes :—

Our Government's policy in Ireland is recurrent exasperation. Carlyle once compared the relation of our island to the other with that of a dull and silent labourer to a nagging, shrill-tongued wife. The bragging is on the other side now and the Government has developed a kind of perverted tact in discovering what will irritate most. One might suppose the Government almost clever, so acutely does it touch the sore again and again.

Hope deferred combines with exasperation to make the heart sick. Often as I have visited Ireland, I came last month for the first time with hope. Like other Englishmen, I was encouraged by the change of attitude in the Northcliffe papers which one hoped might at last be powerful for good. And I was encouraged by the change in the "Observer," whose editor has often supplied the Unionist Party with brains. But in Ireland, among the many to whom I listened, I found only three who shared my hopes. The bare fact is that trust in England's good faith and good intention is now extinct. If any revived forty years ago after the history of seven centuries, it has been stifled by the repeated disappointments and deceptions before the war, and by the present system of exasperation. I once said that after a political discussion with Irish people I felt like a man who has been skilfully operated upon for a disease he had. This time the operation was as complete and even more incisive. It is hard for any Englishman to hear his country taunted with ill-faith, hypocrisy, and hatred of freedom without being able to answer. But such treatment is natural under such a Government as we English have chosen to elect.

All the best thought and energy and life of Ireland have long been devoted to the vain endeavour to secure just that machinery of freedom and self-government which should be the possession of every nation by right and to start with. Only when that is secured can any nation begin to exercise its full powers, or even to show what its powers are. No effort for national freedom can be called wasted, but in Ireland great energies and noble devotion are expended which might be used for other services equally fine.

New Ideals in Education.

Mr. Henry Wilson, President of the Arts and Crafts Society in the course of an address at Cambridge pointed out :—

The provision of education must cease to be part of the political game. The trade unions must become producers on co-operative principles and produce for national use, not individual profit. Once in charge of production they would find that they must also undertake the technical education of their workers.

The foundations of the present are in the future. A man to-day is what he wants to-morrow. His hopes for his children are the test of his soul. "What ever happens," said Mr. Wilson, "we must fit the children if we can, or at least enable them to fit themselves, for the task of rebuilding the world that has been ruined. To rebuild we need builders; we must have schools of building everywhere. I would have every housing scheme a part of the scheme of education. Every new house in every district should be a practical building school for a certain number of scholars. They should learn practical geometry by helping to set out the site and the foundations. They should help to dig the trenches for drains and concrete, sieve the mortar, carry bricks and learn to lay them, help to cut joints and shelves, set up the fences and fix the gates, lay the tiles, putty the windows, do the colour washing and the painting. All the local carpenters' shops—should become local schools of furniture affiliated to the local education authority. This idea is already being carried out in certain trades, in France." The world was suffering, Mr. Wilson said, from consumption, the cure for which was neither fresh air nor supernutrition, but the full free exercise of the creative faculties.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN INDIA. By D. A. Shah ["Journal of the Indian Economic Society," June, 1919.]

HINDU RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS. By Prof. T. Rajagopala Chariar, M.A., B.L. ["The Vedanta Kesari," August, 1919.]

THE INDIAN EXCHANGE PROBLEM. ["The Wealth of India," July, 1919.]

A UNIVERSITY FOR BUDDHISM. By Prof. P. Seshadri, M.A. ["The Educational Review," August, 1919.]

WOMEN SUFFRAGE IN INDIA. By Mrs. R. Chellamma ["East and West," August, 1919.]

SOME THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Pramathanath Mukhopadhyaya, M.A. ["The Collegian," August, 1919.]

President Wilson 'on the Peace.

President Wilson in a message to the American people said :—

“ It is much more than a Treaty of Peace with Germany. It liberates great peoples who have never before been able to find a way to liberty. It ends once for all an old and intolerable order under which small groups of selfish men could use the people of great empires to serve their own ambition for power and domination, it associates free governments of the world in a permanent league in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice, it makes international law a reality.

It recognises the inalienable right of nationality, the right of minorities and the sanctity of religious belief and practice, it lays the basis for conventions which shall free the commercial intercourse of the world, from unjust and vexatious restrictions, and for every sort of international co-operation that may serve to cleanse the life of the world and facilitate its common action in beneficent service of every kind.

The Army Committee.

The composition of the committee which is to inquire into the administration and organisation of the Army in India is as follows :—

President :—

Lord Esher.

Members :—

Sir M. O'Dwyer, I. C. S., late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

• Sir G. Fell, I. C. S., late Financial Adviser, Military Finance Department, Government of India.

Lieutenant-General Sir H. V. Cox., Indian Army, Secretary, Military Department, India Office.

Lieutenant-General Sir C. W. Jacob, Indian Army, Commanding 2nd Army Corps, Army of the Rhine.

Lieutenant-General Sir H. Hudson, Indian Army, Adjutant-General in India.

Lieutenant-General Sir J. P. Duncan (late R. A.) late Commanding XV. Corps, B. E. F.

Major-General Sir W. Gillman (late R. A.), recently Chief of the General Staff in Mesopotamia.

The Hon. Major Malik Sir Unur Hayat Khan Tiwana.

Secretary :—

Brigadier-General C. M. Wagstaff, R. E.

The terms of reference are :—

(1) To inquire into and report, with special reference to post bellum conditions, upon the administration and, where necessary, the organization of the Army in India, including its relations with the War Office and the India Office, and the relations of the two Offices with one another.

(2) To consider the position of the Commander in Chief in his dual capacity as head of the Army and member of the Executive Council, and to make recommendations.

(3) To consider and report upon any other matters which they may decide are relevant to the inquiry.

Sir R. Borden on British Dominions.

In the House of Commons on Sept. 3, Sir Robert Borden, laying the Peace Treaty on the table, said :—The new status of the British Dominions was not won without a constant effort and firm insistence at the Peace Conference in which the British Premier and his colleagues gave strong and unwavering support. The constitutional structure of the British Empire was imperfectly understood abroad even by the United States, said Sir Robert Borden, but this lack of comprehension was not surprising because the connection between the Mother country and the Dominions had been for years in a condition of development, and this development, was not yet complete. The future relationship between the Nations of the Empire must be determined in accordance with the will of the Mother country and each Dominion in a Constitutional Conference at a date not far distant. Each Nation must preserve unimpaired its absolute autonomy but must likewise have a voice in those external relations which involve peace and war, so that the Britannic Commonwealth is in itself a community or a League of Nations, which may serve as an example to the world wide League of Nations formed in Paris. Sir Robert Borden concluded :—I commend the Treaty to the approval of the Canadian Parliament, claiming, not that it possesses no imperfections, but that it does in truth embody the earnest endeavour of the framers to ensure future peace.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Sir George Lloyd's Speech.

Presiding for the first time over the annual convocation of the Bombay University on August 20, Sir George Lloyd delivered a lengthy address, the principal theme of which was the influence of sea power and the debt India owed to Britain's Navy. After referring, at the outset, to the victorious conclusion of the war, His Excellency said :

This war has no more eradicated the evil passions from among the nations than it has from individuals, and unless we are prepared to devote ourselves to the task of ensuring that when, in whatever land it may be, the old dragon of wrong roars its head, it will be confronted by the majority of humanity. I say this more particularly to you, to-day, because at present the whole framework of the constitution of India is under revision, and whether India will, as a self-governing nation, take her place among those forces which work for the progress of humanity, depends largely on what you make of the opportunity offered to you in the coming years. How are you to prepare yourself for your task? There is only one way, and it is hard work guided by clear thinking. The teaching you received has not been the end in itself. To many of you the details of what you have learnt will be of the slightest use. They were never meant to be; they were materials on which you were being taught to practice the art of thinking. Distrust theories, distrust practice. Keep away from metaphysics and study psychology.

His Excellency then passed on to the theme of sea power and traced, at length, its contribution and its influence on India from the earliest times to the present date. His Excellency concluded :

In the future as in the past the development of India will be closely bound up with the control of the sea. If you think the factor of force has been eliminated from National politics by the successful issue of this war, you are mistaken. So long as mankind is what it is, nations no less than individuals will be moved from time to time by envy, hatred and greed to aggression. The habits of the people render it extremely improbable that for many years to come India will develop into a great sea power, nor need she so long as she has mercantile and military marine of the British Empire, but it depends upon herself what her standing within the Empire will be. I have the vision of an India, in which the great natural resources of the country will be developed within her own boundaries an India to be built up by the endeavour of her young men, and by your endeavours rightly directed into the channels of industry and manufacture, which water the tree of national strength and prosperity, an India which will trade on equal terms with the sister nations of the Empire. It is, therefore, in connection with India's strategic position and her relation to sea powers as well on narrower grounds that I urge the intelligentsia of India to start itself for the development of its resources.

His Majesty and the Indian Troops.

His Majesty the King welcomed the Indian troops to London on August 2, by addressing them as follows :—

It is with feelings of pride and gratification that I welcome in my home this representative contingent of the British and Indian officers and men of my Army in India. I am specially glad that this meeting should take place when we are celebrating peace after victory. I deeply regret that unavoidable circumstances prevented your joining the troops of the Empire and Allies in the Victory procession on July 19th. I thank the British troops for their magnificent service in the field and I gratefully recognise the prompt and cheerful response of the territorials to the country's call, their patient endurance of prolonged separation from their homes and the sacrifices they have made in giving up their occupations in civil life. When temporary trouble arose in India, they in common with their comrades from Mesopotamia who were on their way home, of their free will remained at their posts though their homecoming was at hand. The exemplary conduct of all filled me and their countrymen with admiration. I heartily thank all my Indian soldiers for their loyal devotion to me and my Empire, for their sufferings cheerfully borne, in various campaigns in which they served in lands and climates so different from their own. At times their hearts must have been sad at the long separation from their homes, but they fought and died bravely. They rivalled the deeds of their ancestors and established new and glorious traditions which they can hand on to their children for ever. I am glad to see among you representatives of the Imperial Service Troops and I thank the princes of the native states in India and their subjects for their noble response to the call made by me for the defence of Empire and for the cause in which the Allies fought and conquered. I know you will all unite with me in gratitude to God for the victory we achieved. I trust you will all enjoy your visit to England. May you return in safety and take with you to your homes and villages my personal message of thanks and goodwill."

General Smuts on Botha.

In the course of his funeral oration on Botha, General Smuts said :—

"General Botha's soul lived on as a noble power and lofty inspiration to our young Commonwealth." From this grave the ideal of one land and one people had grown ever stronger. After an intimate friendship and unbroken co-operation for twenty-one years, he had the right to call General Botha the largest and most beautiful soul in all his land.

Indian Princes and Reforms.

In the House of Commons recently Mr. Terrell asked.—In view of their reported warm approval of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, have any Indian Princes taken steps to introduce the reforms in their territories or announced any intention of doing so shortly?

Mr. Pratt replied that Mr. Montagu had no special information on the subject, but he thought improbable that any Ruling Prince would introduce the proposed reforms into his State until at least they had been definitely approved and enacted by Parliament. He pointed out that measures suitable for British India might not be equally suitable for very different conditions in Indian States, the internal affairs of which were entirely in the hands of the administration of the State.

Travancore Legislative Council.

A new regulation revising the constitution of the Travancore Legislative Council and conferring on it enhanced powers and privileges has just been sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja. The strength of the Council is raised from 15 to 25, of whom not less than two fifths will be non-officials. Separate representation by election is given to the planting community, the trading classes, the jenmies and the municipalities in addition to the members returned by the general electorate. The interest of minorities will be safeguarded by the members nominated by the Government. The rights of interpellation and discussion of the Budget are for the first time granted to the Council. This new Regulation will come into force from the 18th October, 1919.

Educational Reform in Mysore.

The Mysore Government have issued a memorandum containing tentative proposals regarding educational reform in Mysore. The memorandum is based on the proposals of Mr. O. R. Reddy, Inspector-General of Education, and non-official criticism is invited.

Important features of the memorandum are a proposal to convert all aided primary schools into Government institutions, the establishment of ten thousand primary schools in the State to give one such school for every six hundred of population, introduction of one uniform type of middle school for rural and urban areas with the vernacular as the medium of instruction and English as a second language.

The Maharaja of Bikaner.

The following letter was sent by His Excellency the Viceroy to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner on his return to India from the Peace Conference:—

"I was very glad recently to have had an opportunity of meeting Your Highness in Bombay and of welcoming you back to India at the conclusion of your labours in Paris and London. I feel, however, that I should like to write you a line to congratulate you very heartily on the great part which you have played since you accepted the Prime Minister's invitation last year to assist in the peace deliberations as the representative of the Princes and Chiefs of India. I know with what remarkable ability and political sagacity Your Highness has performed your task and India owes to you and to your colleagues a debt of gratitude for having so worthily represented her in the greatest gathering of statesmen that the world has ever seen.

"I have read with much interest the letters of hearty appreciation which Your Highness has received from the Prime Minister and from Mr. Montagu, copies of which Your Highness handed me in Bombay. I am glad to see that these letters have been published in the Press so that all India is aware of the splendid work which Your Highness and your colleagues have done, not only during the actual peace negotiations, but in connection with the League of Nations and the Labour Convention.

The Bhavnagar State.

Resolutions were passed unanimously at a public meeting of the subjects of the Bhavnagar State, firstly, that during the minority of the Maharaja Krishna Kumar Shinji, the State Administration be conducted by a Council consisting of five members including the President. Out of these five members three ought to be Indians of tried ability, mature experience, acquainted with the traditions of the State and also in sympathy with the feelings and aspirations of the subjects of the State. Secondly, that the administration should be conducted by two persons one of whom should be an Indian of the above mentioned qualifications and the other may be either an Indian or an Englishman. Thirdly, all the subjects of the Bhavnagar State prefer the system of administering the State by the appointment of a Council in accordance with the first resolution, and in case the first resolution be not accepted, the second resolution should be considered favourably.

INDIANS 'OUTSIDE INDIA

H. E. The Viceroy on Transvaal Indians.

H. E. The Viceroy made the following speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on September, 3 :—

I need not repeat the history of the recent legislation passed by the Union Parliament. An account of this has been given in a letter from Sir George Barnes to Mr. Gandhi in July last which has been published in the press and you will all be familiar with the main features of the case. I only wish to say that the Government of India have not failed to press the Indian point of view upon His Majesty's Government and we can claim that we have the full support of the Secretary of State. We have urged that the recent legislation in South Africa is unjustified and is not consonant with the undertaking given by the South African representative at the Imperial War Conference that Lord Sinha's memorandum relating to the rights of Indians in the Transvaal would receive the sympathetic consideration of the Union Government. Let me, however, make a plea for calmness and moderation. In dealing with this question we must admit the strength of feeling on the subject in South Africa and it behoves us to see that our words and actions are not such as may embitter the existing sentiment and make a settlement more difficult. I feel too, that there is ground for hoping that calmness and moderation will not be wanting in South Africa in dealing with this question for we know that the late General Botha and General Smuts returned there after discussing fully questions akin to the present one, with the distinguished representatives of India whom we sent to the Imperial Conference. The Union Government, as you know are appointing a commission to examine the whole question and we have asked that our interest should be represented. We are making arrangements to send a deputation to see that our point of view is thoroughly presented and thoroughly understood. On this deputation we propose to send Sir Benjamin Robertson who so successfully conducted a similar mission in 1914. I am sure that you will agree that we could not select a better representative.

Referring to the subject of Indentured Labourers of Fiji H. E. the Viceroy said :—

The main facts are well known to all of you. After the unsatisfactory conditions, under which these labourers lived, had been brought to the knowledge of the Government of India all further flow of labour under indenture was stopped and the Government began to press most strongly for the immediate improvement of the conditions, particularly with regard to housing and hospital accommodation. The Colonial Office in London was convinced and decided that the improvements demanded by the Government of India must be carried out or the indentures cancelled. This was announced by Sir George Barnes in the debate in this Council last September. How far these improvements have been carried out up to date we have no very clear information. We know, however, that they have been effected at least in part and that employers have voluntarily in many cases provided separate quarters for married couples. We have

nevertheless thought it right to continue to press for the cancellation of the outstanding indentures. We have just recently been informed by the Secretary of State that the Fiji Legislature has made a step in the direction we desire by passing a unanimous resolution that all indentures outstanding on August 1, 1920, should be cancelled from that date, compensation being paid to the employers from the public funds of Fiji. This, however, is not sufficient and we are pressing again that the cancellation of all indentures should take place by the end of the present year. I think that I ought also to inform you that the Fiji Government has appointed a select committee which is now considering how effect can best be given to our wishes on the other points at issue. Great difficulty has, as you know existed hitherto with regard to the repatriation of labourers who may wish to return to India from Fiji. We have no knowledge at present how many desire to return. It is very possible that a large number may wish to make Fiji their home as free men for the climate is good and some Indians who began life as indentured labourers are now men of substance in Fiji. However, we have kept the question of repatriation strongly in mind and the Secretary of State has at our instance been pressing the shipping controller and the shipping companies to provide vessels for those who may wish to return to India. I have another interesting announcement to make. An unofficial mission from Fiji headed, I understand, by the Bishop of Polynesia is expected to visit India during the coming cold weather in order to investigate conditions in India and if possible to persuade Indian public opinion to agree to the resumption of free emigration to Fiji under wholesome conditions. I need hardly assure you that the Government and the people of Fiji are really anxious to do what is right and I think that we ought to listen carefully to what they have got to say. It may be that they will be able to prove to us that Indian labour would benefit from a well directed scheme of free emigration to Fiji which has, as I have said, a healthy climate and is in many ways a country well suited to Indian settlers. If they can show us that our interests coincide it ought not to be impossible to come to an agreement, but the burden of proof will lie on them and all I ask you to-day is that when the mission comes it should be given a fair hearing.

Anti-Indian Protests in Transvaal.

The Congress of the representatives of the Transvaal Municipalities, Chamber of Commerce, Trades Unions and other organisations says a Reuter's message of Sept. 7, has passed a resolution recording the ineffective administration by the Government of all legislation directed against the Asiatics and urging a more stringent application of the legislation, also protesting against granting the Asiatics civic rights. The Congress decided on the formation of a South African League. The objects of the League include expropriation of all immovable property vested with Asiatics, subject to just compensation and general elimination by all reasonable statesmanlike means of Asiatics resident and trading in the Transvaal.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

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Principal Industries of India.

The following are extracts from a report of the Director of Industries in India :—

Of the 278 cotton mills, 181 are in the Bombay Presidency, with an aggregate number of 188,625 operatives. Madras comes next with 26 mills and 23,564 persons. The United Provinces contain 17 mills with 16,779 persons, the Central Provinces and Berar 14 mills and 14,952 persons, and Bengal 15 mills and 10,394 persons. The 278 cotton spinning and weaving mills employ nearly 275,000, closely followed by jute mills.

There are in Bombay 486 cotton ginning and pressing mills employing 36,451 persons. In the Central Provinces and Berar there are 415 mills with 29,572 persons; in the United Provinces 156 mills with 15,414 persons; in Madras 116 mills with 10,093 persons; in the Punjab 135 mills with 9,452 persons; in Central India 93 mills with 7,130 persons; in the State of Hyderabad 140 mills with 6,131 persons, and in Baroda 62 mills with 6,000 persons.

Almost all the jute mills lie in Bengal, with 248,641 operatives. The remaining three mills are in Madras employing 2,123 persons. Of the 125 jute presses, 118 are in Bengal and these employ 25,698 persons. Of the remaining seven presses, four are in Bihar and Orissa with 365 persons, and three in Madras with 242 persons.

Of the woollen mills (including carpet and shawl weaving establishments) three employing 3,917 persons are in the United Provinces, seven with 2,884 persons are in the Punjab, and seven with 2,585 persons in the Kashmir State.

The largest number of engineering workshops (including iron and brass foundries) is in Bengal (34 factories with 18,554 persons). Other important provinces stand thus in order of importance:—Bihar and Orissa (six factories with 10,184 persons), Bombay (21 factories with 4,458 persons), and Madras (9 factories with 2,165 persons).

Tile and brick factories are to be found mainly in Bengal (90 factories with 13,124 persons), Madras (28 factories with 5,635 persons), the United Provinces (35 factories with 2,897 persons), and the Punjab (30 factories with 2,652 persons).

The home of the saw mill industry is Burma, which possesses 102 mills employing 8,840 persons. Other principal provinces having saw mills are Assam (eight mills with 1,038 persons), Madras (three mills with 522 persons), and Bombay (two mills with 381 persons).

Sugar factories are confined chiefly to the three provinces of Bihar and Orissa, the United Pro-

vinces, and Madras. Bihar and Orissa has ten factories with 2,309 persons, United Provinces nine factories with 2,192 persons, and Madras five factories with 2,131 persons.

Tanneries and leather works exist mainly in the United Provinces (eight factories with 4,178 persons), Madras (11 with 1,104 persons), Bengal (16 with 668 persons), and Bombay (one with 480 persons).

Petroleum refineries are confined to the two petroleum-producing provinces of Burma and Assam, Burma having six refineries with 9,970 persons and Assam one with 705 persons.

High Price of Cloth in India.

Sir D. E. Wacha calculates that in 1913-14 we used to consume 13·6 yards of cloth per head, while the annual average of consumption per head of the five years which ended on 31st March, 1919, comes to 9·21 yards; that is to say we have a shortage of 4·32 yards per year per head. This explains the high prices of cloths.

Banking in India.

Prof. Rushbrook Williams writes in the recent official publication 'India in the year 1917—18':—

"In all India at present there are only about ninety head offices of banks and some three hundred branches. The proportion of towns with a population of over 10,000 in which banks and their branches are situated is only 20 per cent. More than this, in 23 per cent of the seventy towns with a population of over 50,000, there are no banks at all. A study of the map will show how extremely inadequate at present is the distribution of the banking facilities in India. No lengthy proof is needed of the fact that until extensions are possible, the development of investment in India, with all that development implies, must be very seriously hampered. Had the existing banking facilities of India been more adequate to her requirements, it is possible that some of the problems with which India has been faced during the war might have presented themselves in less serious guise. The importance of increasing the banking facilities of the country is generally recognized, and an encouraging feature of the last year has been the foundation of the Tata Industrial Bank, which with an authorised capital of £ 8 millions, probably represents the largest floatation of private capital in the history of banking. The extension of banking facilities will, it is hoped, do something to diminish incentives to hoarding; but the habit is so deeply ingrained that headway against it is bound to be slow.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

American Agricultural Policy.

A writer in the *American Review of Reviews* says:—"The time has come when this nation, like the older countries of Europe, must prepare to check the drain on its agricultural resources and conserve them for use at home. Statesmen who have charge of legislation in the future should bear in mind that in supplying the world with raw materials, especially the products of the farm, we are drawing on our crop producing resources to an alarming degree and that unless the prices obtained for these products are sufficient to cover the total cost of production—enabling the farmers to have a profit after replacing, with commercial fertilizers, the plant food taken from the soil—we will ultimately be poorer instead of richer, and in a short time will be in a position similar to that of the countries of Europe fifty years ago.

"Industries in this country could be so shaped by legislation that consumption would more nearly equal our food production. Instead of sending such enormous quantities of raw materials abroad, they should be worked up at home and the finished products exported. With our wonderful natural resources, other than agricultural, we can easily lead all nations in manufacturing. We should compete with Europe in drawing raw products from the undeveloped countries of South America, and thus preserve and increase our agricultural resources so that there will be food for future generations."

Indebtedness of the Punjab Peasantry

Mr. Calvert, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab says that the following five causes have operated to bring about the indebtedness of the Punjab peasantry:—(1) the sudden enhancement of credit due to new conditions introduced by the British Government (2) the abuse of this credit by clever usurers who encouraged borrowing in order to secure control of produce, (3) the Famines of 1861, 1869, etc., and heavy mortality amongst cattle which drove the cultivators to borrow and so involved them in the money lender's clutches, (4) the rigidity of land revenue collection accentuated by the tactics of the usurer who seized the whole produce and so compelled the cultivator to borrow afresh for the State demand and (5) a system of civil law which was unsuitable in as much as it favoured the clever money-lender against the ignorant peasant.

Agriculture and Co-operation.

The latest number of the *Agricultural Journal of India* contains an eloquent plea by Mr. H. R. Crosthwaite, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Central Provinces, for the further development of the co operative movement in India. There is still only one co operative society in India for every 20,000 of the population engaged in agriculture. Mr. Crosthwaite holds that there is room for at least 40 credit societies for every 20,000 cultivators provided always that the societies can be audited, educated and financed. At present, Mr. Crosthwaite urges the co-operative cycle is far from complete and much of its potential benefits are wasted. In the relative absence of non-credit societies, there is little scope for the profitable employment of the reserve funds and surplus deposits held by the movement. Mr. Crosthwaite sees visions of an India in which co-operation will have democratised both production and credit. The *Baipari* and the *Mahajan* will have disappeared and the entire standard of rural comfort and independence will have been raised.

Milk for Infants and Invalids.

Extensive study of the use of goats' milk in infant feeding by Drs. Shorman and Lohnes, of Buffalo, show that the curds of goats' milk when returned from the stomach were smaller and more flocculent than those of cows' milk. From the determination of the combined hydrochloric acid in the returned food, the authors conclude that the cows' milk had a greater stimulating effect on the stomach than goats' milk. The absorption of the food and gain in weight in comparing the two milks were indefinite for several reasons. The babies tolerated equally well similar amounts of goats' milk with cows' milk when used with the same diluents. The younger the child the more the evidence pointed toward a greater gain on goats' milk.

Goats' milk was supplied to 18 cases of children that were not thriving on any other food that had been tried. In 17 cases a satisfactory state of nutrition was established through the use of goats' milk, the beneficial results in some instances being very marked. With certain of these children their situation was regarded as serious, and their restoration to a satisfactory nutritional condition was good evidence that goats' milk is often a very desirable resort for infant feeding.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

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[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Lure of the Pen. By Flora Klickmann (The Religious Tract Society, London).

In a series of well-arranged chapters, the author has described the difficulties which beset would-be authors and has made several useful suggestions for their benefit. The advice to them are both practical and wholesome and embrace a wide field. The book is excellently got up.

The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction. By F. H. Hayward and Arnold Freeman. (P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London).

This volume is a collection of the opinions of representative people published with the object of giving practicable proposals towards solving what is called 'the religious difficulty in the schools'. The authors believe that it is essential to spiritualize education and to cultivate in the schools international good will. Some of those who write in this volume are well-known persons and their opinions on such a subject deserve study.

The Future Government of India. By Ernest Barker M.A., (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London).

This little book contains some papers giving a statement of the conditions under which the members of the Indian Civil service feel that they can co-operate in the introduction of responsible Government in India.

An Invasion of India in 1927. By P. Subrahmanyam B.A. B.L., (Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam).

Under this arresting title this well-known author has depicted in his usual humorous way the faults of the present system of administration and advocates a radical change in the form of Government. The political situation in India is analysed with a good deal of shrewdness and some of the administrative defects are tellingly exposed. The book occupies 350 pages and will repay perusal.

India in the years 1917-1918. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams (Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta).

This report, which has been prepared for presentation to Parliament, outlines the political, social and economic problems which confront the administration. A running survey of the political events in India is recorded and an attempt has been made to explain the causes of such events and the efforts made by Government to face them. Summaries of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the Industrial Commission Report are also included in the appendix.

Jungle Peace. By William Beebe, (Witherby & Co., London).

This is a collection of articles originally contributed by the author to *The Atlantic Monthly*. The chapters dealing with Jungle relate to Bartica Dt., British Guiana. The book is amply illustrated.

The 'Shell' that Hit Germany Hardest. by P. G. A. Smith, ('Shell' Marketing & Co., Ltd., London).

These pages are intended to give an idea of the part played by the shells during the late war and to establish that they did unique service. There are some illustrations.

Vernacular Education in Ceylon. By H. Sharp, C.S.I. C.I.E., (Published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, India. Price As. 12.)

The educational system of Ceylon seems to be well organised and its results very successful. There is much in it which educational authorities in India would do well to emulate. Mr. Sharp's valuable book which he modestly styles *Notes* contains a lot of useful information particularly in reference to mass education. Mr. Sharp speaks in appreciative terms of the excellence of vernacular education in Ceylon. His observations are worth reproducing:—

Vernacular education in Ceylon is worth having not only because the people feel the need of it, but also because it is good. The teachers are reasonably paid. Training, though by no means universal, is thorough. The headmaster is alert and takes pride in his school. Control is effective. Much of the education is imparted in government schools, which are sufficiently numerous to set a high standard. Inspection is adequate.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

BLINDNESS IN INDIA AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF ITS DIMINUTION. By C. G. Henderson, Indian Civil Service (Oxford University Press, Bombay.)

HELLENISM IN ANCIENT INDIA. By G. N. Banerjee, M.A., F.R.S.A. (Butterworth & Co., Calcutta).

ENGLISH READER NO. 3: THE KING OF TRUTH, ADVICE TO BOYS. THE HINDU WOMAN AND THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL. The C. L. S. I., Madras.

SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A. Published by the University of Madras.

REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION 1917-19. Government Printing, Calcutta.

SELF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. Vedic and Post Vedic, by N. B. Paooge. The Arya Bhushan Press, Poona.

PILLARS OF EMPIRE. By W. L. & J. E. Courtney. Jarrolds, Publishers, London.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Aug. 24. A meeting of the Bombay Mill hands elects Messrs. Tilak and Wadia as representatives of the Indian Labour on the Labour Conference at Washington.

Aug. 25. The Government of Bombay propose to establish a First Grade Arts College for Muhammadans to be known as Ismail College.

Aug. 26. Sir George Lloyd unveiled a portrait of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale in the Municipal Hall, Poona.

Aug. 27. Mr. Kalinath Roy, late editor of the *Tribune* is released from the Lahore Central Jail.

Aug. 28. The Secretary of State received a mixed Indian and European deputation to protest against the Transvaal Trading Act.

Aug. 29. A Punjab Government Press Communique announces entire abrogation of Martial Law in all the railway lands.

Aug. 30. An earthquake shock of slight intensity at its origin at the distance of about 1,500 miles was recorded at Alipore.

Aug. 31. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee protests against the introduction of the Indemnity Bill.

Sept. 1. The Bombay Municipal Corporation approved of the Bill for the prevention of Juvenile smoking.

Sept. 2. A meeting of the Madras Liberal League was held and resolutions protesting against the Indemnity Bill were passed.

Sept. 3. The Imperial Legislative Council assembled this morning at Simla.

Viscount Burnham, President of the Empire Press Union entertained to luncheon the Indian editors at present in England.

Sept. 4. Sir George Lloyd visited Deccan College and gave an address to students.

Sept. 5. The Imperial Legislative Council sits to-day.

Sept. 6. The Italian Chamber has adopted a Bill conferring electoral rights on women.

Sept. 7. The death is announced of Lord Beresford.

Sept. 8. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar telegraphs to the Viceroy protesting against the Punjab commission of enquiry and suggesting inclusion of one or more Indians.

Sept. 9. H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala gives a handsome donation of Rs 5 lakhs to the Hindu University.

The Austrian Peace Treaty was signed.

Sep. 10. Mr. A. G. Gardiner resigns the editorship of the *Daily News* to join the Board of Directors.

Sep. 11. Meeting in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, to concert measures for the relief of the distressed in the Punjab.

Sep. 12. One thousand troops of the Indian Peace contingent embark at Tilbury to-day for India.

Sep. 13. The Christian College Day Committee entertained Dr. Skinner C.I.E, the retiring Principal of the Madras Christian College.

Sep. 14. Public meeting in Madras to express sympathy with the Punjab sufferers.

Sep. 15. Prince Nosrat ed-Dowleh, Persian Foreign Minister arrives in London.

Sep. 16. The All-India Muslim league deputation sends a memorandum to Mr. Lloyd George urging that nothing should be done to whittle down the Premier's pledge of January 5, 1918, regarding Turkey.

Sept. 17. The Indian Peace Contingent in Great Britain are leaving London for Southampton enroute to India.

Sept. 18. The British Government gave a banquet to the Persian Foreign Minister in London, at which Lord Curzon delivered a notable speech.

Sept. 19. The Salvation Army celebrated its Jubilee at the Victoria Hall, Madras.

Sept. 20. A special meeting of the National Association for the provision of female medical aid to the Women of India is held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, with Lady Chelmsford in the chair.

Sept. 21. It is officially announced that H. M. the King has invited President Poincare to visit England in October.

Celebrations of Mr. M. K. Gandhi's Fifty-First birthday in India.

Sept. 22. A press communique issued from Simla notifies the new increased rates of pay for the British officers of the Indian Army and also of British Service.

Sept. 23. The Ministry of Ways and Communications was inaugurated to-day, when Sir Eric Geddes commenced the task of bringing, under one single control, the whole transport of the country. It is hoped that much economy will be effected by this means.

Sept. 24. Mr. Montagu announces that he is considering, in conjunction with the Government of India, a comprehensive revision of the rates of pay and pensions for the British Officers in the army in India.

Literary

Dr. Gilbert Murray on Modern Decadence.

Professor Gilbert Murray delivered the annual address to the members and friends of the Civic and Moral Education League

Taking as his subject the question, "Can we make any moral estimate of our own time?" the lecturer said that fortunately the problem was one of those which he treated according to the old receipt, "Look it well in the face and pass on," for it could not be answered, at least not with any precision or certainty.

Professor Murray passed on to consider what analogies we had to help our judgment as to decadence. Mainly he saw two: the analogy of the small savage societies, which year by year could be observed failing and dying out; and that of the ancient world which was so vividly conscious of its own decline and fall. As regards drink, which was having such fatal effects on the savage, we were on the whole gaining and not failing.

Passing to the second analogy, and the extirpation of savage tribes by sexual excesses Professor Murray said he would roughly sum up his impression by saying that we as a community were threatened by a considerable danger, but had a very strong constitution to fight it with.

Our tendencies in the matter of art and drama and, to a less extent, of literature generally were on the same lines as those of Rome in the latest "silver" age. Our tastes in theatrical matters had so obviously moved along similar lines, that he would not labour the point, or even try to analyse the occasional redeeming differences. We were not yet, he thought, quite sunk to the level of a Roman Imperial theatre of the second century. Literature, he thought, had partly escaped because a book still appealed to the private reader as well as to the crowd. There would be a market for good books and difficult books when there would be none whatever for public shows of the same character. He was not sure, however, that our jaded nerves and silly tastes in these matters were entirely due to real decadence. In part they were merely due to overwork.

"Democracy after the War."

Mr. J. A. Hobson has revised his "Democracy after the War," which was published in the autumn of 1917, "in the light of such a peace as we have got."

Diploma for Journalism.

The Senate of the University of London has instituted a diploma for journalism which will be awarded after examination to persons who have pursued prescribed courses of study within the university.

The courses will begin in October next and will extend normally over two consecutive university sessions. But in the case of graduates of the University of London and of other universities approved for the purpose, the courses may be completed in a shorter period. They are divided into two sections, of which one is compulsory, and the other offers a wide choice of subjects. The compulsory course includes:—

English composition and practice in writing for the press as well as lecture courses in the general history of science, the history of political ideas, and principles of criticism with practice in their application.

The student will also choose courses of instruction in three out of the following branches of knowledge, viz.:—English literature and criticism, history, modern languages (one, or in special conditions two, to be selected out of French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Russian), political science, economics, biological science, physico-chemical science, philosophy, and psychology.

The examination for the diploma will take place once in each academic year, in July; and the first examination will be held in 1921. The examiners in determining the result of the examinations will take into consideration the proficiency and the progress which the candidate has shown throughout the period of training.

'Sanj Vartman' Petiti number.

The Petiti number of the *Sanj Vartman* is an interesting and neatly got-up volume. There are a good number of articles from various writers, prominent among them being Mr. Gandhi who writes in Gujrati on 'Satyagraha,' Sir Abbas Ali, being on 'The Future of India,' Sir F. C. O. Beaman on 'Peace and War' and Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy on 'The Parsis and their future.'

Obscene Advertisements.

Proceedings under Section 292, of the Indian Penal Code, have been started against one Gulabhai Rodey, Editor of the *Sumati* newspaper published at Wardha, for publishing in his newspaper an alleged obscene advertisement relating to medicine intended for young people.

Educational

Education of Backward Classes

A long memorial on the subject of the education of the backward classes amongst the Hindus of Deccan has been submitted to the Government by the Deccan Raiyats' Association. The Association asks: (1) That a policy of steadily encouraging every one of the backward Hindu communities, backward by comparison with Brahmanas, etc., by special measures may be laid down. (2) That the presence of the representatives of the raiyats on the proposed standing Committee to be attached to the Educational Minister may be secured by such means as may be considered advisable. (3) That a Committee may be at once appointed to prepare a programme of work.

Mahomedan Education

A Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay says:—

In January, 1914, Mr (now Sir) Mahomed Yusuf Ismail offered to Government a donation of Rs. 8 lakhs for the promotion of higher education of Mahomedan youths. In making his offer the donor, while leaving to His Excellency the Governor (Lord Willingdon) full discretion as to the particular objects to which his donation should be devoted, indicated a preference for the foundation of a Mahomedan college which would be located either in Bombay or in Poona and affiliated to the Bombay University.

The Governor-in-Council has now decided that the donation should be devoted towards the establishment of a first grade Government Arts College on a selected site at Andheri in Salsette, this college to be known as the Ismail College, will be primarily for Mahomedans but students of other communities will also be admitted. Orders for the acquisition of a site for the college and the preparation of detailed plans and estimates have been issued.

The Viceroy on The Dacca University.

H. E. the Viceroy spoke as follows in the Imperial Legislative Council on Sept. 3. The report though it is confined to the Calcutta University problem gives us a luminous conspectus of the position of higher education in India. We are making a start at once with its recommendations by the introduction of the Dacca University Bill. This is an old question. Lord Hardinge promised a University to Dacca and I have renewed his

pledge. "As Hon'ble Members are aware it is a subject in which the Muhammadans of Bengal are deeply interested, - I am now giving an earnest of our intentions in the matter by the introduction of a bill between this stage and its consideration at the next Delhi session. There will be ample time for an examination of its provisions by the general public and we shall, of course, very carefully consider such criticisms as they may have to make on it. In the matter of legislation affecting the Calcutta University we hope that by February those interested will have had time to formulate their views. But I would impress this point upon Hon'ble Members: In the appointment of the commission I was careful to see that its members had the highest educational qualifications to deal with the problem they were asked to examine, and that problem has been investigated solely from the educational standpoint. Their recommendations surely should carry great weight and we should be slow to depart from them."

The Indian Mathematical Society.

A well attended meeting of the Madras members of the Society and others interested was recently held in the Presidency College to consider the proposal of forming "Sections" for groups to promote the study of special branches of Mathematics.

Mr. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar was voted to the chair and following resolutions were passed;

1. That an association be formed at Madras consisting of the members of the Indian Mathematical Society resident in the Madras Presidency and such others as are interested for the purpose of promoting the study of Elementary mathematics.

2. That a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen with power to add to their number be formed to organise the work of the association, (1) E. B. Ross, (2) P. V. Sesha Aiyer, (3) T. K. Venkataraman, (4) M. Vythinathan, (5) S. Ramachandra Aiyer, Mr. T. K. Venkataraman to be convener and Secretary.

3. That a 'Section' of the members of the Indian Mathematical Society be formed for the study of *Theory of Functions*, and that M. P. V. Sesha Aiyer be the Reader of the Section.

4. That a section be similarly formed for the study of *Statistics* and that Mr. E. B. Ross be the Reader of the section.

Legal

The Punjab Muddle.

I. To Pandit Malaviyaji's question whether "Government will be pleased to state:—

(a) The number of persons actually arrested and detained in custody in connection with the recent disturbances in the Punjab, classified according to town or village and showing the names, parentage, caste, profession and place of residence of the persons arrested or detained,

(b) The number of persons arrested, but released without trial,"

the reply was, "the information is not available."

II. To the question whether Government will be pleased to state (1) the number of applications for copies of judgments and evidence taken and other proceedings of the summary Courts and of the Courts of the Area Officers in cases arising out of the recent disturbances in the Punjab, made on behalf of the persons convicted, to the District Magistrates, Martial Law Administrators and other Civil or Military Authorities, the number of cases in which copies have been supplied and in which they have been refused with reasons if any, *the reply was the same—"the information is not available."*

III. To the question whether Government will be pleased to (1) state the number of persons who were killed or died of wounds or were wounded, but recovered during the recent disturbances in the Punjab, giving the names, parentage and other particulars and specifying the place where each person was killed or wounded,

The reply was the numbers so far ascertained were: Lahore 14, Amritsar 301, Gujranwalla 17, Gujarat 2, total 334; Information as to names and parentage, etc., is not available.

IV. To the question whether there was a record of all cases of flogging, there was the insolent reply "there is a record in the Lahore Central Jail but it is not proposed to lay it on the table."

On these answers *Young India* comments as follows:—

The recklessness of the refrain 'no information is available' is patent. These are all questions of fact and the circumstance that Government are unable or do not want to supply the information asked for, is a very grave reflection on them. If they have *really* no information with regard to matters in I, it shows that the officers making the arrests have proceeded without

the slightest sense of responsibility and have not scrupled to molest anybody or everybody, and it is intolerable that they should not be able to supply any information. As regards matters in II it is unthinkable that Government should have no information. Have the applications been destroyed? The inability to supply information asked for in III reveals a callous disregard for human life, and the refusal to place on table the record of cases of flogging is, to say the least, inexcusable.

If this is an index of the manner in which Government are going to proceed before the Committee of Enquiry we know not what to say regarding their case.

Internments in India.

In the House of Commons, Mr. T. J. Bennett, M. P., asked the Secretary of State for India, how many persons had been interned in India otherwise than under the ordinary law during the past four years; and how many remained in internment at the date of the latest return.

The answer given was as follows:—"Under Bengal Regulation III of 1818, 149 persons were interned since August, 1914, (including 3 previously restricted under the Immigration into India Ordinance), of whom 35 were released before the armistice and 25 since. Under Madras Regulation II. of 1819, 12 persons were interned, of whom 10 were released before the armistice and one since. Under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, 6 persons were interned of whom 4 were released before the armistice. Under the Defence of India Act, 1915, 1,470 persons were restricted in domicile and 310, (including 3 of the former category), subjected to minor restrictions. 601 were released before the armistice and 357 since. Under the Ingress into India Ordinance 1914, 942 persons were restricted in domicile and 2,154 placed under minor restrictions. 2,296 were released before the armistice and 466 since. 3 of the 942 were subsequently interned under Bengal Regulation III of 1818. In addition to the above figures, 2 persons were restricted in domicile and 23 subjected to minor restrictions under the Defence of India Act in connection with recent disturbances, (10 of whom have been released), and 1 and 9 respectively, (1 since released), under the Ingress into India Ordinance. As 9 persons died since 1914, I understand that the total number now subjected to any restriction under any of these enactments is 1,257 of whom 91 are actually interned.

Medical

Indians and the Medical Profession.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Medical Union, a meeting of members of the independent medical profession of Bombay was held on August 1919, Dr. F. N. Kapadia presiding, to consider the re-organisation of the medical services, medical education, and the alleged differential treatment of Indians in the I. M. S. and the attitude of the British Medical Association towards the Indian Medical profession in their memorandum circulated among I. M. S. officers in India in January, 1919.

The speakers emphatically repudiated the allegations made in the memorandum against Indians, and emphasised that the time had come for Indians to get a far larger share in the administration of the country, which they now demanded not as favour but as a right. At the same time they had no animosity towards their English brethren. They further said that the British Medical Association was widening the gap that already existed between the Indians and the English by the circulation of such a memorandum. The following resolution were unanimously passed by the meeting:—

(1) That the Indian Medical Service should be divided into two distinct and separate branches, one purely military and naval and the other civil, the latter to form a war reserve with adequate training.

(2) That all the branches should be recruited by simultaneous examination held in England and in India so as to afford equal opportunity and conditions for competition to Europeans and Indians.

(3) That all educational and professorial appointments should be thrown open to the profession at large in the United Kingdom and India and that candidates should be selected by the Educational Minister with the assistance of a selection board.

(4) That the meeting emphatically protested against the distinction made by Government in making the recent permanent appointments in I. M. S. of 33 Europeans out of about 146, and only 17 Indians out of 900.

The I. M. S.

A Board of Selection has been appointed by the Government of India, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to facilitate recruitment of permanent officers for the Indian Medical Service by nomination.

Bengal Medical Work

Presiding at the prize giving at the Dacca Medical School on August 20, Lord Ronaldshay made an important speech dealing with the medical work in Bengal. His Excellency said: In spite of heavy handicap imposed upon us by war and the extreme difficulty which we have experienced in consequence in finding money for new enterprises, we have made an appreciable advance in carrying out our policy. During the past two years, we have improved and enlarged our medical schools. At Cambal School in Calcutta we have made provision for training 500 students in place of 350, which was the sanctioned strength two years ago. In the same way we have made arrangements for training 400 students here in place of 250, which was the sanctioned strength two years ago. And we are still further adding to the provision for training men for licentiate examination by establishing a new medical school to accommodate 200 students at Burdwan. The Government have already provided medical educational institutions which in the year 1917-1918 were training 1,775 students, and which in the same year turned out 199 qualified doctors. I estimate that the number of qualified doctors turned out by the Government institution will rise in course of the next few years to 250 a year in addition to which there will be the out-put of the Belgachia institution which will probably average at least 50 a year. We shall have then before long a steady stream of 200 duly qualified medical practitioners seeking opportunities of work every year.

Dr. Lankester's Report on Tuberculosis.

The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—

The habit of secrecy grows on the Government of India. The report on the prevalence of tuberculosis by Dr. Lankester, who has been carrying on investigations into the subject for several years past, is not to be published. What great danger to the State will ensue by the publication of the report, we are unable to imagine. He has been asked to bring out a popular hand-book containing the results of his investigation "as modified by the view of the local Governments and Administrations." What authority have these Governments and Administrations to modify the results of a scientific investigation? Why should not the Indian public have the benefit of a first-hand knowledge of Dr. Lankester's conclusions, without their undergoing a process of previous peptonising by the Secretariats in different parts of the country?

Science.

Water Power Development

The Preliminary Report on the Water Power Resources of India, compiled by Mr. J. W. Meares, Electrical Adviser to the Government of India, has now been issued.

In order to elicit both the interest and co-ordination of the general public and the non-technical element, the compiler of the report has devoted considerable attention to a detailed account of the fundamental principles of water power development and has explained, in non-technical language, most of the pitfalls that are likely to be encountered, by the in-experienced, in this particular branch of engineering. In addition to a general map of India and Burma, on a scale of 1 inch to 64 miles, illustrating various information contained in the report are some photographs and key maps showing the general layout and works of importance and interest on three well-established hydro electric installations in India. The author goes pretty fully into the question of the admissible capital cost of hydro-electric projects and also deals with the rather vexed question of the control of water rights. Though the former is treated more or less technically, it is easily understood that, for a country like India, where the cost of coal or other fuel varies enormously owing to transport from the source of supply, the permissible cost of hydro-electric development is also an extremely varying quantity.

Diameter of the Solar System.

•Of the nebulae, those far away and mostly telescopic clouds, there are thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, but their size to us has been simply an impression of indefinite though inconceivable immensity. A recent announcement gives measurements of the parallaxes of six of them, as made by Adriaan van Maanen with the 60-inch reflector of the Mt. Wilson Observatory. It is indicated that the largest nebula measured has a major diameter 10,000 times as great as the distance of the sun from the earth, and that the smallest is a seventh as large across. If it will aid our comprehension, we may consider says the *Popular Science Siftings*, that the diameter of our Solar System, as marked by the orbit of Neptune, is only 60 times the sun's distance!

Natural Source of Potash.

Oactus and the Mexican prickly-pear plants are reported to contain sufficient potash for utilisation. The prickly-pears contain 84 per cent. of water and 4.87 per cent. of ash when burned. The ash contains 9.8 per cent. of potassium oxide, equal to about 14.4 per cent. potassium carbonate. "This shows a yield of 0.7 per cent. of potassium carbonate from the fresh green plant, or nearly fifteen and one-half pounds per ton.

Electrically Heated Clothes.

The British aeroplanes-de luxe which were used for carrying officials connected with the Peace Conference between London and Paris were equipped not only with electric light in the cabin but also with electric circuits for heating the clothing of the pilots and passengers. The clothing contains a network of electric resistance wires in the arms and legs, and when these wires are connected to the electric circuits they become warm. It was a British engineer who first worked out the quantities of electricity needed to keep the human body comfortably warm when applied in this way to the extremities. The amount is surprisingly small, being only about as much as is taken by an electric lamp of one hundred-candle power.

New Substitute for Platinum.

It is an alloy of 11 per cent. platinum and 89 per cent. gold. The results of various tests made on it shows no loss in weight after 20 minutes treatment each with 25 per cent. hydrochloric acid, 65 per cent. nitric acid, 96 per cent. sulphuric acid and fused borax; after 15 minutes with a fused mixture of potassium carbonate and sodium carbonate; nor after evaporation of 10 cubic centimeters of hydrofluoric acid. A dish weighing 41 grams lost 1 milligram with fused acid potassium sulphate and 0.2 milligrams with fused potassium nitrate (20 minutes each); 7 milligrams with fused caustic potash (15 minutes) and, 20 milligrams with a mixture of 96 per cent. sulphuric acid and 4 per cent. nitric acid (five minutes). It was unaffected by heating for half an hour in a smoky petroleum gas flame. Except for the high loss in a mixture of sulphuric and nitric acids it is equal or superior to platinum ware.

Study for Air Navigation.

Arrangements have been made to hold a conference of representatives of the Meteorological Services of the British Dominions in London from September 23 to 27.

Personal.

Labour Conference.

A press communique says:—The International Labour Conference which was set up by the terms of the peace treaty will meet for the first time in Washington on the 12th October. Each member of the League of Nations will be represented by four delegates, two of whom will be Government representatives, one a representative of employers and one a representative of labour. The delegates selected by the Government of India to attend the conference are the following:—Government representatives:—Mr. L. J. Kershaw, C.S.I., C.I.E, India Office, the Hon'ble Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, C.I.E., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces.

Representative of the employers:—Mr. A. R. Murray, Mr. B. E. Chairman, Indian Jute Mills Association. Representative of the employed:—Mr. Narayan Malhar Joshi, Bombay.

Writing on the appointment of Mr. N. M. Joshi to represent India at the International Labour convention the *Indian Social Reformer* observes:—

Government could not have made a better choice than Mr. Joshi to represent India at the International Labour Convention at Washington. Mr. Joshi is the life and soul of the Social Service League, and has an intimate knowledge of the needs and grievances of the labouring population. We are sure that his presence at Washington will materially help the cause of the Indian workmen. We wish Mr. Joshi a happy voyage and early return. His experience in Europe and America are sure to be of great use in his work in connection with the Social Service League.

Messrs. Sastri and Ramachandra Rao.

The Hon. Messrs. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and M. Ramachandra Rao writes Mrs. Besant in 'New India' were called before a tired Committee, but Mr. Sastri's admirably lucid criticisms of the Bill, expressed in most polished English and shewing a firm grasp of the subject and a clear insight into consequences, soon awakened and rivetted attention. The members evidently felt the statesmanlike quality of the witness before them, and treated him with marked respect.

In this connection we may add what the London Correspondent of the "Mahratta" wrote under date 21st August.—

On Wednesday the Hon. Messrs. Shastri and Ramachandra Rao were examined. Both had already submitted their written memoranda. Mr. Sastri cut a very good figure while giving evidence and dealt clause by clause with the Bill and suggested improvements where necessary. He was however wrong when he said that he was

doing what no body else did before; and it seems that he either did not know what the Congress delegation had dealt with the Bill clause by clause, and suggested the necessary amendments, or that he forgot it if he knew it beforehand. Mr. Sastri laid stress on the necessity of granting a share of responsibility in the Central Government, popular control over provincial budgets and other matters. In his cross-examination he dis-illusioned Lord Sydenham by saying that the Servant of India Society was, from the first, intended to be mainly a political body, and cornered Sydenham by reminding him of his grant of the various political books to the Society. Lord Sydenham however escaped by saying that the books he presented to the Society were not devoted mainly to politics.

Mr. B. P. Wadia in England.

Mr. B. P. Wadia, President of the Madras Labour Union who is now in England, said, in the course of an interview to a representative of the 'Christian Commonwealth' that the Madras Labour Union originated in 1918 and that there are about 20,000 people in the city of Madras connected with one or other of the Unions. The maximum working day is fixed at 12 hours and the wages are simply atrocious, the average being Rs. 15 a month. Mr. Wadia said that Indians were concentrating on the questions of hours and wages but there are problems such as housing sanitary conditions, and the education of workers and their children. The Indian labourer has a distinct outlook of his own and is able to suggest remedies for his ills. Mr. Wadia said that he was anxious that India must be included in the International charter. He expressed the hope that the labour movement will certainly extend and that Indian politicians are not indifferent to Social problems. They have opened reading-rooms, dispensaries and stores for selling rice and also a bank for the benefit of the labourers.

The Prince in Canada.

The Prince of Wales, in the presence of a record gathering, including all the leading Dominion politicians, laid the foundation stone of the Victory Tower of the new Parliament buildings in Ottawa on September 1st. In the course of his speech the Prince said that Parliamentary Government had been challenged and severely tested during the great war, but had emerged stronger than ever before. The merits of Parliamentary Government were almost universally acknowledged to-day, but it was five centuries since it began to influence the development of the British race.

Political

The Anglo-Persian Agreements.

A White Paper (Cmd 300) has been published in London, containing the text of agreements signed by Great Britain and Persia at Teheran on August 9, 1919. The agreements now concluded are the result of negotiations which have been proceeding for nine months.

Of the two agreements one is political and aims at binding more closely Anglo-Persian relations and promoting the progress and prosperity of Persia. To these ends Great Britain agrees,

- To respect Persian integrity ;
- To supply experts for Persian administration ;
- To supply officers and equipment for a Persian force for the maintenance of order ;
- To provide a loan for these purposes ;
- To co-operate with the Persian Government in railway construction and other forms of transport.

Both Governments agree to the appointment of a joint committee to examine and revise the Customs tariff.

The second agreement defines the terms and conditions on which the loan is to be made to Persia. The loan is for £ 2,000,000 at 7 per cent., redeemable in 20 years. It is secured on the Revenues and Customs' receipts assigned for the repayment of the 1911 loan, and should these be insufficient the Persian Government is to make good the necessary sums from other sources.

Article 5 of the 1911 agreement is included for purposes of reference. Of the letters, which both bear date August 2, one assures the Persian Prime Minister of British co-operation in securing revision of treaties actually in force between the two Powers, compensation for damage during the war, and the rectification of frontiers ; and the other states that Great Britain will not claim from the Persian Government the cost of maintaining British troops in Persia for the defence of her neutrality, and requests that Persia in turn will not ask for compensation for damage done by the troops in Persian territory.

The Russian Question.

The Supreme Council has considered the Russian question and has agreed with the British policy of evacuation and has declared itself as being against intervention. The Russian people must settle their own future, provided that they respect their neighbours' rights,

The Indian National Congress.

The following is the proposed constitution of the British Committee of the Congress.

(1) That the name of the Committee shall be The British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

(2) That the object of the Committee shall be to act as the Executive in the United Kingdom of the Indian National Congress.

(3) That the General Committee shall consist of an unlimited number of members, with power to add to their number, who accept the objects as defined in Article one of the Congress Constitution and the Resolutions passed by the Congress.

(4) That there shall be elected annually an Executive Committee, of not more than 12 members of the General Committee, who shall meet as often as they consider desirable and we shall have the powers of the General Committee between its meetings.

(5) That the Executive Committee shall elect a Chairman, and Vice-Chairman, Treasurer and Hon. Secretary.

(6) That the President and Ex-Presidents of the Congress, not being Government servants who still co operate with it, and all delegates sent by the Congress to this country shall be Ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

(7) That the expenses of the Committee shall be defrayed by Annual Grants from the Indian National Congress.

"Increased Salaries."

With reference to the recent increase of salaries of the various Imperial Services in India the *Indian Social Reformer* has the following note of warning:—"One seldom hears the words 'retrenchment' and 'economy' in connection with public expenditure now a-days in India. But the need for the thing is all the same urgent." Referring to the way in which salaries are being increased in the superior ranks especially of the services recruited in England the *Reformer* adds: "In our opinion the prospects of the success of the Reform Scheme are gravely imperilled by the measures. We hope some one will be able to obtain from the Government in the Indian Legislative Council or in parliament, the amount of total increase in salaries as the result of the various 'reorganization' schemes. It looks almost as if we are being asked to purchase the first step to responsible Government by "compensating the services in hard cash."

General

Indian Conference in Britain

The Indian Conference in England held a very successful second session at Keswick, in the beautiful English Lake District in the north of England. It lasted for a week (from June 25th to July 2nd).

About fifty persons attended, among them Mrs. N. C. Sen, Dr. T. Ram, Mrs. Ram, and Miss Ram of Mexborough, Yorkshire; Dr. Pardhi; Thakur Shri Jessraj Singhji Seesodia; Mr. Hardaymath Kunzru, of the Servants of India Society; and Mr. Gupte, of the Deccan Sabha, Poona. Indian students came from the various British Universities and Inns of Court.

Letters expressing regret for inability to attend, and wishing success to the Conference, were received from the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha, the Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, Sir Mancharjee M. Bhownagree, and Messrs. Madhavarao, Sastri, Patel, Kelkar, and others.

A correspondent to the *Campanion* writes that the first paper at the session was read by Mr. Kunzru, who suggested what the Conference could do to meet the needs and difficulties of the Indian students in Britain. Mr. Azim (of Cambridge) discussed the problem of social and economic reconstruction in India. Mr. Banerjee (also of Cambridge) dealt with the subject of night schools in India as a means of solving the problem of mass education in our country. Mrs. Sen made an earnest appeal for the education of women and the uplift of the depressed classes, suggesting that the methods employed by the Christian Missionaries (excepting, of course, proselytisation) be adapted to our needs. Mr. Mullik (of Oxford) drew attention to the irresistible force exerted by saintly men devoted to the cause of their country's emancipation. Mr. Sundram (of Glasgow) sketched the prospects of Indian agriculture.

At a business meeting the provisional constitution framed last winter at Ilkley was revised. Many contributions were made to the central fund opened last year to ensure the stability of the Conference and it was placed in charge of two trustees elected for the purpose. A new managing committee was also elected, and the retiring Secretary, Mr. Advani, was unanimously appointed the Honorary Representative of the Conference in India.

Don'ts for "Demobes"

Sir Herbert Morgan writes in the *Daily Mail*:
Don't depend on the bureaucrats; They're busy keeping their own jobs

Don't offer yourself as "capable" of "filling a position of trust." It means nothing—every position is one of trust.

Don't forget to make up your own mind about the job you want. Then go "all out" to get it. Trying for jobs will help to train you for business. Don't stop.

Don't think the country is not grateful; It's only forgetful.

Don't forget your regimental association or the Appointments Board of your university they are human organisations.

Don't look for large pay. Look for great opportunity.

Don't overlook the old saw about the merry heart Grouching doesn't pay.

Don't rely on letters of introduction. Wait till you see how they work.

Don't despair. Realise your capacity and look for the helping hand where you can best help yourself.

Don't apply for highly paid jobs to be obtained by investing capital. They only last till your money is exhausted.

Don't give up answering advertisements for positions vacant as long as your stamps hold out—then deliver your applications.

Power to command men is a great asset. Don't forget you must have knowledge to use it.

Don't base your salary on your requirements, but on your ability.

Always show the man to whom you apply the value of your services to him. Don't talk of the value of the job to you.

Don't discuss hours and holidays, but show eagerness to work.

Don't ignore the job you had before the war; it may be the best for you now.

India's Services.

Writing of the march of the Indian troops through London, the *Daily News* says:—

The full facts concerning India's part in the war have not been realised by the British public. . . . In the history of the world no Empire has been able to take pride in a record to compare with that of British India since 1914.

